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PART I.—HISTORICAL.



PART I.—HISTORICAL:

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

General aspect of the times.—Commercial distress, and its causes.—Sources of public discontent.—Views of the democratic writers.—Radical reform—Parallel between the British constitution at the time of the Revolution, and at present.—Royal authority.—Parliamentary representation.

THE aspect of the political world, at the commencement of the present year, was, in several respects, dark and painful. Never, perhaps, had there been more splendid hopes, followed by a gloomier disappointment, than at the close of the great war, which Britain brought to so glorious an issue. The era of peace, so much longed and scarcely hoped for, coming now under such triumphant circumstances, was expected to usher in a happier era, and so heal all the wounds under which the nation had groaned. Instead of this expected felicity, peace was followed by a distress much more widely and fully felt, than any which had arisen from the most extended warfare. A general stagnation pervaded every branch of industry. The loom stood still; the merchant was involved in difficulty or bankruptcy; the produce of the earth sunk to a price ruinous to the farmer, while it afforded little benefit to the consumer, who had not wherewithal to pay even its reduced rate. The payment, by the rich, of an income tax of ten per cent., was an evil of very different magnitude from the fall of the labourer's wages from fifteen to five shillings a-week. The suffering, most serious in itself, was greatly aggravated by ignorance of the cause, and by total unconsciousness of that ignorance. When men suffer, they look eagerly for a remediable origin; they are ready to do and to hazard much in efforts to shake it off. A bad harvest raises insurrection even in China; much more may the distress of the lower orders be supposed to operate, among a people so much less trained to habits of subordination. It is, accordingly, too true, that national poverty, and the ebullitions of discontent excited or fanned by it, have formed much the most prominent feature in the history of this and the following

years. These observations have led us to consider seriously the causes and grounds, both of this suffering and this discontent; and a few remarks, such as our reflections have suggested, may, perhaps, form no inappropriate preface to the history of this period.

Strange as it seems, that peace, usually hailed as the harbinger of prosperity and abundance, should have been the direct means of plunging the nation into such a depth of distress, a little consideration will shew it to have been the necessary immediate consequence. The extraordinary expence of this war, as of every one in which Britain has long been engaged, was chiefly defrayed by loans. We do not here discuss the political expediency, that is necessity, either of the war, or of this mode of supporting it; these questions are gone by, and have no longer any practical bearing. We are viewing the subject merely economically; and, in this light, the nation has long been acting the part of a spendthrift, who maintains an establishment greatly beyond his income. By so doing, he is plainly acting a most imprudent part, and placing himself on the high road to ruin. Still, while this extravagance lasts, plenty reigns in his household; he keeps more servants, pays higher wages, and affords more employment to all the neighbourhood than he could otherwise have done. Suppose now, that his eyes are opened; that he sees the gulf into which he was plunging, and begins a new establishment, in which his expences and income are placed on a level,—nothing can be more laudable;—at the same time it is certain, that a general poverty will be felt through his establishment; abundance and concert will no longer reign there; the wages of his servants will be reduced, and some must be dismissed; nor can the same employment be afforded to the neighbouring tradesmen

and artizans. Britain, at the peace, was a reformed spendthrift. That large portion of her capital, which she had been in the annual habit of taking up and spending, had maintained throughout her population a fevered and artificial plenty. The loans paid a large body of soldiers, yielded a market to extensive manufactures, and took off a large proportion of the landed produce. If we average their amount at thirty millions a-year, and allow 20*l.* to each individual, (which, admitting the natural majority of women and children, seems very ample,) we shall find them providing subsistence for a million and a half of British subjects. All these, by the peace, were thrown out of employment, became superfluous hands, and ought indeed to have been sent away, if there had been any place to which we could send them. There being none, at least on a requisite scale, they had no resource but to thrust themselves into the already overstocked employments at home, and, by their competition, reduce the wages of labour to a rate which scarcely afforded a bare subsistence. The evil is rendered much heavier by the great length of time during which the system had been persevered in, extending over a whole generation, and probably giving occasion to the rearing of a considerable new population, dependant on these forced and temporary funds. This body, when the great machine of society sunk into its natural state, became quite a surplus population, and a burden upon the community. Another aggravation arose from the habits generated among the mercantile classes, by the feverish prosperity of war and monopolized trade. There had been so many instances of fortunes raised from nothing, and by one happy speculation, that universal hopes of similar success were excited. To earn a competence by a life of industry, was now regarded as a mean and paltry aim;

all were in chase of something rapid and brilliant. Under the influence of this spirit, every new opening which the continual shifting of the political scene afforded, was filled to treble its extent; and all the markets of the world were glutted with British goods selling at half their prime cost. The same immoral avidity of making a fortune, displayed itself by the manner in which competitors in trade sought to run down each other, by selling their commodity at a losing price, and thus obliging their rivals to do the same, till, one party being ruined, the other was enabled to establish a monopoly against the public. By such processes, commercial capital was destroyed throughout the kingdom to a great extent, particularly in the hands of those whose knowledge would have best fitted them to conduct the concerns in which it was embarked.

From the very grounds upon which we have endeavoured to prove the existing pressure to have arisen from the cessation of the profuse war expenditure, it must be evident that we would be the last to advise seeking a remedy by the renewal of that profusion. This would procure present relief indeed, but at the expense of final ruin, of which the system had led us perhaps not far from the very brink. Some plausible arguments might have been urged for making the transition a gradual one, and for not throwing at once out of employment so vast a body of persons. We should hesitate very much, however, to give any such advice, or to recommend a plan, which, falling in perhaps with the inclinations of many concerned, would be so liable to be extended beyond its proper limits and period. We should be sorry even to see any intermission in those efforts to enforce public economy, which form one of the main legitimate objects of a British opposition. At

the same time, we cannot help remarking the total mistake under which the mass of the nation has laboured, in ascribing their sufferings to the degree of expenditure which remains, and in furiously demanding further reduction, as the means of immediate relief. Reduction is no doubt an excellent thing in the main; but its further adoption could have no effect but to increase that existing and urgent pressure under which we labour. Its benefits would be certain and important indeed, but they would be future and even somewhat remote.

If it be now asked, what remedy may be hoped for these narrow and distressed circumstances in which the nation is involved, we are obliged to answer that we know of no immediate one, except patience. This is, indeed, the main result, with a view to which the present discussion was undertaken. It would be a great good, if the nation should be weaned from delusive hopes, and should cease to expect relief from any violent and desperate efforts it could make. Certain measures, particularly those connected with an extension of the freedom of trade, may be calculated to produce some degree of improvement; but it would be chimerical to expect from any new opening, such sudden profits, as could in any degree fill up the great blank left by the cessation of the war expenditure. This can only be effected by the gradual operation of those causes which lead to the increase of national wealth; the most powerful of which consists in the constant exertion of every individual to better his outward circumstances, provided equal laws assure him of reaping the fruit of his labours. Britain, indeed, is not susceptible of that rapid growth, observable in some infant societies; still the natural advantages of the three kingdoms, joined to the skill, capital, and enter-

prize of her citizens, afford scope for improvement, to which it would be presumptuous to set almost any limit.

Having made these observations on the subject of the national distress, we come to those equally unwelcome reflections inspired by its action upon the public mind. Yet, though this has certainly been powerful, it were too much to ascribe to it alone that blaze of popular discontent, which has been so remarkable during these recent years. It was prepared at least by some more secret principles in the structure of society. There is a flux and reflux in human affairs and feelings. Frail mortals, once involved in the political vortex, seem unable to take any steady or moderate view of a subject, and are perpetually tossed between opposite extremes. That blind and daring spirit of innovation, which was generated by the first spread of the revolutionary system, gradually gave place to the reign of anti-jacobinism; a system of bigotry hostile alike to the freedom of thought and action; which treated as sedition every doubt as to the expediency of every measure of the existing administration, and which sought to give to the established church an almost popish sway over the consciences of men. Men gradually grew sick of this, and events occurred which obtained for the proscribed name of liberty a reception even in courtly circles. The undisguised despotism established in France, the combined independence and loyalty in the efforts of the Spanish people, had equally this tendency. So far all was well; but it had been too much to hope, that men should stop here. The tide, once set in on the popular side, flowed with a continually increasing current, till at length all the landmarks of reason and experience began to give way. Other circumstances, almost new in the history of the world, gave it ad-

ditional force. The habits of reading, and the productions of the press, have been diffused in an unprecedented degree among all classes; while the extended facilities of travelling and communication have conveyed the habits of metropolitan society to the remotest districts. Noble causes! from which, we fear, some unhappy effects have arisen. The first and favourite use which the multitude have made of these benefits, consists in the habit of inquiring after news, and of reasoning and judging on public concerns. This is a natural habit, and which we should be slow to condemn. The human mind justly seeks to extend its sphere of existence beyond those narrow local limits which originally enclose it. The man, who feels sympathy and interest in the welfare of a large portion of his species, is a being of a higher order, than he who is wholly absorbed in his private concerns and connections. Yet it so happens, that even in minds not wholly uncultivated, we do not always observe what is called *politics* to have the most improving effects on the temper and disposition. Too often does it appear rather as an arena for the display of all the most furious and malignant passions which can agitate human nature. If these are its effects, even on not uninformed minds; with the vulgar, politics are little more than a continued system of abuse and invective against those who happen to be the objects of their enmity.

A democratic body forms perhaps a necessary, and even, within certain limits, not a hurtful element in a mixed constitution. Ever since the origin of popular government in England, a number of persons may be observed, eager for change, and not scrupulous as to the means of effecting it. Hitherto, however, unless upon extraordinary occasions, this body remained drawn up behind the regular parlia-

mentary whigs, aiding, by its impulse, to push them forward, while they in return modified and repressed those irregular movements to which it was prone. If ever any of those troops were too rash an advance, the whig chiefs employed themselves in a friendly manner, first in recalling them to their natural place, and then in throwing a protecting shield over any excesses into which they might have been hurried. This alliance, after having subsisted so long with the greatest mutual benefit, was suddenly dissolved. The event took place unexpectedly, and during a period of the greatest seeming prosperity. We allude to the apparently secure, though really so short, possession of power by the Whig party after the demise of Mr Pitt. It was alleged that they had shewn a very peculiar alacrity in tasting the sweets of office; that in seeking to satisfy their numerous retainers, they had adopted measures savouring still less of economy than those which they had so loudly reprobated in their predecessors; finally, that of all these mighty changes which, with or without reason, their popular adherents had confidently anticipated, scarcely one had been even mentioned. So long, however, as Fox survived, his amenity, address, and long established influence, warded off an open rupture. After him, the supremacy came into the hands of Lords Grey and Grenville, men of aristocratic habits, of high and proud honour, and wholly incapable of brooking the coarse reproaches with which they were assailed by this class of *quondam* associates. The popular chiefs at length declared open war against every thing that bore the name of Whig, and loudly avowed a predilection for ministers themselves, as open enemies, rather than for these false and treacherous friends. The people, having thus quitted the guides in whom they had long trusted, were open to the action

of others of more congenial character. This state of affairs was soon espied by some who had eagerly driven the trade of anti-jacobinism while it continued profitable, but who now, seeing the best customers gone to the other side, resolved to go along with them. It is a mistake to suppose that there is any serious danger attendant on such a transition. The multitude, always wholly engrossed with the present object of their enthusiasm, forget and forgive all things to those who will humour them in it. The experiment, therefore, was completely successful; and its proceeds were such as soon to call up rivals, who vied with each other in that coarse ribaldry, exaggerated invective, and extravagant promises from a total change of all things, which were calculated to recommend their lucubrations to the reading multitude. The vastly augmented number of political students afforded an ample and immediate reward to popularity, and under this impulse there was certainly produced no inconsiderable portion of that homely and declamatory eloquence, which suited the object and the readers. In running the race of popularity, it was soon found the most expedient course to proceed the utmost length which was consistent with keeping on the outside of a prison wall. It is true, that in performing their rounds continually so close to these ever patent gates, it was not always possible to avoid being attracted inwards. An extensive circulation, however, could pay for a fine and a few months imprisonment, not to mention the increase of popularity derived from this temporary martyrdom. Works conducted on such principles, and becoming the popular creed in every part of the kingdom, could not fail to produce a spirit which, when inflamed by public distress, must be dangerous to the public tranquillity.

The democratic spirit which has for some time past been so strong in this country, though probably a revival of that excited during the early periods of the French revolution, does not present itself altogether under the same features. It is of a ruder character, and not illumined by those lights of fancy and philosophy, which threw a lustre over those daring chimeras. In return, its pretensions are not carried quite to so extravagant a length. Those early apostles treated with disdain the panegyrics lavished for so many ages upon the British constitution, as the most perfect instrument by which any society had yet been governed. They demanded that it, equally with every other, should be thrown aside, and be succeeded by an ideal system, founded on the supposed inherent "Rights of Man." The events of the last twenty years have broken the spell of these visionary systems. The British constitution also having become more than ever, and to all the nations of Europe, the object of enthusiastic admiration, and of eagerly practised or desired imitation, it seemed scarcely possible to deny that it possessed some kind of excellence. It was only contended, that this was *past*; that from the glorious liberty enjoyed by our ancestors, we had sunk into the most cruel and shameful bondage; that all the rights for which they bled, had been successively wrested from us; that the legislative assemblies were become mere tools of the crown; and that to restore that, which could justly be called the British constitution, would require a change nearly as total as the ideal one proposed by the early revolutionists. This system of opinion is deserving of the greater consideration, since the general principle, that the crown has gained and is gaining, is very generally held even by moderate whigs, and not unfrequently admitted by moderate Tories. Hume, who ranks pretty

high in this latter list, does not hesitate to express his belief of a change in favour of the crown. Yet, after bestowing a good deal of consideration upon this question, we hesitate not to assert, that the influence of the crown has diminished, is diminishing, and (we do not say ought to be increased, but) certainly stands in no need of any artificial means to effect its farther diminution.

In the frequent references made to rights once enjoyed by Britons, and now wrested from them, it is extremely difficult to determine what is the golden era alluded to. No one assuredly, who has the least tincture of history, can look back for it to the feudal ages, when the body of the people, as in Russia at present, were bondsmen attached to the glebe, and sold on the ground like cattle; when there was not a House of Commons in existence; and when the barons, who alone enjoyed independence, were more disposed to carry on discussions with their sovereign, sword in hand at the head of their vassals, than to confine his power within legal or parliamentary limits;—or under the Tudors, the most popular, but at the same time the most arbitrary monarchs that ever swayed the English sceptre; and who scarcely viewed parliament otherwise than as a council, whose advice they were bound to follow only in so far as to themselves appeared perfectly agreeable. The Tudors broke the powers of the nobles; so far they did well, and quite unconsciously to themselves, laid the foundation for the future rise of the popular power; but the efforts which that branch faintly and timidly made to rear its head, were resented and crushed as acts of unbecoming audacity. As little will this bright era be sought under the first Stuarts, when the claim of divine right and unlimited power in the sovereign, now carried higher than ever, came into

open collision with the matured energies of the Commons. The former, however, unless by short intervals, kept the field, till the long pent-up stream of popular power burst its barriers, and swept all before it. After sweeping away the crown, it was itself carried down in the tide of its own raising; and all the consitutional members of the state were sunk for a time beneath the waves of military despotism. Still less will any Whig refer to the second Stuarts, whose sway was marked by so many outrages on the rights and lives of the subject, and whose career of arbitrary power was only interrupted by some transient paroxysm of popular frenzy. The only period then, upon which any rational man can fix as the golden age of England's liberty, is that which elapsed from the Revolution to the commencement of the reign of George II., or rather of the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole. If then it can be proved that the British constitution, during that very era, was not so free as at this moment, the age of lost liberty, so continually invoked, will plainly prove to be a perfect chimaera. We shall not enter into any abstruse reasonings upon the subject, but shall merely state a few plain facts, drawn from no very recondite sources, which must, we think, convince every one, who is not predetermined to believe otherwise.

Of all the exercises of power by which Parliament can display its independence and supremacy, the highest seem to be, that of compelling the crown to change its ministers; and any period in which this power has been most frequently exercised, bears, beyond any other, the stamp of liberty. Now, the fact is, that no one instance occurred, from the Revolution, till the case of Sir Robert Walpole—the very man under whom the constitution is asserted to have first declined from its original purity. Prior to this time, there was not

even the idea of such a power as appertaining to parliament. King William, indeed, sometimes made partial changes, with the view of conciliating that assembly, and smoothing the way to his grand system of continental war; but however odious some of his counsellors might be, no attempts were made by Parliament to effect their dismissal. Towards the end of the reign of Queen Anne, although the whig ministry became very unpopular by continuing the war after all its objects were attained, they were removed, not by any interference of parliament, but solely through the Duchess of Marlborough being supplanted by Mrs Masham in the favour of the Queen. Two years after, George I. succeeded, when the whigs were restored to power, in consequence of the sole determination of the king. Presently Oxford and Bolingbroke, who just before commanded great majorities, and held their adversaries close shut up in the Tower, were obliged to fly the kingdom, in order to save their heads. It was to George I.'s mistresses, and George II's queen, not to parliament, that statesmen looked for promotion. After the memorable example of Walpole, this high controul of royal prerogative remained dormant for thirty years, when it was again exercised against Lord North; and these two formed the only decided instance of its exercise during the century. Now, in the course of the last twenty years, parliament have dismissed one whole ministry, (the Addingtons)—one half ministry, (for we cannot consider Lord Melville as holding less than that proportion)—and they have half-impeached a prince of the blood; and all this in the heart of a war, represented as tending to carry the royal influence to the most alarming height. It does not seem extravagant to say, that these stretches of parliamentary power, fairly equal all those put together made from the Revolu-

tion, down to the commencement of a war represented as involving the downfall of British liberty.*

At the Revolution, we find the crown in full possession of that *Veto* which the constitution professes to bestow; it was exercised by William on several most important occasions. This prerogative is annihilated. The royal assent is universally regarded as a mere form, which *must* be affixed to any bill that has passed the ordeal of the two Houses. Under George I. it was understood that the bulk of the nation, and particularly of the landed-interest, were tories; not such tories as we now see, but old genuine tories—in-veterate sticklers to the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance—doctrines which, during the height of the reign of anti-jacobinism, a faint attempt was made to revive, but which seem now consigned for ever to oblivion. In our days, the loyalty even of the most loyal, is a very cool and deliberate sentiment. The high tory by principle, is merely a great lover of peace and good order; an instinctive foe to all tumult and disturbance; one who wishes to enjoy tranquilly the good things of this life; and who dreads, in every innovation, a tendency to subvert the established order of good things. These are cold sentiments, compared to the emotions of enthusiastic loyalty with which our fathers were animated; and being opposed to the greatly increased force of the popular spirit, must necessarily produce a state of the public mind unfavourable to the increase, or even maintenance of the monarchical power. The action of this spirit seems,

notwithstanding all the clamours to the contrary, to be exemplified in the comparative amount of the civil list; which, doubtless, must always have been a favourite object with the prince. In the reign of William, it was fixed by parliament at 700,000*l.*, a sum which would be rated very low by considering it equal to two millions of our present money. The present civil list is only 1,028,500*l.*, a nominal increase so small, as to be a great virtual diminution. The salary of the office of king has, therefore, not been augmented in proportion to almost any other salary, much less to the remarkable increase both in the landed and monied incomes throughout the nation.

In proportion to the decline of the ancient veneration for the person and authority of the sovereign, has been the increase of tenderness and regard for the people, of the want of which they complain so bitterly. It appears almost miraculous, when we consider the immense amount of taxes imposed under the Pitt administration, how very few affect the necessaries of life. Even these few were taxed previous to the late war; and the most important one, that on salt, existed already in the reign of King William. Holland, formerly indeed reckoned the most heavily burdened country in Europe, but which has now fully yielded to us that sad pre-eminence, though a republic, had taxes imposed on bread and on butcher's meat, the two first necessaries of life. How would the honest labourer of the present day relish the revival of the taxes imposed in 1695, for the support of King William's wars? At that time, all who received wages of from four to

* Coxe's Memoirs of Walpole I. 93. Down to 1711, the electors of Westminster took the instructions of the ministry as to the persons whom they were to elect, and who consisted usually of two lords, one of the Treasury, and the other of the Admiralty. We shall not inquire what notice a recommendation of this nature would be likely to meet with at the present day.—*Ibid.* III. 221.

eight pounds a-year, paid a farthing a-week, or a shilling per annum, on every pound. The amount was doubled to those who received from eight to six-pounds. Those who had not pounds a-year, provided they did not receive alms, had at least a penny a-week wrung out of them. So much for the lost golden days of Old England.

Of all the bulwarks of the British constitution, the liberty of the press has ever been justly accounted the surest; and it is not unusual, amid its most licentious exercise, to deplore it as no longer existing. We believe, however, it will be found that this right has, since the Revolution, been not only greatly improved, but almost entirely created. In 1692, it appears the House of Commons passed an act continuing the *censorship* which had been imposed in the reign of Charles II.;* so that at the precise era of the Revolution, nor for some time after, did there exist even the vestige of a free press. The censorship was taken off, probably in the reign of William, though we have not ascertained the precise period; but the prosecution of Tutchins in 1704, as reported at length in the State Trials,† may afford a specimen of the ideas then prevalent on the subject of political discussion. The series of libels for which this person was indicted, are in a very moderate strain indeed, compared to those which we see daily issuing from the press with impunity. He complains that preferment is bestowed by interest and favour, rather than merit; that the revenue is seriously injured by the choice of unfit persons to collect it; above all, that naval commands are bestowed on persons wholly unable to exercise them. He insists that the mismanagement of the navy is a greater tax upon the nation than all the ordi-

nary taxes put together, and concludes, "we never had a better navy, but the wisdom of the managers thereof is like a bottomless pit." There are also insinuations about the influence of French gold, though they do not seem brought home directly to the ministry. These strictures appeared so daring, that the Attorney-General prefaces them by observing, "It will appear that he has taken the greatest liberty, I believe, that ever man took." He then broadly lays down the law, that "there can be no reflection on *them that are in office* under her majesty, but must cast some reflection on the queen who employs them;" and the Chief Justice follows up this maxim by observing, "If people should not be called to account for possessing the people with an ill opinion of the government, no government can subsist. Nothing can be worse for any government, than to endeavour to procure animosities *as to the management of it*; this has been always looked upon as a crime, and no government can be safe without it is punished." These maxims are not denied by Mr Montague, the counsel for the pannel, nor does he attempt to claim for Britons the right of publishing strictures on the measures of administration. He merely contends that there is no individual pointed at; and rests particularly on a most miserable subterfuge, that *navy* signifies merely any collection whatever of ships, and may apply to a mercantile as well as to the royal navy. Similar language and doctrine will be found in the conduct of the prosecutions for libel, afterwards instituted by the Whig administration, during the decline of their power. About the same time also, most severe measures were taken by the House of Commons, against any criticism upon their proceedings. In

* Smollet, IX: p. 5.

† Vol. XIV. p. 1098, &c.

1701, they voted, that "to print or publish any book, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons."

Among the benefits of a free press, perhaps the most solid and valuable consists in the full publication of the proceedings and debates in parliament. This, however, is a privilege of only recent achievement. The rigidly exclusive system originally enforced, is still attested by a standing order, read at the opening of every session, which directs that no stranger shall be admitted either into the body of the house or the galleries; and that if any have found entrance, he shall be ejected without delay. This order, however, is now read in the face of a large body of auditors, who remain quietly seated, and not a few of whom are in the act of preparing their writing implements for the purpose of recording every thing that is said or done in the house. The right, however, was established only gradually; the speeches were first produced (by Dr Johnson in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,) under fictitious names; and it is not, we believe, quite fifty years ago since the reporting of parliamentary debates has been formed into a regular system.

It cannot be denied, that the most plausible theme of the malevolent writers consists in the enormous amount of the national debt, and consequent interminable taxation. The wars, in consequence of which this debt has been accumulated, are represented as undertaken by ministers with the sole view of increasing their own patronage and the influence of the crown, and thus buying the liberties of the nation with its own money. We cannot truly but join in deploring this burden, the most grievous under which any nation has ever laboured. A vast pro-

portion of the income of the higher and middling orders is thus transferred from those by whom it is earned or inherited, to the creditors or servants of the state. By the labouring classes on whose account the lamentation is specially made, we do not believe it is much felt. The income of the nation continues the same, though in different hands; and the whole being spent in the one case as in the other, must equally reach the class who are supported by daily wages, and who, as we have observed, scarcely themselves pay any taxes. As to wars, the people, we apprehend, shew very little knowledge of themselves when they imagine that an extension of popular power would diminish their frequency. All history is here against them. If we look back to the ancient republics, so famed for their polity and wisdom, we find, instead of this boasted prudent and pacific character, nothing but a series of war upon war. The great and wealthy empires, on the contrary, after the ambition of their first founders had run its career, often gladly remained at peace while the cupidity and ambition of their neighbours would suffer them. The most arbitrary of the English dynasties, that of the Tudors, was pacific, and was never engaged in any protracted or extensive war, except the obviously indispensable one, occasioned by the Spanish invasion. James I. carried this disposition still farther, notwithstanding the many claims made upon him by the disasters of his son-in-law the Elector Palatine. Although, however, this was entirely his personal concern, he enjoyed, during his reign, not a moment's rest from the nation demanding to be led into the heart of Germany, to conquer Bohemia and the Palatinate. Only the nearly absolute power then enjoyed by the sovereign, preserved England from this extravagant crusade. Not by its own clamour, but through the rash impetuo-

sity of Buckingham, the nation at last got its darling war; and though it presented a continued series of disaster, yet the peace with Spain formed one cause, among many better-founded ones, of Charles's unpopularity. The foreign hostilities of Charles II. were much less acceptable to the nation, whose just indignation was, however, excited, not by the king's engaging in these hostilities, but by his taking the wrong side. The wars of King William and Queen Anne were entirely whig wars, and continued always popular till the nation was quite sickened by the burdens necessary for their support. The same may be said, in a pre-eminent degree of the Spanish war in 1737. If it be the system to undertake war with a view to extend ministerial influence, Sir Robert Walpole, supposed to be the most diligent and skilful supporter of that system, ought to have been the most warlike of ministers. Every one knows, however, that he was the most pacific Britain ever had; and that he sacrificed all his popularity in delaying to gratify the eager bent of the nation towards hostilities. Perhaps, indeed, there were slender grounds for them, either in justice or policy; but vague hopes of plunder, and Jenkins carrying about, wrapt in cotton, the ear which he alleged the Spaniards had cut off, excited such a tide of passion as drowned all sober reflection. Walpole, the slave of power, deemed it needful at last to sail with the stream; but the war thus reluctantly undertaken, instead of strengthening his influence according to the modern theory, soon created a parliamentary majority, which drove him from office. The war of 1756 was entirely popular, and the peace made by the crown contrary to the inclination of the people. The American war had doubtless a court object; but no one, we presume, will be so hardy as to assert, that so great an insurrection was

created with the mere view of increasing the crown influence at home. The domineering measures which provoked it, had the general acquiescence at least of the nation, with the exception of that part immediately concerned in the American trade. Even the most violent steps, and those which most directly drove the colonies into rebellion—the shutting the port of Boston,—the disfranchisement of Massachusetts, &c. were carried in parliament, either unanimously, or by the most sweeping majorities. If it be said, that this was merely the influence of the ministry bearing down all before it, why, then, we ask, did the same parliament, a few years after, turn out the same ministry, fortified by all the patronage of an extended war-establishment? We come next to the revolutionary war, on which dread debateable ground we do not mean much to expatiate. It, too, was certainly in some degree a court, or at least an aristocratic war. It met the full support of the aristocracy, as testified by the immense burdens which they cheerfully bore, and the relief from which with difficulty reconciled them to the peace of Amiens. The renewal of the war in 1803 took place most reluctantly on the part of ministers, who had come in entirely upon a pacific basis. They were driven into it by the united cries of the nation, tory and whig,—the latter more especially; one main source arising from the vehement quarrel maintained between Buonaparte and the English newspapers. The ministry sought in vain, by gratifying the people, to retain their places, from which they were soon after driven. Here, by the way, we may observe, that each of the three instances in which an entire ministry was removed by the interference of parliament, took place in the midst of a great war, and solely in consequence of that war. This surely savours little of the reigning theory as to war produ-

cing such a vast extension of ministerial influence, and being undertaken solely with a view to that effect. After a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, peace was at length attained; and it may be said, that the nation, taught by such severe experience, would not again concur in any war which could possibly be avoided. This we greatly doubt. We are convinced, that even now, when weighed down with such a load of taxes, and crying aloud under it, there are wars in which the nation would gladly embark. If war had been undertaken in favour of the South American colonies, or if it were undertaken in support of the representative states formed in the South of Europe, would it not be popular? Have not the opposition prints repeatedly derided the neutrality adhered to by ministers? This remark we make, not in censure or derision of sentiments, which, to a certain extent, we share; but merely to shew, that the voice of the people is still for war;—that the excitement, the animation, the *news* with which it is pregnant, are still grateful to them.

In considering now the future prospects as to the relative power of the crown and the people, we see many circumstances tending to make the scale of the latter preponderate. An immense mass of patronage has certainly been lost to the crown, by the reduction of the war-establishment. The army and navy are no longer looked to by men of all ranks, as channels by which a part of their family may be employed and advanced. A considerable number of sinecures and over-paid appointments have been lately retrenched by a laudable zeal for public economy; and numerous contracts, which were among the richest boons that government had to bestow, were, by the arrangements of Mr Pitt, disposed of by open competition. Taxes, we may observe, have a double action; for,

while the disposal of their produce strengthens the influence of government, the levying of them is the most powerful of all *stimuli* to that patriotism which consists in hostility to the existing powers. But the situation of the British executive is now peculiar; for, in consequence of the immense amount of debt, it has no controul over two thirds of its own revenue. This must be paid to the public creditor, who receives it as a right, and returns no thanks. Of the remainder also, no profit accrues, from the large proportion paid as wages to common soldiers and sailors, who, instead of soliciting employment as a favour, must be bribed to accept, and compelled to remain in it. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that the British administration do not enjoy the benefit of one fourth of the revenue, of which they suffer the odium.

After all this, we are aware it may be urged, that, allowing the power of the crown not to have increased,—to have even sensibly diminished, still if the public benefit would be promoted by reducing it still lower, and if the nation be ripe for a more popular form of government, are they not justified in seeking to attain it. We do not mean to say so. If there really exist among any people materials for a better government than they actually enjoy, he who earns it for them may attain the fame of a patriot and legislator. Still, of all operations, this is the most delicate, and calls for the most serious preliminary consideration. To predict the precise ultimate consequences of any great political change, seems a lesson which experience has not yet taught to mankind. Nothing, indeed, is more common than for the most superficial politician to announce, with full assurance, what will be the result of his own plans; but the event usually belies all these confident predictions. The architect who frames his edifice

with fixed and passive materials, is in a very different situation from him whose materials are continually moving under his hands, and have impulses from within themselves more powerful than that which he endeavours to communicate to them. There is in every society a vast latent mass of talent and ambition, greatly beyond what can find scope in its ordinary circumstances, but which, when the usual restraints are taken off, and when a new field is opened, speedily burst forth, and display phenomena never dreamt of by the first innovators. How often, in a revolutionary movement, do we see all the first actors, forms, and principles, swept away, and those which supplanted them supplanted by others, till at last an issue is produced, directly the reverse of that originally contemplated. It is not, therefore, without reason, that nations have usually declined making any sudden *radical* change, unless in cases where matters come to such an extremity that no change could be for the worse. We are well aware, that our antagonists are ready to meet us upon this ground, and loudly to proclaim, that the supposed case finds in them its ample fulfilment; that no situation can be more miserable and deplorable, than that in which they find themselves involved. We heartily wish it were in our power to prove this lamentation to be as wholly groundless as that made over the loss of British liberties. But it is evident, that the evils which drive a nation to a revolution at any cost, must be not evils simply, but evils suffered from the misconduct or oppression of the ruling powers. If natural and inevitable, they can only be aggravated by throwing the political machine into a state of disorder. Now the two evils under which Britain labours, and of which we have fully admitted the existence, are heavy taxes, and the want of customers for her goods. As to the former, its weight arises mainly from the long wars

in which we have been engaged. Now, be these wars necessary or unnecessary, just or unjust, they are over; and there evidently does not exist the least project or intention in any quarter of renewing them. There is nothing urgent, therefore, in an evil, the cause of which has entirely ceased; even supposing that it really were more likely to prove a remedy than there has appeared any reason to expect. After all, the second evil is by much the heaviest. Taxes operate only where there is an income,—they take away only a proportion of it; and, unless in the case of the rich, not a very large proportion. Want of employment falls upon the most industrious and deserving classes; not merely narrowing their circumstances, but reducing them to want and bankruptcy;—the labourer and his family, whom taxes could scarcely reach, are stripped by it of their daily bread. Yet this is a point so little within the competence of government, that all efforts made by the legislature to remedy it are now fully proved to have no possible effect, but that of aggravating the evil. The only radical remedy would be the justly deprecated and ultimately fatal one, of recurring to a state of war.

We have thus endeavoured to shew, both that change is dangerous, and that there is no urgent call for it; but, supposing these objections overruled, we are not unprepared to discuss the question, whether there be any by which the British Constitution would be materially improved. We shall begin with the executive branch, that mark set up for all the arrows of our patriotic reformers. With them every thing regal is the object of invective or derision; and *legitimacy* has become a regular term of reproach. For our parts, we openly profess ourselves adherents of royalty, of legitimacy, and if there be yet another name more frightful and more odious, meaning the

same thing, we hesitate not to adopt it. We mean, that hereditary succession appears to us essential to the existence of legal and limited monarchy. This form of government is altogether independent of the personal character and qualities of the prince. Any extraordinary degree, indeed, of activity and popularity on his part is not only unnecessary, but is directly contrary to the spirit of such a government. These dispositions would inevitably prompt efforts to enlarge his prerogative, and would favour success in this pernicious undertaking. The hereditary monarch, like others fixed by birth in any high fortune, is likely to be a man of easy temper, indolent habits, without much vigour in action, disposed to enjoy life, and more anxious to preserve what he has, than to acquire more. He may, no doubt, be occasionally acted upon by the natural desire of power, and of gaining his ends; but whenever he encounters any serious opposition, will seldom put all to hazard, rather than yield. Inheriting a fixed and great place, he is more desirous to preserve than to extend it. He, on the contrary, who rises from an inferior station to supreme power, is active, restless, enterprising; the habit of acquiring renders him still dissatisfied, while there is yet a higher place to be obtained. Such a prince would be much less disposed to confine himself within the limits of prerogative, and submit to the controul of a popular assembly. A more serious evil still exists in the dissensions, which must be generated among those who contend for so brilliant a prize. Europe has had full opportunity to observe the tendencies of elective monarchy. She has seen one of her most powerful kingdoms,

after suffering by its means a long series of internal commotions, erased at length from the list of independent states. If these dissensions do not lead to the domination of a foreign power, they can scarcely fail to pave the way for military ascendancy, that power to whose fatal predominance a popular state is continually exposed. We are aware, that the case of the United States is quoted, in which a temporary and removeable magistrate has performed the executive functions in a sufficiently respectable manner, and without any tumultuary canvas. America, however, is in a very different state of society from any European country, and above all from Britain. She has a smaller population dispersed over four or five times the extent of territory; no immense fortunes, no overgrown capitals, no masses of poor and corrupted populace. In such a society, a much lighter pressure of power will restrain the tumultuary principles, than amid the crowded cities of Europe. America, besides, has never yet been involved in any protracted war, which could form a veteran standing army, or a commander of high name and popularity.* Yet unless that era be really come, when men are finally to beat their spears into pruning-hooks, these can scarcely fail to arise; and already, indeed, America has only been prevented from engaging in a long war, by the want of an enemy with whom she could hope to contend. Such an enemy, and such a chief once formed, could only, we conceive, be kept down to their proper place by the weight of a hereditary executive head; otherwise they could scarcely fail to become the ruling power in the state.

* The war of independence was carried on by militia, for even those considered as regular soldiers, were enlisted for so short a time as to come really under that description; besides, that the nation stood then much lower still as to wealth and population.

If there be any truth in these views of the subject, we leave the popular writers to consider, how far the studied obloquy and derision which they continually throw on every thing connected with royalty, is or is not conducive to the true interests of freedom. A tendency to the vices of self-indulgence is certainly an evil to which hereditary princes, like others unfortunately surrounded with too ample means of gratification, are liable. There have no doubt been brilliant exceptions; and, after all, these vices have been more gross and conspicuous in individuals raised to the throne from a private station. Still they are prevalent failings of hereditary princes, and, in point of example, have certainly a pernicious influence. Although, therefore, in a hereditary limited monarchy, the general and salutary rule be, to abstain from the person of the monarch, yet we should not be sorry on such points to see the application of a little "grave rebuke," which, if it could not be expected to fall with much weight on the quarter towards which it was pointed, might yet tend to preserve unaltered, in the minds of the nation, the distinctions of right and wrong. This, however, ought, we conceive, to be done with an anxious care to avoid throwing contempt on the person and office of the distinguished individual thus animadverted on, not, as usual, for the express purpose of producing that effect.

The next particular in which a change is still more pointedly and earnestly demanded, is the state of the national representation. The system called for by the mass of the people is, and always must be, one and the same—universal suffrage. The fact is, this system is so natural and plausible, that we ought not to be much to blame raw politicians for deeming it the best. In theory it seems to be so; but in political affairs, first views are extremely

fallacious. We conceive it undeniable that expediency, the tendency to promote the welfare of the society, must be the main part of the merits of any representative system. It may not then appear very illiberal to assert, as a leading principle of expediency, that the administration should be chiefly in the hands of the most enlightened and best informed part of the community. The interest of all the orders of society is so linked together, that scarcely one of them, if they know well what they are doing, will injure the rest. Do we not see how Russia has flourished under a despotic government, because that government has imported, and as yet chiefly monopolized the knowledge of more improved countries? We would never compare the Russian people to one, a large proportion of which are qualified to exercise a free voice in public deliberations. Still, being such as it is, who can doubt that, with a different government, it would have been a century back in civilization? England, more happy, possesses a large body of citizens, who are capable of the salutary and ennobling exercise of deliberating for the public weal. Still, if we consider cultivation of mind, as a requisite for the exercise of political functions, we must at present in Britain, as in every other country, restrict them to a minority. We are not among those who would for ever doom to ignorance, as well as toil, that portion of the society which subsists by manual labour. We see no obstacle to their attaining one day a considerable extent of intellectual culture; we have no doubt of their doing so; but we expect it, like all the great processes of nature, to take place only gradually, and after the lapse of ages. Knowledge, it is true, is beginning to dawn on all the dark corners of the earth. Multitudes who never read before, read now, and are making use

of their newly acquired faculty, by devoting themselves to political discussion and inquiry. But, though we see much to make this class of persons suppose themselves fit for the task of legislation, we see very little to make them really fit. This early dawn, shewing only the dim erroneous surfaces of things, is more deceitful than even the darkness which it has begun to dispel. One feature which invariably accompanies the decisions of unexperienced intellect on any new subject, is an unbounded confidence in its own hasty decisions. Thus no one judges himself fitted, without a long previous apprenticeship, to manufacture a loaf of bread, or a web of cloth—most useful operations, and demanding, we believe, a greater share of intellectual exertion than is commonly supposed; yet they can scarcely be supposed so very much easier than the task of giving laws to nations, that the latter may be taken up at once without pains or study. It seems now supposed, not only that the legislator, like the poet, is born, but that while a select few only are born poets, all are born legislators. Unfortunately there is no science in which first appearances are so deceiving as in politics and political economy; nor any class of measures which so often terminate in the direct contrary of their obvious and apparent tendency. The consequence is, that the unexperienced politician not only is very uncertain of being in the right, but has many chances of being in the wrong. His eager zeal too for these little-pondered opinions, and his infuriate rage against all who in any shape dissent from them, preclude all prospect of an error once committed being ever retrieved. Far less are his eyes ever likely to be opened by the political oracles to whose responses he listens; and who, as already observed, know their trade too well not to use all their arts to inflame, instead of calming every

blind passion of the numerous classes to whom their sheets are addressed. All things then considered, we scarcely hesitate to conclude, that the measure of knowledge and political inquiry newly diffused among the less enlightened orders, is, for the present, rather a disqualification than otherwise for the exercise of any high political functions. The discussion of such subjects, if conducted at least in a somewhat different style from the present, may give, indeed, a certain enlargement to their mind, and may lead ultimately to farther improvements. Let the mechanic decide the fate of empires over his pot of ale; but let him not yet seek, by his decision, to regulate the destinies of the world.

Upon the grounds now stated, we may be enabled to form an opinion as to the expediency of general suffrage. Its evident and inevitable tendency must be to throw the whole power into the hands of the uninstructed classes; of those whose education and habits disqualify them for forming an opinion on those high and complicated questions submitted to legislative discussion. Those better qualified, by leisure and education, for the task, must be so far & completely outnumbered, that their voice would have scarcely any weight in the decision. The multitude, indeed, will, by several irresistible causes, be prevented from choosing representatives from among themselves; but they will easily find in another class, proper organs, who will court their favour by adopting and inflaming all their passions and prejudices. The councils of the nation, dictated from the ale-house and the smithy, could scarcely fail to bear some stamp of the scenes amidst which they originated. The opulent classes, indeed, find sometimes a remedy, by keeping the labouring population in such a state of depression and dependence as may entirely deprive them of

the exercise of their free will in voting. Such a system, we believe, is carried on to a certain extent in England, and to a much greater among the landed proprietors of Ireland. It is a remedy, however, still worse than the disease, being attended with the deepest depression, intellectual and economical, both to the persons endowed with this vain privilege, and to the nation in general.

—From the whole of these considerations we are led to believe, that there is nothing clamant in the state of British representation, and that it is very fairly calculated to embody the sense of the respectable and intelligent part of the nation. We should hesitate, in fact, in wishing to see it reformed upon any systematic and theoretical principle, even the most accordant with our own general views. There appear to exist in the present system useful anomalies, which it would be absurd to introduce deliberately, but which, being there, ought to remain. Thus although we consider a certain measure of property, as in the present state of society, naturally connected with the information and intelligence requisite for the due exercise of elective functions, we doubt the expediency of a rigid and total exclusion, even of the lowest ranks. It is probably expedient that the multitude, though in a partial and irregular manner, should have some organs in the House, who may plead their cause, and compensate for the smallness of their numbers by their zeal, and the large body by which they are backed. By their orations, even though noisy and turbulent, they may force into view those interests of their constituents, which might otherwise be overlooked; their clamour may even serve as a substitute for more perilous external tumults. It may be questioned, whether the want of this might not have its effect in preventing the French

constitution from taking root in the nation, and in paralyzing, at a critical moment, any efforts for its preservation. We do not then wish the sway of the lower orders, in the national councils, to be increased, but neither do we desire that what they have should be taken from them. There may appear room even for a certain degree of local adjustment between the places which have lost their population, and those which have gained a remarkable accession. A town has not perhaps very much reason to complain of non-representation, if others, placed in the same situation, and having the same interests with itself, are represented. But there appears to be a class of newly-formed manufacturing establishments, which stand almost by themselves, and have no means to secure a guardian of their interests in the national assembly. However apocryphal the authority may appear to many of our readers, we should perhaps strongly object to the very moderate and rational plan laid down in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The views now given, however, would obviously involve a dissent from the idea, that the principle of such alteration should be the reduction of the power of the crown, still less the extension of the elective franchise to the less educated and informed classes. Amply sufficient, in this last respect, appears to have been done by the fall in the value of money, which has reduced almost to nothing the original freehold qualification of two pounds a-year. At the same time, those who view things on the whole as well, and regard with alarm any sudden and extensive change, may yet concur in the correction of striking and palpable abuses, on single and special grounds, without any shock to the general system.

CHAPTER II.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

Speech of the Prince Regent.—Attack on his Royal Highness.—Proceedings in Parliament upon this subject.—Debates on the Address in the House of Lords —In the House of Commons.

THE first event by which the year was distinguished was the meeting of parliament. The session proved a very busy one, and marked by the vehemence of its political conflicts. The meeting took place on the 28th January. The views and intentions of government were as usual announced by the speech from the throne, which it will therefore, we conceive, be satisfactory to give at full length.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with deep regret that I am obliged to announce to you, that no alteration has occurred in the state of his Majesty's lamented indisposition. I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their earnest desire to maintain the general tranquillity. The hostilities to which I was compelled to resort, in vindication of the honour of the country against the government of Algiers, have been attended with the most complete success. The splendid achievements of his Majesty's fleet, in conjunction with a squadron of the King of the Netherlands, under the gallant and able conduct of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, led to the immediate and unconditional liberation of all Christian captives then within the

territory of Algiers, and to the renunciation by its government of the practice of Christian slavery. I am persuaded that you will be duly sensible of the importance of an arrangement so interesting to humanity, and reflecting, from the manner in which it has been accomplished, such signal honour to the British nation. In India, the refusal of the government of Nepaul to ratify a treaty of peace which had been signed by its plenipotentiaries, occasioned a renewal of military operations. The judicious arrangements of the governor-general, seconded by the bravery and perseverance of his Majesty's forces, and of those of the East India Company, brought the campaign to a speedy and successful issue, and peace has been finally established upon the just and honourable terms of the original treaty.”

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the estimates for the current year to be laid before you. They have been formed upon a full consideration of all the present circumstances of the country, with an anxious desire to make every reduction in our establishments which the safety of the empire and sound policy allow. I recommend the state of the public income and expenditure to your early

and serious attention. I regret to be under the necessity of informing you that there has been a deficiency in the produce of the revenue in the last year; but, I trust that it is to be ascribed to temporary causes: and I have the consolation to believe that you will find it practicable to provide for the public services of the year, without making any addition to the burthens of the people, and without adopting any measure injurious to that system by which the public credit of the country has been hitherto sustained."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have the satisfaction of informing you, that the arrangements which were made in the last session of parliament, with a view to a new silver coinage, have been completed with unprecedented expedition. I have given directions for the immediate issue of the new coin, and I trust that this measure will be productive of considerable advantages to the trade and internal transactions of the country. The distresses consequent upon the termination of a war of such unusual extent and duration, have been felt, with greater or less severity, throughout all the nations of Europe; and have been considerably aggravated by the unfavourable state of the season. Deeply as I lament the pressure of these evils upon this country, I am sensible that they are of a nature not to admit of an immediate remedy; but whilst I observe with peculiar satisfaction the fortitude with which so many privations have been borne, and the active benevolence which has been employed to mitigate them, I am persuaded that the great sources of our national prosperity are essentially unimpaired, and I entertain a confident expectation that the native energy of the country will, at no distant period, surmount all the

difficulties in which we are involved. In considering our internal situation, you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected; and I rely with the utmost confidence on your cordial support and co-operation, in upholding a system of law and government, from which we have derived inestimable advantages, which has enabled us to conclude, with unexampled glory, a contest whereon depended the best interests of mankind, and which has been hitherto felt by ourselves, as it is acknowledged by other nations, to be the most perfect that has ever fallen to the lot of any people."

While the houses were proceeding, according to custom, to take this speech into consideration, in order to frame a corresponding answer,* their deliberations were broken in upon by intelligence of an unexpected and appalling nature. Before the debate had begun in the Lords, Viscount Sidmouth rose and said that he had a most important communication to make; that as his Royal Highness was returning from the house, and the carriage was passing in the Park, at the back of the garden of Carlton House, the glass of the window had been broken either by a stone, or by two balls from an air-gun, which appeared to have been aimed at his Royal Highness. Lord James Murray was then called in, and

* We suspend for the present the commencement of the debate in the Commons, in order to give the whole hereafter in a connected form.

of taxation. In regard to the Nepaul war, also, while he was equally ready to applaud the bravery of those engaged, he required more information, to enable him to judge of its causes and nature, and could, at all events, see no grounds for celebrating it in terms similar to those formerly used, on occasion of the taking of Seringapatam, and the destruction of the Mysore power. He rejoiced at the assurances of continued peace with the continental powers, yet could by no means concur in the soundness of those arrangements on which the continuance of peace must depend. "The arrangements," said he, "made by his majesty's government as the basis of peace, appear to me to have been equally adverse to the rights and independence of nations, and to the dictates of true wisdom; to have been alien to all policy and justice; to have been subversive of the principles on which the balance of power in Europe was formerly held to depend; to have been destructive of the interests of our own country; to have been dangerous with reference to their moral influence on the British army, and most dangerous to the security of the British constitution. Without having attained one British advantage, or consulted one British interest, the result of the arrangements made by his majesty's government, with the governments to those schemes of ambition and aggrandizement, we sacrificed the rights of all minor powers, at whose unjust conduct we shamefully winked and connived; is to make us the objects of suspicion and distrust on the part of those very governments themselves, who hate our prosperity, and envy our commerce, against which they make war by prohibitory duties, and by other modes of attack, almost as injurious as those formerly resorted to by Napoleon himself. Such are the feelings of the governments towards us, and they

are answered by correspondent feelings on the part of the people, who burn with an animosity strongly directed against us. Having been called upon to rise in defence of their own rights and independence in opposition to France, they obeyed that call. But having exerted themselves successfully in that contest, they now find their rights and independence violated by those to whom they were formerly taught to look for the protection of both." In our conduct towards France, we should have held one of two courses, either to conciliate that country by non-interference, which he would have preferred, or else, having unsheathed the sword and conquered, to insist on our rights as conquerors, and reduce its power in such a degree as might provide for our own security. The plan adopted of maintaining an army in France, to support the present family on the throne, had the advantages of neither; it would generate an implacable spirit of animosity in the people, who would probably compel the Bourbons to gratify their resentment by going to war with us. "I should not have had very sanguine hopes of a long continuance of peace under any arrangements that might have been made with France; but if any one system can be conceived more calculated than another to make a long continuance of peace impossible, it is precisely that which his majesty's government thought proper to pursue."—He proceeded now to the most important subject of attention—the internal situation of the country. It was acknowledged to be one of difficulty; it appeared to him to have no parallel in our history. The noble lords opposite represented it as temporary, as likely to be succeeded by an era of increased prosperity. Most heartily did he wish that such a belief might be well founded; but, in his opinion, the evil was more deeply rooted, and had every character of permanence.

The pressure was so severe, the taxation so intolerable, the embarrassment of our internal affairs so general, as to exhibit a spectacle unprecedented at the termination of any former war. He had heard the distress felt at the termination of the American war, and the prosperity which succeeded, mentioned as what might now be expected again to occur. "But, my lords, I ask you, if, at the termination of the American war, the whole population of the empire was affected as it is at present? Were the manufactories then closed? Were the prisons filled with criminals, and the work-houses crowded with paupers? Were persons daily perishing in the streets for want of food and clothing? and above all, was the extent of the taxation, and the amount of the debt, such as it now is? The whole taxation at that period amounted only to twelve millions. I allow that that was not equivalent to the expenditure, and that there was much pressure. But, my lords, will any one say that a less taxation will operate with a pressure not more removable than an advanced taxation? Will any one say that a deficiency on twelve millions is the same thing as a deficiency on a sum of five times that amount? The noble mover of the address says, that the evils of the present times are chiefly attributable to the sudden restoration of peace. He forgets, however, the interval that has passed since that event. He forgets that it is considerably more than a year since the final termination of the war in 1815, and that it is rapidly advancing to three years since the original termination of the war, which was indeed interrupted by only three months hostility. In three years from the conclusion of the American war, it was stated in the speech from the throne, that the country was enjoying the 'growing blessings of peace, in the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and

the increase of the public credit of the nation.' Is that the case at present? Is that the tenor of the speech from the throne, to which your lordships' attention is now called? The deficiency of the revenue is most alarming. The supplies voted last year were thirty-five millions. The ways and means voted to meet them did not much exceed twenty millions, making a difference (provided for by temporary means) of above fourteen millions between the expenditure and the resources for meeting it. But, my lords, if this subject be examined more closely, the deficiency will be found to be still greater. If, from the one side, we deduct the expences that will not recur, and from the other the receipts that will not recur, the result of the calculation will shew a deficiency of eighteen millions. And let it be recollected, that this result proceeds on the calculation, that the produce of the consolidated fund would be three millions. It was taken at that sum. But it has not produced any thing. That three millions, therefore, must be added to the eighteen millions, making a total deficiency of twenty-one millions."—The difficulties of the country, Lord Grey conceived, must be greatly aggravated by the present state of the currency, paper, formerly depreciated twenty-five per cent., being now on a par with gold and silver. This evil, he suspected, would be increased by the loan to France which was negotiating, apparently under the sanction of ministers. "My lords, our difficulties are considerably augmented by the state of the currency. While paper was abundant and depreciated, the taxation was raised, and the country is now required to pay the same taxation, when paper is on a par with gold and silver. This weighs on manufactures, on commerce, on agriculture, on every thing connected with the national prosperity, to a degree wholly unprece-

denied. In what manner are we to remove all those evils? What new expedients have his majesty's ministers to offer? I have already stated the deficiency of our revenue. I now inquire how it is to be supplied? All I can collect from the speech from the throne is, that his majesty's ministers hope to find means for that purpose, without trenching on the sinking funds and without making any addition to the burdens of the people. By what means then is this object to be effected? Is it by adding to the debt? I hope not. Is it to be by postponing the payment of the interest of that debt? or by postponing the operation of that measure for the liquidation of the debt which is said to be so essential to the maintenance of public credit? Is it to be by a loan? or by borrowing on Exchequer bills?" Ministers had professed a disposition to retrench, but had given no proof of their sincerity either last session or during the interval. Are we then now to believe that ministers are sincere in their disposition to retrench? My lords, this and the other House of Parliament must impose on them that duty. We must insist on a retrenchment very different from that adverted to in the speech from the throne. We must insist on a rigid unsparing economy; an economy founded, not on what sound policy requires, but on what necessity will admit; not on what government would have, but on what the country can afford. If we cannot extend the means to meet the expence of the establishments, we must contract the establishments to meet the means. In this condition, that which would be a paltry saving under other circumstances, must be strictly enforced. The splendour of the crown now must consist, not in the gaudy trappings of a court, but in making just sacrifices to conciliate the feelings of the people. This is true dignity. Even the claims of many meritorious sub-

jects, painful as the proceeding will be, must be rejected. You are in a situation, my lords, which will not permit to you that which, under other circumstances, sound policy might dictate; you must content yourselves with doing that which the necessities of the state will allow. It is the duty of the ministers to look the danger in the face. They have a solemn and painful task to perform—a task that may expose them to the reproaches even of their friends. Not only superfluous expences, but even comforts, and what in other times might be deemed necessities, must be cut down. My lords, although I am far from wishing to encourage the delusion that has been spread among the people on the subject of one description of expenditure that has excited much irritation and obloquy; knowing, as I do, that no very considerable savings can be effected in that quarter, I must nevertheless say, that I think his majesty's ministers are bound to shew the people of this country, that the expenditure is reduced to the lowest possible scale, and that nothing is continued except that which is demanded by the most imperative necessity. The people have a right to expect this after the exemplary patience with which they have submitted to all the privations attendant on the late dreadful struggle." Lord Grey finally adverted to the atrocious attempt of yesterday, which he condemned in the strongest manner, but did not believe that there existed any design against the life of his Royal Highness. However blameable also might be the language used in popular assemblies, he did not believe that there existed in many persons a desire to overturn the British constitution. He trusted that these would not be made a pretext for the introduction of new laws, inconsistent with the true spirit of the British constitution. He concluded with moving an amendment.

urging the necessity of rigid economy, and of a strict inquiry being made into the state of the nation.

Earl Grey was answered by the Earl of Harrowby. That nobleman saw no reason why the public distress should have been painted in the blackest possible colours. To adopt the course the noble earl recommended might be in many cases highly injurious, by subduing that spirit of confidence and hope, which can alone give sufficient energy to rescue a country from a state of difficulty, and restore its prosperity. The noble earl called on their lordships to credit facts to which they could not give their assent. It was, for instance, impossible for them to agree with him in declaring, that the present distress exceeded that of every former period of difficulty known in the country. How were their lordships to concur in that opinion? He recollected former periods of distress which had given rise to complaints as loud as those which were made at present. The American war had been alluded to, and he believed the noble earl entered parliament soon after the termination of that contest. It could not be forgotten that the language of that day was distinguished by the strongest despondency. The noble earl had alluded to the state of the country in the year 1783; but he ought to have recollected, that at that period our public debt had increased in the course of ten years by a sum, the interest of which was 4,800,000*l.*, while the whole revenue raised to meet it amounted only to 1,700,000*l.* Here was a state of things which might fairly be put in the balance with the embarrassments of the present period. In that same year 1783, our exports amounted to the great sum of ten millions, while in the year which had just expired they had fallen to so low a state as to be only twenty-eight millions. So much for the prosperity of 1783, compared with that of 1817!

The country had then a debt gradually accumulating, without means prepared for its reduction; no man had then been bold enough to propose a remedy for this enormous evil. At present the country possessed a sinking fund amounting to about fourteen millions. How could the present distress be attributed to taxation, when the country had been in a state of prosperity at a time when it paid eighteen millions more of taxes? He was convinced that the suffering would be only temporary. But to whatever degree that distress extended, had it not been balanced by great advantages? It would be strange indeed if any man could look back to the events which had occurred during the last twenty years, and not oppose to that distress the important acquisitions made by the country during the same period; the rank to which we had risen among nations, the security we had obtained, the imperishable glory we had conquered. He could not agree in thinking that the atrocious outrage of yesterday had any other object than a similar attack made on the sovereign more than twenty years ago. But it was not surprising that the minds of the ignorant were worked up to excesses, when they were daily excited, not only to hatred of the sovereign, but of his government, and indeed of every government. This was the effect to be expected from the inflammatory publications circulated among them, with a most mischievous industry. These publications were distributed among a people smarting at present under distress, and unfortunately therefore, fell upon a soil calculated to produce the fruits which had been witnessed. In this respect the situation of the country required the greatest attention, and he hoped the subject would speedily occupy the fullest consideration of parliament. He should think himself attempting to impose on the understanding of their lordships, were he to hold

out any other view than that which he had done with regard to the state of the public mind. In the meantime he rejoiced to state, that however their lordships might differ on certain questions of policy, he was perfectly satisfied that they all agreed in generating the magnificent edifice of the British constitution, which had existed with glory for so many ages, and also that they were all determined to maintain it.

Earl Grosvenor supported the amendment, and condemned the whole conduct of ministers. Notwithstanding the many thousands who severely felt the difficulties of the times; notwithstanding the sufferings of that important, but now almost extinguished class, the country gentlemen; notwithstanding that almost all, excepting those who lived by the taxes, were compelled to make the greatest sacrifices; notwithstanding all these considerations, he derived a far more melancholy view from the conviction that ministers were determined to resist every reasonable plan of economy and reform.

The Earl of Aberdeen supported the address, and Lord St John the amendment.

Earl Bathurst said, the military establishments of the country would be reduced, not as low as they possibly could be, but as low as the safety of the nation would admit.—The address did not pledge the house to approve of the objects of the Nepaul war, but merely of the ability and valour with which it had been conducted.—As to the loan which some capitalists of this country were pressing to advance to the French government, he must say that he knew of no law to prevent the capitalists of this country from making the most beneficial application of their capital, particularly in lending it to a government in a state of amity and alliance with this country. But this loan would not, as the noble earl seemed to imagine, press exclusively on the

English money market; on the contrary, it would be advanced by a variety of capitalists of all nations, without discrimination; and he was most happy to learn, that a very considerable portion of it would come from the monied ~~of~~ of France. He would not now go back to the consideration of the peace, which had already received the approbation of parliament; but the noble lord was mistaken if he supposed its only object was to maintain the Bourbons on the throne of France. The first object, he would admit, was to give support to that family, as the most likely mode of securing the general peace of Europe; but there was a second object, to secure the fulfilment of the indemnities stipulated in the peace of Paris; and thirdly, to occupy the frontier towns of France until the left bank of the Rhine was adequately secured by the erection of barriers against the future aggressions of that country; more particularly after the treaty had confirmed its territorial integrity. With respect to the first of these objects, why was it thought desirable? Chiefly because the whole French army had shewn itself radically hostile to the Bourbon family. That army was now disbanded, but if it had been left in full force, there was little doubt but it would have operated to the immediate overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty.

The Marquis Wellesley wished to impress upon the House the duties imposed upon them by the distresses of the nation. Was this a day for compliment—for courtly professions,—for the mere repetition of the words of the minister's speech? Were they only to rejoice with the crown on the glory that the country had obtained, and not to look to the condition in which those victories had left the country? It was manifest that those distresses had been growing to the height which now astounded the firmest mind, by slow but perceptible degrees, and

ministers must have seen the progress. Why, then, did they not assemble the parliament earlier? Why deprive the country of that constitutional council to which they were entitled, and to which they were naturally led to look up for redress. The address proposed, merely re-echoing the cold cautionary terms of the speech, appeared to him not at all suited to the present exigency. He could not hope that the present distress would be only temporary, when he saw the unmerciful hostility with which our trade and manufactures were viewed on the continent.—Ministers said the distress was temporary! He should probably astonish the noble president, when he said he should agree with him—yes—the distress was temporary. It arose, as was said, from the inordinate expenditure of the country—and that would be temporary, for there must be an end of it. That day, he pronounced it, must put an end to it. This scandalous profusion could not go on. Parliament must do its duty. There was no longer a refuge to be found from the cries of the hungry, the famished population. The army must be reduced. He had no hesitation in saying, that, with every regard to the dignity of the crown, to the maintenance of our rank as a nation, and security of the empire, it might be greatly reduced. The civil list, also, and all the establishments of every kind, must be retrenched with no sparing hand.—As to the war in India, it seemed to him to be necessary, as far as he could, from imperfect acquaintance, to understand the causes of it; from recollection, however, of the territory of Nepal, he had some doubt whether an undue importance had not been given to that expedition. However this might be, he thought the conduct of the noble Marquis at the head of that government was marked by integrity and ability; and nothing could

be more grateful to his own feelings than that the noble Marquis should be more useful to that empire than he himself had been. He deprecated the wild theories of reform which were afloat; universal suffrage and annual parliaments appeared to him subversive of the very nature of the constitution. Ministers had been to blame in allowing things to proceed to this height without calling parliament.—The noble lord then concluded with ardent expressions of his attachment to the constitution.—“I trust I may say that no man can be a stauncher friend to it than I am. I was born under the influence of this glorious constitution: I was educated in its principles: to it I owe almost every thing: no man owes more to it than I do; no family owes more to it than mine. I have, therefore, reason to love and admire it, and I would gladly lay down my life to support it. ‘*Defendi rempublicam adolescens; non deseram senex.*’ These are the principles by which I am prepared to abide. I would give the public every practical relief. I admire their fortitude, I compassionate their sufferings, and I call upon this House, as in duty bound, to make every possible sacrifice for their benefit.”

Lord Sidmouth, while he admitted the distress of the nation, trusted that it was only temporary. The stagnation of the manufactures, he conceived, arose less from foreign exclusion, than from the decrease of consumption arising from the general distress throughout Europe. His noble friend had complained that the speech from the throne had referred to late acts of violence, before sufficient grounds had been laid before the House to justify such allusion. He should have thought that the circumstances alluded to were sufficiently notorious to the House, independently of any detailed evidence on the subject. It was impossible that

the House could be better informed than it already was upon the general state of the country; but he was authorised to state, that he should on Friday next present a message from the Prince Regent upon the subject, and it would be for their lordships to inquire into and examine the causes of that state, and for that purpose all necessary papers and information would be laid before their lordships.

Lord Darnley considered the speech as not suited to the situation in which the country stood, and disapproved of the address.

Notwithstanding the elaborate display of their sentiments, the opposition did not attempt to divide the House, but allowed the address to pass without a vote.

In the House of Commons the address was moved by Lord Valletort, and seconded by Mr Dawson. The address itself, with the speeches of these young orators, was, as usual, an echo of the royal speech to which it referred. Mr Ponsonby undertook to express the sentiments of opposition. He professed himself not at all disposed to exaggerate the distresses of the country. He agreed with the last speaker that its fate was at all times, but now most particularly, placed in the hands of parliament, and that on the conduct of that House in particular during this session, depended very much what would be the fate of the country. He agreed with the speech as to Algiers, and waved for the present the question of India.—With regard to the revenue and the state of the country, he felt himself imperiously bound to differ from ministers. He referred to the speech of last year, which had asserted that the commerce and revenue of the country were in the most flourishing condition, and had pledged ministers to the utmost possible economy, yet they had resisted every proposition for reducing expences, till they were

compelled to do otherwise by a vote of the House. As to the revenue, it had totally failed. There was not now a sinking fund in existence, meaning by that term a surplus of revenue over expenditure, applicable to the payment of the debt. He was convinced that if the whole of the sinking fund were applied to ordinary services, it would be necessary to borrow ten millions in addition. Such evils could not have arisen from mere temporary causes, or from the transition from war to peace. The real causes of the distress were the immense debt and taxation of the country. It was by these that the people were so dreadfully borne down as they were at present. When, therefore, we presumed to exhort the people to exercise fortitude under the trials they were called to endure, and to be patient while they made so many sacrifices, it was surely the duty of the House to speak the truth, the whole truth to the people, and not attempt to blind or delude them by a false statement of what were the real grounds of their calamity; and it was equally the duty of the House to shew the country that they were determined to act as the representatives of such a nation as Great Britain were bound to act; that they were no longer to be put off their guard by the promises of Ministers, but would, by rigid economy, shew they felt as representatives ought to feel, what was their duty, and would manfully and conscientiously discharge that duty. With regard to the attempts made by certain individuals to inflame the public mind, no one could charge him with giving any countenance to them. The best way of repressing them would be by the House determining to do their duty. On what grounds could Ministers pretend that the distress was only temporary? Where were the resources from which relief was to come? Was it from the manufacturing interests? Alas! the

painful experience of thousands demonstrated the ruin of those interests. Was it from commerce? There were in the House many commercial men, but was there one of them who would say that he entertained the smallest hope of an improved state in that quarter. In looking around, the prospect was equally gloomy in every direction. The nation was at this moment looking up to the House with an awful and indescribable anxiety. Every eye was directed to their proceedings. By their discharging the duty which was now devolved on them in the manner which they ought, they would secure the love and affection of the people; but should they act in a different manner—should they shew the country that they still wished the session to be continued, then indeed would every claim to public confidence be lost, despondency and discontent succeed, and, to say the least, that want of union between the representative and the constituent would take place, which would be productive of the most unpleasant effects. He, therefore, proposed an amendment, in which the House should express to his Royal Highness their deep sense of the distresses of the country, and the necessity of rigid economy and retrenchment.

Mr Bathurst observed that the last speaker could, with no propriety, reproach ministers, because the present state of the country did not correspond with the speech made last session. The state of things had changed since that time. With regard to economy, it might be observed that the speech itself contained an invitation to the House to enter upon a serious investigation into the income and expenditure of the country. After a war of such magnitude and duration, it was impossible to bring the expenditure at once to the standard of a peace establishment. The right honourable gen-

tleman had no means of comparing the expenditure with the revenue, till he knew what reductions were to take place. Even at present, with the sinking fund, they were nearly on a par; and though this was not a state of things which could with propriety become permanent, yet he looked to a favourable balance from the reductions to be made, and from the improvement of the revenue from the revival of agriculture and commerce. Ministers could do nothing to restore these branches of industry; but looking at the internal state of the country, and its external relations—looking at its wealth and resources, he was satisfied that confidence would revive, and prosperity return.

Mr Lamb concurred in the congratulation proposed on the issue of the expedition to Algiers, though he could not share the poetical enthusiasm with which the honourable gentleman who seconded the motion had culogized it, as proving how superior Britain was to all selfish policy. He should have turned his eyes to the system Britain had revived on the continent, and the dynasties she had restored. This was the only paragraph of the speech in which he concurred. He could not agree in considering the public distress as arising solely from the termination of the war. The long continuance of the war was the real and only cause, though the complete pressure was not felt till the return of peace. He saw nothing, however, which could justify a breach of the public faith towards the fundholder. Some time ago, the complaints against the landholder were as loud as they now are against the fundholder. These complaints were now heard no more, for there was no reason for them. Rents had been reduced; the landed interests were straitened in their incomes; but who had benefited by the change? The distresses of the manufacturing and la-

bouring classes, instead of being alleviated, had been increased; they had been deprived of employment by the reduced circumstances of those who employed them, and found no advantage by the diminution of the income of those, against whose wealth they clamoured. Any interference with the fundholder, he was convinced, would be productive of similar effects, instead of relieving our distress. Our situation should be supported with that firmness and patience that could alleviate every calamity, instead of leading us to attempt plans and expedients, which might aggravate temporary sufferings into irretrievable ruin, by destroying entirely public confidence and national credit. But how were we to support public credit, if we did not resort to such expedients? He would answer, by economy and retrenchment. Parliament, he hoped, was prepared for entering into economical reductions; ministers, he hoped, were prepared for the task; and the country, he hoped, was likewise prepared. The poor laws formed a subject which urgently called for attention. The House, in adopting improvements, ought to pay no regard to the rumours of disturbances or breaches of the peace. He allowed, in their fullest extent, the rights of the people to petition for any lawful object that they thought connected with their interests, privileges, or well-being; he revered popular meetings which were regularly and quietly conducted; (*Hear, hear!*) he revered the rights and the privileges which they exercised, and was disposed to attend to their representations as much as any man; but when such assemblies proceeded to violence, when they led to breaches of the peace, he was for vigorous and immediate repression. This conduct he would recommend, not only from motives of public security, but from motives of tenderness and mercy to the deluded persons them-

selves. He deprecated all breaches of the peace, disturbance, and riot, not only for their immediate effects, but for their ultimate consequences. Tumult for liberty and right, was not only dangerous and destructive, but a liar, and never kept its promises. It led, in the end, through scenes of anarchy and blood, to a political tyranny, or military despotism—the more fatal in its nature, and the more hopeless in its consequences, from the circumstances that the people were taught to take refuge under their protection, from the more appalling evils of insecurity and confusion.

Mr Charles Grant, jun. attributed our distresses chiefly to the depression of agriculture, in consequence of the immense importation of grain, to which peace had led. He trusted, for improvement, to the gradual operation of the corn laws and other causes. The attempts made to overthrow our valuable constitution appeared to him to afford grounds for the most serious alarm.

Mr Curwen sought to impress on the House the importance of their present deliberations. This was no time for palliatives—they must determine manfully to meet the danger, and must no longer delay applying a radical cure to the evil, before a national bankruptcy and the ruin of the country became irresistible and irremediable. He felt much distrust of Ministers on the subject of economy. Happy was it for them that the House had the virtue to reject the proposition for the continuance of the income-tax. It could not have been paid without aggravating in a tenfold degree the calamities of the country. The gentry of England must now renounce luxuries, and think themselves happy if they could procure comforts. Could the excise and customs remain unaffected by the gigantic scale of retrenchment which was taking place in the expenditure?

What prospect was there then of an improvement in the revenue? The sinking fund must be taken and applied to our immediate necessities. In better happier times, he should have been able to enforce the maintenance of public credit; but at present the difficulties of the moment must be provided for. We were suffering, not so much from the decline of our foreign relations, as of the home market. The deficit might be reckoned at L.35,000,000 a-year: there was L.4 a-head lost to the working people of England. To relieve this, private charity, though honourable to individuals, was wholly unavailing. He had no wish to increase the difficulties of Ministers. "I, for one, am disposed to lay out of my recollection all causes of past difference; the magnitude of the danger that surrounds us banishes every other consideration. We are in the state of a vessel which has sprung a leak; however the crew may have differed on the propriety of the course under which they have proceeded, it is now time for farther discussion; union and action can alone save the approvers or opposers; every hand must be actively at the pump. So I feel and shall act. To induce the country to bear patiently many of the taxes which press grievously on its commerce and agriculture, we must prove the absolute necessity of them. In regard to the alleged popular disturbances, I look with the deepest regret at the attempt at creating alarm and division in the country—to renew those apprehensions which on a former occasion rendered the people of England so blind to their real dangers, that the dread of jacobinism shut the eyes of the nation on the prodigal, ruinous, and corrupt expenditure of the public treasure. What has occurred to sanction the belief that the country is disloyal, and the people ready and ripe for a revolution? Are the people of England to

be judged by a Spasfield's mob, composed of the scum and filth of this metropolis? Can a grosser libel, or a more unmerited insult, be offered to the people? Sir, the country execrates those wretches; no punishment can meet their crime. They have stopped the voice of the people, and given an opportunity for artful men to affright the timorous. They have been the powerful allies of corruption. Sir, I lament to hear it held out that the constitution can be endangered by a few desperate and contemptible demagogues. Very different indeed must be the constitution of England to what I consider it, if such men can render the country insensible to the many blessings we enjoy under it. What, sir, is the conduct of the people at this moment? It has been my lot, sir, through a pretty long life, to be closely and intimately connected with the working classes of the people of England: I have always loved and admired them. From the various and constant opportunities I have had of being acquainted with their character, I have found the bulk of the people are eminently distinguished by being moral, intelligent, and industrious. Of late years, extended education has doubtless augmented these qualities. Gross must be the ignorance of those who suppose them incapable of forming a correct opinion on their own and the country's interest. Yes, sir, one eminent proof they give of this in the exemplary patience with which they are suffering privations that have no parallel. Never did the character of the English people appear so great as at this moment. Active courage bears no proportion to that which protracted sufferings call forth, where every feeling of affection and paternal tenderness is hourly put to the test. Such, then, is the conduct of the country; and yet we are told every precautionary measure of force is provided, when there has scarce occurred one

instance of an infraction of the public peace." While execrating the base attack on the Prince Regent, Mr Curwen could only view it as the act of some desperate and despicable individuals, and was convinced that the people of England loved and revered the crown.

Mr Bankes did not see that the speech and the address could be justly charged with giving false views of the state of the nation, nor could ministers be blamed for wishing to hope well of the country. Neither did he discover any indisposition to inquire into the state of the nation, and of the national expenditure, with the view of remedying the evil as far as lay in their power. Without reflecting on the temper and loyalty of the people in general, it appeared evidently that there were disaffected spirits working abroad, who strove to convert to their own mischievous ends the calamities with which Providence had afflicted us.

Mr Brougham conceived it important to counteract the influence of the last speech—a speech more calculated, though possibly not intended, to mislead the people of England—more replete with every species of deception—more vain and illusory in the hopes it held out, had never been heard to proceed even from the most sanguine occupants of the ministerial bench. (*Hear, hear!*) But coming, as it did, from neutral ground, from a quarter that naturally excited much curiosity, because it rarely sent forth two opinions on the same side of any question, and still more rarely sentiments and votes that tallied together, (*a laugh.*) backed with the credit derived from the honourable gentleman's talents, and his varied political experience; (*a laugh.*) and still more supported by his habitual and large professions of strict impartiality, exemplified by occasional opposition to government, in matters where such resistance was of no mo-

ment; it required an antidote contemporaneous with the mischief, to prevent the evil which it pretended to deprecate. Mr B. admitted that considerable embarrassment had been felt at the end of the American war, chiefly by the agricultural interest; land had fallen to twenty, and even seventeen years purchase; but this distress was not first felt at the end of the war. It was always increasing during its continuance, and came only to its height at the close. In the third year of peace, Mr Pitt began to congratulate the nation on the improvement of its revenue and commerce. On the contrary, our calamities had begun with the peace, and had continued always augmenting. Ministers had indeed boasted that they would impose no new taxes; a mighty topic of consolation truly, and the more so, because we had abundant security that this promise at least would be kept. No new taxes would be found necessary, it seems; there was another word more expressive of the fact, they should have said, practicable. The right honourable gentlemen opposite must now have ascertained pretty clearly the truth of this position; they must have found that to raise the taxes by a farthing was beyond their power. The honourable gentleman (Mr Bankes) was likely to be much in favour with the committee, which no doubt the minister would propose to appoint, and against which he protested thus early, as he was convinced it would only prove a fresh instrument of delusion; they had only to select their old tried friends for the service, with the honourable gentleman in the chair—to give them masses of accounts containing little information, and send a few witnesses who gave less; and towards the end of the session, a report would come when there was no time either to debate or decide. But it was the duty of the House to proceed with dispatch; for while it was delaying, the nation was

suffering. It was easy to see how the committee would be formed, if the House did not take care that individuals should be placed upon it who were not merely the tools of government, but men who were known and esteemed for their honest, uncompromising, unflinching discharge of the duties cast upon them as representatives of the people,—men of upright and straight forward integrity—and not those who, under pretences of silly delicacy, were pursuing a system of shifting policy, and under the semblance of impartiality were employed in throwing in the way of justice artful and advocate-like objections. He was much surprised that nothing had been said of any arrangements with foreign powers on the subject of our commercial interests. These seemed reckoned beneath the notice of this military and politic administration. Yet never was our influence abroad so great—nor were we slow to use it for other purposes. If a territory was to be occupied contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants, and to our own true interest—if a new government was to be forced upon a people against their will, a dethroned dynasty restored in despite of those who had a right to resist it, there was no want of our active interference,—armies were sent, subsidies lavished, and fully appointed missions dispatched.* (*Hear, hear!*) But an arrangement substantially to benefit the country, to revive its sinking commerce, to cherish its drooping manufactures, was disregarded as beneath the notice of a great nation. Mr Brougham denied the necessity of so great a military force, chiefly required by remote acquisitions, Ceylon, the Ionian islands, St Lucia, &c. which were mere burdens on the nation. He was happy to hear the body of the people acquitted of disaffection, but was indignant to hear Mr Dawson say that it was improper to assemble the people at public meetings for the discussion of

subjects above their comprehension—and from whom did such alarming doctrines proceed? from whom but from the very wholesale dealers in popular clamour—the great artists of outcry and delusion—the men who, on every occasion, were the most ready to make appeals to the basest passions of the mob, for the worst of purposes. (*Hear, hear!*) From whom but from those who, in 1784, had canted to the multitude about chartered rights, and in 1807 had made them parties to a theological controversy. (*Hear, hear!*) Those were they, who now dared to tell the people that their sufferings were above their comprehension, who had yet assisted Mr Pitt in giving the constitution its first stab, and backed Mr Perceval in following up the blow—conceiving truly that, though the householders of England cannot understand the state of their affairs, the questions of the East India monopoly and the Catholic Claims, are subjects quite level to the capacity of the rabble. He concluded with trusting, that there would be no delay in setting about to reduce our expenditure to the lowest farthing.

Mr Canning said, ministers could justly claim to be considered as alive to the distresses and difficulties of the country as the most zealous of their opponents. At such a crisis unanimity was surely most desirable—and he was at a loss to conceive what it was that interfered to prevent it. The mighty difference between the address and the amendment, related merely to the name of the committee proposed to be appointed; whether it should be called a Committee in the Income and Expenditure of the Nation, or a Committee of the State of the Nation; and for a trifling difference the peace of the country was to be hazarded. Mr Bankes was well known and justly respected for the independence of his speeches and votes. But how little are those who

clamour most loudly for independence satisfied with the exercise of it, when it happens to make against themselves. "When my honourable friend's vote happen to be with gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, then his opinions are conclusive, and his authority an infallible guide; but when his sentiments concur with those held on this side of the House, he is stigmatised as a man who does not dare to act upon his own views—as equally corrupt and servile with those who have actually enlisted themselves under the banners of the ministry." Ministers had most anxiously considered the distresses of the nation, particularly those which pressed on the agricultural classes of the community; plans had even been devised for relieving them, but unhappily without any satisfactory result. The poor laws formed, no doubt, a most important subject of consideration—and he trusted Mr Curwen would renew his motion for a committee upon them; but this was a question which could not properly be mixed up with other matters. Mr Brougham, as might be expected, had qualified the assertion of the original mover of the amendment by which taxation was represented as the only source of public distress, in conformity to a pamphlet (his own published speech) on agricultural distresses, in which he enumerated thirteen causes of the public distress, among which taxation was only one, and where he had also supported the doctrine now held by ministers that the distress would be only temporary. Ministers were anxious to reduce the establishment as low as possible, their only principle of limitation being *safety*—Colonies had their price, but the safety of the kingdom had no price—it was inestimable—it must be guarded against all hazards by all exertions. "Sir, for one, I am not disposed to deny that the reductions and dismissals to which we are under the necessity of having recourse,

do, in many instances, go against my feelings. An honourable gentleman, (Mr Lamb,) who never speaks without making a deep impression by his eloquence and ability, truly observed, last night, that retrenchment is not an unmixed good. Such a process necessarily throws upon the world many meritorious and helpless individuals, who are added to the numbers of the distressed, and augment the mass of discontent throughout the country. In truth, those whose duty does not call them immediately to attend to the detailed application of the principles which we are all agreed in recommending, can have but a faint notion of the scenes of sorrow and suffering which result from those very operations by which the public pressure is ultimately to be relieved." Sensible of the necessity of reduction, he yet owned that in cutting deep it was impossible not to feel severely. To this extent he owned he was an unwilling reformer, and trusted he would not suffer, in the estimation of the House, for being guided by no harsher motive than a sense of public duty. He never had been more surprised than to hear the learned gentleman, who spoke last, drawing the most gloomy presages from there being no new taxes. "At the end of the American war," says the honourable and learned gentleman, "taxes to a considerable amount were imposed upon the people—now we could not, we need not impose taxes." What might be done if necessary, it is happily beside our present purpose to inquire. That there exists no necessity, and that there is therefore no intention of imposing taxes, is the fact. There are circumstances of distress enough, God knows, in our situation; but it seems a most perverse ingenuity that can discover, in the absence of any necessity for new taxes, a symptom of peculiar and aggravated distress. With regard to our employing an influence

the continent for the promotion of commercial objects, ministers had conceived that a secure peace rather than a profitable one was the object, and that to have excited jealousy and hazarded our good opinion in the great confederacy, by proposing such stipulations, would have been very unwise. The address was most unjustly censured as having branded the people with disloyalty, the distinction between the deluders and the deluded had been most clearly drawn. "The people at large are warmly praised, but not more warmly than justly, for the fortitude with which they have borne all their privations. But is it not notorious that, of their privations, advantage has been taken to endeavour (happily in vain) to excite throughout the country a general spirit of insurrection? The honourable and learned gentleman has asked, whether those persons who assembled to petition the legislature are to be considered as guilty of insurrection? Certainly not—but for the sake of petitioning, is a waggon laden with ammunition a necessary basis? Are fire-arms and tri-coloured flags the indispensable accompaniments of a resolution in favour of parliamentary reform? For myself, I can truly say, that I feel as much compassion for those innocent, but mis-guided persons, whom their distresses expose to be the dupes and tools of every leader that addresses himself to their wants, their prejudices and their passions, as I do of indignation against the perverted heads and hard hearts of those demagogues, who, far from sharing or relieving the sufferings in which they pretend to sympathise, retire to their own comfortable homes, from a drenched and starving auditory, after having irritated them to madness, and stimulated them to outrage, by inculcating rebellion as a duty, and proscribing charity as a crime. The object of these proceedings, the panacea for all grievances,

which was to feed the hungry, to reform the vicious, to diffuse affluence and contentment through all classes of the community, was parliamentary reform. Mr Canning declared his determination to resist this in every form, observing, "I deny the assumption that the House of Commons, as it stands, is not to all practical purposes an adequate representative of the people. I deny that it requires any amendment or alteration, to enable it fitly to discharge the functions which are legitimately its province. I deny that there is any model, either in the theory or in the practice of the constitution, to be traced in any period of our history, or to be found in our customs or our laws, from which model the House of Commons has degenerated, and according to which it requires to be reformed. I do not deny that theories more splendidly popular may be devised by speculative philosophers, or held up by designing men to inflame the imaginations of the multitude. I admit that, in erecting for the first time in other countries, a system of representative government, other bases might be found more adapted to their wants, habits, and feelings. But I contend that our system, such as it is, has grown up with our freedom and with our power; and that it satisfies the wants, the opinions, and the feelings of the great bulk and body of the nation." He would be sorry, indeed, to see the House of Commons the mere passive organ of popular volition. "Whenever it shall attempt to exchange this its social legitimate character, for the wild and wild prerogative which modern politicians claim for it, a system of government—variety of untried being—some strous growth planted in an incalculable hour, watered with blood, and thriving amidst desolation, may take the place of the British constitution—but the British constitution will be no

more ! The name of England may remain, but it will no longer be that England, the model of rational liberty, the protectress of national independence, venerable in her domestic institutions, powerful in foreign exertion beyond the natural proportions of her physical force,—whose ‘pigmy body’ animated and o’er-informed by the spirit of her free constitution, was strong enough to deliver Europe from the grasp of the oppressor ; and, whose greatness and happiness, whose freedom and power, the destruction of the constitution can alone destroy.” The reformers in the House, indeed, treated the advocates of universal suffrage and annual parliaments as visionary and fanciful theorists ; but he was afraid there was something much more substantial in those theories—that the solid land itself was the object of their desire. He held in his hand a pamphlet written with no inconsiderable ability, (by Evans, Librarian to the Spenceans,) in which it was stated that all the lands, houses, and other property, must return to the people, without which reform was unavailing. The ferment occasioned by these doctrines would not indeed be dangerous if due precautions were taken—but without these the agents of mischief might avail themselves of national distress to produce national confusion. The present was the critical moment of our fate—through which if we passed unhurt, a new course of prosperity might open upon us. “I cannot, (said Mr C.) I will not, join with those who despair of the fortunes of their country. Great, I admit, is the exhaustion, and severe, I lament it, is the distress. In this moment of exhaustion and distress, the enemies of England again send forth terrible prophesyings, and pronounce her to be lost to herself and to the world. False prophets may they prove—false prophets they will prove.

The stamina of the nation, I am persuaded, are unbroken—the heart, I am confident, is sound. It is not surely at the eve of dissolution, and as in the moment of lightning before death, that I see visions of future glory ! But I cannot, I will not believe that the brilliant destinies of England are closed for ever—

‘Think ye, yon sanguine cloud,
Raised by war’s breath, has quench’d the
orb of day ?
To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
And warms the nation with redoubled ray.’

To wait with patience for the turn of those unprosperous times—to bear and to forbear—to endeavour to restore what Lord Clarendon, I think, somewhere calls, ‘the ancient good temper and good humour of the British nation’—to abstain from hazardous innovations and experiments—to probe with a tender hand real grievances, with a view to practical remedy—to cherish the institutions, and to foster the resources of the country ; this is the course which parliament has pursued ; and which, pursued through this session, painful and laborious as it may be, will, I have no doubt, enable us to look back with self-congratulation at the gloom, phantoms by which we are now discouraged and appall’d.”

Mr Tierney contended that the House would not do its duty unless the amendment was adopted, and he had no hesitation in solemnly declaring that the country was in a state of the greatest, the most unexampled, and the most alarming danger. With that view of the question, how was it possible they could agree to an address which passed over that danger as lightly as the speech delivered from the throne ? It was not true that a mere committee upon the income and expenditure of the country, which was now promised by the ministers, would meet every consideration which the

present crisis demanded. He saw no prospect of any improvement in our commerce. A diminution of the revenue was inevitable from the general reduction of expenditure. If we reduced our establishment to nineteen millions, there would be a deficiency of three millions, after giving up every particle of the sinking fund. Was it not then a mockery to say that it was the duty of the House merely to echo back the speech from the throne? Would the House lend itself to such a delusion as to say that there would be no excess? Could the deficiency be supplied by legerdemain and hocus pocus? The poor were supported only by subscriptions too extensive to be long continued. Much had been said about reductions; but he wished to be shewn one great man who had been dismissed or even had his salary reduced. From clerks of L.100 a-year, L.30 had been taken, leaving L.70 to keep soul and body together. But last year a grant of L.10,000 had been made in the treasury department. Ministers had cut out a new office in the civil list bill, and had proposed a vice treasurer of Ireland, with a salary of L.3000 a-year. Mr Croker had claimed about L.250 as war salary, on pretence of the expedition to Algiers. The only security against the excesses of the people was by shewing them that we were ready to share their distresses.

After a few words from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr Savile, the vote was put, when there appeared

For the amendment,	112
Against it,	264
Majority for ministers,	152

After the vote Lord Cochrane moved an amendment denying the existence of any tendency to disturbance, recommending the strictest economy

and a reform in parliament. It was negatived without a division.

The Commons had scarcely dispatched the preliminary business of the address, when their attention was called to a vast crowd of petitions, presented from various quarters, chiefly by Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett. Their tenor was uniform, deploring the distresses of the country, calling for economy and retrenchment, and, above all, for radical reform, particularly in the constitution of the House itself. In demonstrating the necessity of this last object, language was apt to be used, in which respect was by no means prominent. There was often, too, so striking an even verbal coincidence, as to give rise to the allegation, that there was a petition-manufactory in London, whence these productions emanated, as from a centre, to the different parts of the kingdom. In consequence of these observations, animated debates arose as to the reception of several of the petitions.

The first was presented by Lord Cochrane, and stated to be signed by 15,700 inhabitants of Bristol and its vicinity. The members for Bristol, however, Mr Hart and Mr Protheroe, declared that, to their certain knowledge, it did not contain the sentiments of any considerable body of their constituents; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer observing that it contained no strikingly disrespectful language, made no objection to its being laid on the table. His lordship then produced one from the township of Penrith, in the parish of Saddleworth, Yorkshire, which was in a different strain. It stated, "that the petitioners have a full and immoveable conviction, a conviction which they believe to be universal throughout the kingdom, that the House doth not in any constitutional or rational sense represent the nation; that when the people have ceased to be represented, the constitution is sub-

verted; that as the tremendous tempest of war is not to be staid at the bidding of those in whose mad and wicked counsels it had its origin, so it is probable the authors of the late war did not intend the magnitude and duration it attained, which magnitude and duration, by the portentous calamities now found in their train, are fast opening the eyes of a deluded nation to the evil deeds of its authors; that in such a condition of the country, the petitioners are shocked to behold contending factions alike guilty of their country's wrongs, alike forgetful, mocking the public patience with repeated, protracted, and disgusting debates on questions of refinement in the complicated and abstruse science of taxation, as if in such refinements, and not in a reformed representation, as if in a consolidated corruption, and not in a renovated constitution, relief were to be found; that in the discussions which they had witnessed, the petitioners see nought but what hath a direct tendency to place the English people in a situation, in which the unrelenting lash of unconstitutional taxation may in all times to come be laid on them, to the utmost extent of human endurance." They concluded by invoking, as the only remedy, a free parliament, elected annually by the whole body of the people.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the reception of the petition, which appeared to him to present direct libel—a gross attack upon the privileges, the conduct, and character of that House. Mr Brougham, Mr Brand, and Mr Lamb, while they censured the language of the petition, and reprobated the principle of universal suffrage, yet did not wish to limit the power of petitioning. Sir S. Romilly did not think the petitioners had any intention of insulting the house; but Mr Canning, though he by no means thought they ought to be nice as to the

language of petitions, could not concur in the reception of one which contained a direct incitement to resistance. Mr Wynn and Mr Bathurst also opposed it, and it was rejected by a majority of 135 to 48. Lord Cochrane then produced another, which, on being read, was found to be *verbatim* the same with the one just rejected. Upon the representation, therefore, of Mr Vansittart and Mr Canning, he agreed to withdraw it. Another was rejected on the ground that there was no signature upon the sheet of paper on which the petition was written. One was then exhibited from Delph, in Yorkshire, when Lord C. being asked if it was not the very same which had been twice rejected, replied he did not think it was exactly the same; but the Speaker stating that there was no difference whatever, Mr Canning endeavoured to impress upon the noble lord the impropriety of pushing this petition in so many shapes, contrary to the decided opinion of the house. Lord C. however, insisted on the question being put, when it was negatived without a division.

Two days after, (31st January,) Sir W. Lemon presented a petition from the freeholders and inhabitants of Cornwall, which he stated to be couched in such temperate language, that no objection could be made to it. It urged that there could be no hope of freedom or public economy, till the people were adequately represented in the House; that the want of this had produced the ruinous wars, enormous taxation, and overgrown military establishment, under which the nation suffered; that the people were excluded from any substantial influence in the election of the House, and that an oligarchical faction had actually usurped the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of King, Lords, and Commons. Mr Brande advised the reception of the petition, to which no opposition was made.

F. Burdett then produced a petition from Halifax, premising that, though he knew its general tenor, he had not read it, so as to be able to say whether or not its expressions would be thought sufficiently respectful. Indeed he did not conceive that there was any occasion for this previous reading, or that he had any title to intercept petitions from his fellow subjects, whatever their tenor might be. It was for the House to determine whether they would receive it or not, and he thought the rejection of petitions, even by them, a very questionable privilege. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then called upon the Speaker to state, whether a member, before presenting a petition, was not bound to read it, and ascertain whether it contained any thing disrespectful to the House. The Speaker gave his opinion decidedly against Sir Francis, who declared that the petitions transmitted to him were so numerous, that he would not undertake to read them on any account; and that they would occupy the whole period of the session. A warm debate now ensued, the reception of the petition being supported by Mr Brougham, Sir S. Romilly, and Lord Cochrane, while it was opposed by Mr Wynn, Mr Abercrombie, and Mr Canning. Sir Francis urged; Was it to be endured in such a moment, when the nation was complaining of its wrongs from one end to the other, that lawyers should get up and cross-examine any member who, in the exercise of his duty, laid before them the petitions of the people? Were they to be told one day that the names of petitioners must appear upon the parchment, and another day, that members must read every petition that they present, or it would be rejected? Were such formalities to stand between the people and their representatives; and if not complied with, were the former to be dismissed without a hearing? Was that a time to erect such a barrier?

At length, after a candid and conciliatory speech from Lord Lascelles, Sir Francis agreed to withhold the petition for the present, and presented several others which he had read, and which were received.

The next discussion on the subject was on the 4th February, when Mr W. Smith, the member for Norwich, stated that he had a petition from that city, most respectably signed, and which he did not know contained any thing improper or offensive. He declined, however, saying positively that he considered it unexceptionable, or even that he had read it, on the principle, that the House ought not, unless on very strong grounds indeed, to reject any petition, and ought not to require that a member, before presenting one, should read and be responsible for its containing nothing offensive. Mr Wynn and Lord Castlereagh insisted, that the House must maintain the principle objected to by Mr Smith, otherwise they would be liable to be continually libelled and insulted. They regretted that Mr Smith had forced the question unnecessarily on the attention of the House, since if he had said nothing, no objection could have been made; but they must maintain the principle by rejecting the petition. Mr Brougham and Sir F. Burdett supported the reading of it, but Mr Smith adhering to the ground which he had taken up, the motion was negatived without a division.

On the 6th of February, Lord Cochrane presented a petition signed by 30,150 of the inhabitants of Manchester. He stated, however, that he could not be responsible for the language being such as the House was likely to think unobjectionable. It was allowed, however, to be read, when it soon proved, with slight exception, to be the identical petition, which the noble lord had presented on a former day from so many different

quarters. After a short discussion it was rejected, by a majority of 50 to 17.

On the 9th of February, Lord Cochrane presented the petition signed at the Spa-fields meeting on the famous 2d of December, having 24,000 names affixed to it. He vindicated the loyalty of this meeting, stating it not to have been in the least accessory to the riots and disturbances which alarmed the metropolis on the day on which it was voted. It was drawn up, he said, in temperate, respectful language, more temperate indeed than he himself would have employed had it been his task to compose it. It prayed for annual parliaments and universal suffrage; it complained of the intolerable weight of taxation, of the distresses of the country, and of the squandering of the money extracted from the pockets of an oppressed and impoverished people, to support sinecure placemen and pensioners. No objection was made to its being laid on the table. On the 11th February, Lord Folkestone presented the petition which had been signed by the meeting in the same place on the 10th. It was to the same tenor; and as there appeared nothing disrespectful in the language, it was also received.

A singular case from Warrington was brought before the house by Mr Brougham, in a petition which stated, that a petition for reform, signed by some hundreds of the inhabitants, had been seized by one Richard Burrowes, through whose hands it had come into those of Mr Thomas Lyon, nephew of the acting magistrate, and residing in his house, who had refused to return it. Mr B. moved, that it should be laid on the table, that the opposite party might have an opportunity of answering it. Mr Bootle Wilbraham approved of the course followed by Mr Brougham, but was convinced that this would turn out merely a coarse joke, such as he knew to be common among the lower classes in manufactu-

ring districts. Mr Ponsonby, however, declared it appeared to him one of the most gross and flagrant violations of the privileges of the people, and of that house, that had ever occurred; and Mr Wynn regretted the subject had been treated with levity, and thought the House should trace the matter to its source. In a few days after, a petition was received from Mr Lyon, who stated, that he was merely writing a letter in the parlour, when a hue and cry was raised in the street adjacent; that he found it proceeded from the mob pursuing Richard Burrowes, a man of extremely good character, whom he had therefore placed in safe custody, and inquired into the cause. Burrowes acknowledged that he had, by way of joke, carried off the petition, which Mr Lyon took into his possession. An application was made to him for it, but he was advised that it did not come from the competent authority, and being also applied to by several persons who wished to erase their names from it, he complied with their request, but kept it, in expectation that the matter would undergo a proper examination before a magistrate, or other competent tribunal, to whom he had always been ready and desirous of delivering it up. This apology was not deemed sufficient, and it was allowed even by Mr Wilbraham, that Mr Lyon had not exercised a sound judgment on the occasion.

The present session was characterized by the novelty of numerous petitions for reform presented from Scotland. They were from Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Kirkaldy, Kilwinning, Saltcoats, Queensferry, and some other places. Lord Cochrane and Lord Archibald Hamilton took occasion to state, that there were not in Scotland above 2700 individuals endowed with the right of election, and that a man there might have 10,000l. a year of landed property.

without having a vote. On the other hand, the Lord Advocate, Mr Boswell, and Lord Binning asserted, that these petitions did not at all express the general sense of the people of Scotland; in proof of which they remarked that no such petition had been sent by the landed interest, by the freeholders, or by any corporate body.

The petitions now enumerated formed only a very small proportion of the vast number presented to parliament; and as they appeared sufficient to fill a large waggon, and covered nearly the whole floor, Sir F. Burdett, on the 3d March, moved that they should be taken up *en masse*, and laid on the table. A member, however, having turned over several, and discovered flaws in them, it was suggested, that some examination should take place before conferring this honour indiscriminately on all. The discussion was therefore referred to a future day.—About a week after, the Speaker stated that he had caused the petitions to be sorted, that they amounted to 527, of which several exhibited the defects which had caused the rejection of others; but the circumstance which chiefly called for consideration was, that 468 of them were printed. Hereupon a warm debate arose, as to the propriety of receiving printed petitions. Mr W. W. Wynne stated, that the question had been agitated in 1665, in 1793, and in 1813; on the latter occasion it had been decided that printed petitions should not be received; and six days afterwards a petition from Major Cartwright, for leave to present a printed petition, was refused. He thought the rule a reasonable one, calculated to pre-

vent the manufacturing of petitions in London for the purpose of being sent down to be signed, instead of offering a genuine expression of the sentiments of the people. We had lately seen the effect of this manufacture, of which whole reams had been sent down to be signed. Sir F. Burdett said the rule of 1665 could now be of no force whatever; the rule was framed by Cromwell's creatures, placed in that house by himself, and not one of them allowed to enter parliament till he was furnished with a ticket from the soldiers who surrounded the doors. Nothing was settled by the entry of 1793; and the discussion itself stood only on the doubtful rule of Cromwell's parliament. In 1813, reference was made to this supposed rule of 1793, and a division certainly took place, which could be now of no force, as it went on the supposition of a rule that never existed. Printed petitions were read and comprehended with much greater facility than those which were written, and every man was able to see and understand what he was to sign. Lord Castlereagh knew that designing men went about the country, availing themselves of the rights of the people, for the purpose of calling meetings, in which they might exert every faculty, and rouse the passions of the people for putting them in movement towards a general rebellion. As it was clear that the rules and practice of the House were against the entertaining of printed petitions, he should vote against the motion. The house divided.—Ayes, 6—Noes, 58—Majority against receiving printed petitions, 52.

CHAPTER III.

MEASURES RELATIVE TO PUBLIC DISTURBANCES.

Prince Regent's Message to the two Houses of Parliament—Committees of Secrecy appointed—Their Report—Debate in the Lords on the Bill for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—In the Commons on the Bill against Seditious Meetings, and two others—On the Habeas Corpus—These Bills pass the two Houses.

THE first important business to which parliament had its attention called, was that of which warnings had been given by the disturbed state of the nation, as well as by the tenor of the regent's speech, and to which the attack on the royal person had formed an appropriate preface. On the 3d February, Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, and Lord Sidmouth in the Lords, presented the following message from the Prince Regent :

“GEORGE, P. R.

“His royal highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has given orders that there be laid before the House of Lords, papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects from his majesty's person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution. His royal highness recommends to the House of Commons to take these papers into their immediate and serious consideration.”

This message gave rise in the Lords to considerable warmth of debate.—Lord Sidmouth lamented the necessity under which ministers felt themselves placed of advising his royal highness to send this message. He stated, as the measure to be proposed by ministers, the appointment of a secret committee to which the information in possession of ministers would be submitted, and begged that their lordships would suspend their judgment, till its report was on their table. In the meantime he merely moved an address to the Prince Regent, assuring him that the House would take his message into consideration.

Earl Grosvenor observed, the noble viscount had undoubtedly made a most tremendous charge against a large portion of the people of this country. “I trust that charge will not be sustained; but at all events, your lordships cannot but acquiesce in the proposition of the noble viscount, for going into this committee, after such a serious, such a momentous charge.” He was convinced, however, that if there was any disaffection, it arose chiefly from the opposition of ministers to every species of reform and retrenchment.

Lord Holland conceived, after such serious communications, there could be no objection made to the course proposed by the noble viscount. "But still, I should not leave this house at all satisfied with myself, if I did not express the deep regret I feel on this occasion, that such a communication should be made, whether it has proceeded from improper practices on the part of individuals, or from the intention of any one, in power or out of power, to create a false alarm, at this period, throughout the country. In a time of peace, when no apprehension can be entertained from a foreign enemy; in a time of dreadful distress amongst the people of this country, which naturally renders them anxious to see the legislature and the representatives of the nation conduct themselves in such a manner as to prove the substantial benefits of the constitution, by devising means for their relief; at such a period, measures of a harsh nature ought to be deeply considered before they are adopted." He would say nothing at present as to the measures to be proposed in consequence, but should deeply regret if they were such as had any tendency to abridge the liberties of the subject. This was always to be deprecated, but still more now when the people were groaning under unparalleled distress, which had generated discontent, and when the people were looking, reasonably or not, to parliament for a relief from their evils.

The Earl of Liverpool would not say much, since no difference of opinion appeared to exist as to the mode of procedure. He trusted that a more constitutional, or even a more liberal proposition, could not have been made than that of his noble friend. He hoped the noble lords would suspend their judgment till means were afforded to them of forming a decision. "That decision will be formed, with every regard to the liberties of the subject—

with a strong disposition not to infringe on the established laws of the country—with every tenderness to the feelings of the people on the one hand; but on the other, with a firm determination to uphold the constitution and government of the country." He denied that any charge was advanced against the great body of the people, but merely that disaffected and seditious persons were attempting to withdraw them from their allegiance. He admitted the distresses of the times, but conceived that these were usually, as now, employed by the designing to excite mischief and create confusion.

Earl Grey concurred in the propriety of the course of proceeding proposed, and agreed to suspend his judgment, as desired by the noble Lords on the other side. At the same time he could not help joining with his friends in lamenting deeply, that such a necessity should have been supposed to exist. He certainly concurred in their views of the general conduct of the people. "Perhaps there never was a time when, suffering under such an amount of distress, when, labouring under the pressure of such severe calamity—affecting the highest and the lowest—the lowest weighed down by privations, which human nature can hardly any longer support—the highest impoverished by the calls of benevolence and charity, so universally displayed in relieving their less fortunate fellow-creatures;—perhaps, my lords, under so great an accumulation of misery, such exemplary patience, forbearance, resignation, and confidence in the existing constitution and government of the country, were never before exhibited. When we see this, when we see that these effects are produced by an unfeigned veneration for the constitution which we all love, but which I have rarely heard eulogized by the noble lords opposite, except as a preliminary to some invasion of it; when

we consider that this forbearance, this patience, this resignation, afford the best proof of the benefit of our constitution, which inspires such confidence, and produces such temperate conduct, ought we not to be most cautious in agreeing to any innovation? I think it is a most unfortunate circumstance, a most lamentable necessity, that at this period of distress and misery, when no measure of relief has been adopted, when no one efficient measure of reduction and retrenchment has been carried into effect; but when, on the contrary, as has been truly stated by my noble friend, (Earl Grosvenor) every effort to obtain a reduction of the public expenditure, for which the people of England have unanimously called, has been met with rejection or evasion by his majesty's government—it is most unfortunate, that at such a time, a measure should be proposed, which, there is too much reason to apprehend, may lead to some invasion or infringement of the people's rights. When year after year new powers are given to the Crown—when we are daily arming the executive government with novel and unheard of authority—when, on the other hand, we know not of any new powers being added to those sanctioned by our ancestors for the security of the people—I hope we shall cautiously abstain from following up this system, and that we shall not continue to give fresh strength to the executive government, while we impair and weaken the liberties of the subject." Nothing, he conceived, but the most imperious necessity could justify any interference with those constitutional barriers which had hitherto protected the people.

The Marquis of Buckingham agreed in lamenting the necessity of this measure, and in the heavy responsibility which lay upon ministers to prove their assertions. He was disposed,

however, to give them his confidence. He would enter on the question as in the functions of a juror in a case of life and death; but if the facts should be proved, it would be the worst tenderness to the people to allow them to become the dupes of a few desperate and designing individuals.

The address was then agreed to, as well as that the papers on the table should be referred to a committee of secrecy, consisting of eleven lords, to be chosen next day by ballot. Accordingly, on the 5th February, the following noblemen were appointed:—The Lord Chancellor, Earl Harrowby, Duke of Bedford, Duke of Montrose, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl of Liverpool, Earl Powis, Earl of St Germain, Lords Sidmouth, Grenville, and Redesdale.

In the Commons, the message did not give rise to any debate, and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, it was agreed, on the 3d February, that the precedent of 1794 should be strictly followed, and the papers referred to a committee of secrecy, consisting of twenty-one members. While these were ballotted for on the following day, Mr Brougham attempted to ridicule the process, by undertaking to predict the names that would actually be returned, without the trouble of any scrutiny. The honourable member then read from a list the following names which he anticipated would appear upon the list presented by the committee of scrutiny: Lord Castlereagh, Lord Middleton, Mr Ponsonby, Mr Canning, Mr B. Bathurst, Sir William Curtis, the Hon. Mr Lambe, Mr Wilbraham, Mr W. Elliot, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr Wilberforce, Sir Arthur Pigott, Sir Egerton Brydges, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Lascelles, Mr Rose, Mr F. Robinson, Mr W. Dundas, Sir J. Nicholls, and

Admiral Frank. When, shortly after, the names of those returned for the committee of secrecy were read, considerable laughter was produced by the two lists being the very same, with the exception of Mr Charles York, in place of Lord Middleton.

On the 18th and 19th of February, the reports of the Committees were presented at the bar of the two houses. They began by stating, that it appeared in evidence, that a traitorous conspiracy for the overthrow of the government had been formed in the metropolis, and that meetings with the same object were held in different parts of the country. It described the proceedings of the Spafields mob on the 2d December, as entirely the result of a preconcerted plan, the failure of which was ascribed to accidental circumstances, and the same designs were still entertained. Efforts were at the same time made to bring into contempt all law, religion, and morality. Societies were formed under the appellation of Hampden Clubs and others, which, under pretence of parliamentary reform, carried on plans for the entire overthrow of the constitution. Another society, called the Spencean, looked to a general division of landed property. The proceedings of these societies were carried on with the utmost secrecy, being seldom committed to writing, but almost every thing transacted verbally at the meetings. The committees could not but consider the late outrage on the Prince Regent as a proof of the wish which existed to destroy all reverence for government; and they were on the whole led to express a decided opinion, that ~~for this~~ measures were necessary for the preservation of the public peace. The report of the Lords, from which that of the other House does not materially differ, is given at large in the Appendix, (P. 226.)

The most important measure, founded upon these reports, being the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, originated in the House of Lords. On the 20th of February, Lord Sidmouth moved the first reading of it. At the request, however, of a number of the members, he delayed the discussion till the second reading, which he fixed for Monday the 24th. Lord Holland consented to the delay, stipulating, however, that he should not thus be considered as in any degree committing himself in favour of the proposed measure. The bill was read a first time.

On Monday the 24th, the order of the day being read for the second reading, Lord Sidmouth rose and observed, what deep regret must be felt, and how much every feeling of loyalty must be shocked at the facts disclosed in the committee's report. The evidence and documents could not with propriety be produced there, or referred to now; but there were three prominent features in the report, which merited the particular attention of their lordships. These were, that a treasonable conspiracy had been formed in the metropolis; that similar designs were extensively diffused through the country, particularly in the manufacturing districts—and that farther provisions are necessary for the public peace. It had been asked, why government had not instituted prosecutions for punishing the infamous libels with which the press teemed; but it was but justice to government to state, that they had not neglected their duty with regard to those publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to the law officers of the Crown, who felt that these publications were drawn up with so much dexterity, the author had so profited by former lessons of experience, that greater difficulties to conviction pre-

sented themselves than at any former time. Ministers had, however, strictly enjoined them to file informations in all cases where a conviction was possible, trusting with confidence to the loyalty and integrity of a British jury. Many prosecutions were now actually pending; the law officers, of whose ability and interest his lordship was fully assured, not being of opinion that any proceeding of the kind could be earlier instituted; the delay had originated in the most conscientious motives. These seditions had been spread over the country with a profusion scarcely credible, and with an industry without example; in the manufacturing districts they had been circulated by every possible contrivance; every town was overflowed by them; in every village they were almost innumerable, and scarcely a cottage had escaped the perseverance of the agents of mischief; hawkers of all kinds had been employed, and the public mind had in a manner been saturated with the odious poison. Clubs had also been established in every quarter, under the ostensible object of parliamentary reform. His lordship would not assert, that some of them had not really this object in view; but he should belie his deliberate conviction, if he did not also assert, that a very large proportion of them indeed had parliamentary reform in their mouths, but rebellion and revolution in their hearts. Lord Sidmouth then adverted to the disturbances of the 2d December, which had risen to such a height, that military force was requisite to quell them; but it was not till three weeks after, that government learned the full atrocity of the designs which were there agitated. His Lordship conceived that additional measures were necessary for the security of the person of the Prince Regent, for punishing attempts to seduce the military from their allegiance, and for putting

down certain corresponding clubs and seditious meetings. Yet, in the present exigence of public affairs, something farther still was necessary. No lords had much reprobated the communication of extraordinary powers to the servants of the Crown; but it was one extraordinary quality of the British constitution, that the powers of the executive government could be enlarged, if by such means that constitution could be better secured. The true question was, which was the most dangerous, to give additional strength to the hands of ministers for general protection, or to refuse it, and thereby to hazard every right that was dear and sacred? He required the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in pity to the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of the country; he required it for the protection of the two Houses of Parliament, for the maintainance of our liberties, and for the security of the blessings of the constitution.

The Marquis Wellesley began by observing, that this was a crisis which at once called for all the fortitude of the people, and all the energy of the government. He was ready to allow, that the state of the popular mind was exactly such as had been described by one of the greatest statesmen of any age or country—he meant that general distress had produced general discontent. If the disturbance was proved to be so great as to produce a real necessity for the proposed measures, there was no man who would not prefer the lesser evil to the greater. But although that principle was true, it was not on every allegation of public disturbance, it was not on every ebullition, even of a treasonable tendency, even though the branches of that treason spread far and deep, that the parliament should be called upon to alter the existing laws of the land, or suspend for a moment the great bulwarks

of the constitution. There should be before them a plain distinct case, founded on powerful and irresistible evidence, in order that parliament should be justified in doing that, which, in ordinary circumstances, would be a direct infringement of the public freedom. In comparing the present period to that of 1795, he observed, that the danger then arose mainly from the French Revolution, and the machinations of its agents. What he would ask, then, were the grand principles of our modern policy, when our army in Spain was engaged in its succession of triumphs; when the nations of the continent, in imitation of our example, were resolved to make a determined struggle for their independence? It was thus that we had actually extinguished the spirit of Jacobinism; that whatever original differences might have existed, as to the justice of the war, the universal feeling of England and of Europe was, that the war in its progress had assumed a new complexion, that the aggressions of the military government of France had made it a war for liberty, for justice, for the rights of nations. That the experience the people of Europe had felt of the tendency and result of the principles of the Revolution,—of the sanguinary excesses in which they terminated, and the tremendous despotism by which they were succeeded, had at length recalled the people of the continent to sounder views, and made them feel, that they, the people, had also, with their sovereigns, whom they had before deserted, a common right to legitimate government, and public order. In one word, that our successes had completely extinguished jacobinism. But then came the peace—that settlement of Europe, as it was called—a peace never equalled in the production of most cruel wrongs; a settlement that has directly, and with utter disregard of justice, laid prostrate every principle

that heretofore characterised the law of nations; that transferred nations without regard to sympathy or interest; that tied people together, not even connected by the most remote affection; that outraged all those principles and declarations on which the powers of Europe professed to act. When these things happened, then it was, that the subdued spirit, that had so long desolated the earth, again arose; then it was that jacobinism spoke again, and had something to speak at; and, hydra-headed, resumed its pristine strength. The public discontent had also been justly excited by the want of all stipulations in favour of British commerce. There might be other sources of the present disaffection, not imputable to ministers; but he saw no excuse for them, knowing the extent of it as they did, for not having sooner called together the great council of the nation. Not only so, but after all that had transpired at Spafields, they, on the 25th of the previous month, actually prorogued it. He condemned the correspondence which Lord Sidmouth had held with the principal agitator at that meeting. He ridiculed the credit which the noble Lord had taken for dispersing a mob headed by a drunken surgeon and a shoemaker. He had no objections to any measure for the protection of the person of the Prince Regent, provided the present law for securing the King's person did not extend to him, which he rather thought it did; if not, ministers were much to blame for not having sooner prepared such a measure. Neither would he object to a bill for regulating public meetings, which, he believed, had been greatly abused. But the specific proposition now before the House would meet his decided opposition. In former times, when such a violent measure was resorted to, the country was in a state either of actual war, of actual rebellion, or of both. In

1795, we were not only in actual war, but the state of Ireland was dreadful to contemplate. In 1798, and in 1801, the Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended, and at both these periods we were at war with France, and rebellion prevailed in Ireland. He did not know whether their Lordships would concur in his opinion, but he considered the circumstances of a war with France, and a rebellion in Ireland, as greatly aggravating our danger at these periods. Would the noble Lords say that their "glorious" peace had now reduced England to a condition of equal peril and alarm? The noble Viscount had said, that Ireland was now perfectly quiet. It might be so, but he remembered the answer which a facetious friend always gave upon his arrival in London, when asked respecting the tranquillity of Ireland, "Oh! yes," said he, "they are as quiet as gunpowder there." (*A laugh.*) In England, however, he saw no symptoms of such violent perturbation. After the most deliberate consideration that he could give to the whole subject, he must conscientiously declare, that up to the moment he was then speaking, he had not seen such evidence as convinced him the danger was so alarming as had been represented. Great discontent undoubtedly existed; seditious practices evidently prevailed; yet he was not satisfied that they existed in that shape, form, and character, which justified the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and being unconvinced, (although ready to concur in all the other measures proposed, and perhaps when those bills were introduced, he should suggest extending their operation,) he was not prepared to go so far as to place the personal liberties of the subject at the discretion of ministers, under the pretext of maintaining public security. He trusted, that while some measures were taken to restrain seditious practices, the matter of sedition would be repressed by

diminishing as much as possible the public burdens.

Lord Liverpool would not follow the noble marquis through all the topics upon which he had enlarged, many of which might have been introduced as well on any other occasion. He would confine himself to those which bore immediately on the matter under discussion. As to not calling parliament sooner, it was only a very short time before its meeting, that ministers had obtained distinct proofs of a conspiracy. Besides, after Christmas was generally considered the most convenient time for the members, and it was conceived that the presence of many of them in the country, especially at a period when they rendered themselves popular by the hospitalities of the season, was of more consequence than their presence in parliament could be. Repeated instances had occurred in our history of this measure becoming necessary; and domestic treason might easily assume a character as desperate as foreign treason. On the present occasion, they had the fullest proof (if they believed the report) of a treasonable conspiracy in the metropolis, to overturn, by a general insurrection, the laws, the government, and the constitution of the kingdom. It was also a matter of perfect notoriety, that the same system was spread over a great part of the country. There was a double engine at work; the operation of the one was evidently aiming at what every person must agree would overthrow the constitution; the operation of the other (he alluded to the Spenceans) was calculated to produce a complete convulsion in the elements which composed the system of social life. Was it too much then to contend, under such circumstances, that it was fitting and expedient to resort to that course, which our ancestors had pursued when alarming dangers menaced the state? Let any person read the publications

which had been put forth, during some time, of the most seditious, the most licentious, and the most blasphemous nature, and let them say, whether, in the most dangerous periods that had been alluded to, any thing equal to them was ever issued? In 1794, the danger of the country was great; but the danger of the present moment exhibited features of a more desperate and malignant character. Never was there a more determined and avowed design to sap all the foundations of morals and religion, and more assiduity in the prosecution of that design. The conspirators of the present day had learned a lesson from the conspirators of the former, and they proceeded with more caution and management in their nefarious schemes. He would go farther and state, from information which he knew to be authentic, that in some parts of the country, the caution and secrecy of the conspirators were so great, that even though it was known conspiracies did exist, yet the nature of the evidence that could be procured was such as would not be sufficient to send them into a court of justice; with so much circumspection and cunning did they conduct their plans. He felt all the importance of the measure that was now proposed; but he would not allow any imputations that might be insinuated to preclude him from discharging what he conscientiously believed to be his duty. His only object was to support the throne, to support the constitution, and to protect the peace, the happiness, and the confidence of every private man in the kingdom; his only view was to preserve our morals, our religion, our establishments, and to secure to every man the tranquil enjoyment of his fireside. He asked of parliament to intrust the Prince Regent's ministers with that power for a short time—a most odious one, he agreed—and one which ought not to be confided to any man, or to any set

of men, except in cases of the last necessity, except in such cases as he apprehended now justified him in calling for it.

Earl Grey said, that at an earlier hour he might have been tempted to enter into all the circumstances of this most important question; but now it was utterly out of his power to acquit himself satisfactorily, even according to his humble abilities, in defending the cause of the people of England against the most unnecessary and uncalled-for attack upon their liberties, which any minister of the crown, in any period of our history, had ever attempted. He entirely concurred with Marquis Wellesley as to the character of the late peace. Where were they to seek for that liberty and that independence of which the noble earl boasted? Was it to Genoa they were to look for the due regard that had been paid to the rights of an independent state? Was it in Lombardy they would find that happiness and comfort which the peace was asserted to have produced? Was it in Venice, now blotted out of the map of independent nations, and consigned to a power which he would not describe? Was it in Saxony, whose troops, deserting their sovereign, placed themselves in the ranks of our own armies, to fight for the common cause, whose whole population united to assert the rights we asserted—was it to that devoted country we must look for the verification of the noble earl's assertion? He considered the complaint equally just as to the want of all provision for our mercantile interests, in consequence of which, restrictions had been imposed in a spirit scarcely less vindictive, than that which had dictated the Berlin and Milan decrees. He could see no reason to justify the not calling parliament sooner together, not merely for the purpose of imposing restrictions, but of endeavouring to conciliate the people, by listen-

ing to their grievances, and concerting measures of economy and retrenchment. He could see no danger so great or urgent as to justify the suspension of the invaluable privilege in question. In almost every former instance, there was either foreign war or domestic rebellion. No conspiracy, like the present, accompanied with an utter improbability of success, could be a sufficient ground for it. What was the nature and character of this conspiracy? They knew the chief actors in it; for the report distinctly stated, that they were the persons who attempted to excite an insurrection on the 2d December. Who were they? Persons of great consequence and connections in the country, whose co-operation gave a formidable character to the attempt? No. They were miserable wretches, reduced to the lowest poverty and distress, who would probably have been driven to seek relief upon the highway, if there had not been a prospect that the discontents of the country were such as might prompt many to follow their wild schemes. The mob assembled at Spa-fields; they were addressed in inflammatory language; to be sure they were provided with ammunition, having about twenty or thirty balls, and a pound of gunpowder concealed in an old stocking. They were not followed by more than two or three hundred persons, who plundered a few gunsmiths shops, and a gentleman received a wound, from which he sincerely hoped he would recover. Such excesses ought undoubtedly to be repressed and punished, but in order to do so, was it necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus? Those formidable rioters fled even at the very mention of a dragoon; they did not wait to see their horses heads at the top of a street, so admirable were the military arrangements of that able commander, General Lord Viscount Sidmouth *(a laugh.)* With regard to illegal societies, and seditious

or blasphemous publications, the laws now in existence appeared to him amply sufficient to repress and punish these. He might have agreed to a moderate limitation upon meetings held in the open air, and to a bill for the protection of the person of the Prince Regent. By confining their propositions within these limits, ministers would have secured the unanimity of parliament, and prevented any farther irritation in the country.

The Duke of Sussex did justice to the motives of the noble lords opposite; but could see no proof that such a conspiracy existed, as they had attempted to persuade the house of. He had been present at the examination at the Mansion-house, where he found that the whole subscription amounted to ten pounds sterling; that the waggon had cost L.3, 10s. of which 10s. was yet unpaid; that the ammunition consisted of fifty balls in an old stocking, with a pound weight of powder in a canister. When these were all the proofs of the conspiracy, was there any call for such a measure as that proposed? Attached to the venerable, the sacred fabric of the British constitution, no man would ever feel more anxious than himself to take every precaution to prevent that fabric from being dilapidated, but never could he consent to the adoption of measures for abridging the liberty of Englishmen, for depriving them of their legitimate rights, when there was no case made out to justify such measures being adopted. Glorifying in the name of Briton, because that name was connected with every thing dear to the human mind, he could only say, that while he lived, he should ever consider it his highest honour to maintain, unimpaired, the sacred right of Britons.

Lord Grenville considered the question now before the house as one of the most important which could occupy the attention of their lordships. No-

thing could justify the present measure but the most deliberate conviction of its necessity; but he was prepared to say that this necessity was completely made out. He referred to the riots of 1780, and to the events of the French Revolution, in order to shew the dreadful effects that might be produced by the passions of an infuriated mob. Nothing could be more dangerous than the present attempts to undermine the morals and religion of the country, and to persuade the lower classes that annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, had ever formed part of the British constitution. It was not then for the security of the higher classes alone—it was not for the security of the middling classes—but it was for the security of the whole community, that he thought it necessary that parliament should interpose, to arm ministers with those powers, which he feared were the only means left to protect the safety and security of the nation at large. How it was that the evil was allowed to reach so great a height, without any measures having been adopted to check its progress, he was unable to say; but it was sufficient for him, for the present purpose, to be convinced, that the evil had in fact advanced to a magnitude which required the present measure. He certainly thought the experience of the last six months must have convinced every man that it was the duty of government to protect the peaceable part of the community, and that it was absolutely necessary to secure them against the evils that existed; for it would be a mockery to speak of the protection we enjoyed under our laws, when it was seen by experience that the peace of the country could be disturbed, whenever it was the pleasure of these desperate madmen to call together their mobs, to attack the houses, persons, and property, of his majesty's peaceable subjects, under the shadow and pretence of a constitutional reform

of the representation in parliament. The facts that had come out before the committee had clearly shewn, that, however strong the provisions of the existing laws against corresponding societies and clubs may be, there are ingenious modes by which the crafty and designing may evade those laws, and render them altogether inefficient. He felt it his bounden duty to declare, that he considered the present situation of the country to be one of extreme danger, and that some extraordinary legislative measures were absolutely necessary. At no period in the history of the country did he believe the danger to have been greater. Never would the revolution in France have been accomplished, had the morals and religion of the community not been subverted; and he begged to assure their Lordships, that when once the religious habits of a country were attempted to be undermined by the sophistry or ridicule of the profane—when once her sacred institutions were turned into scorn, there existed but little hope for that country. Such being the serious conviction of his mind, he felt it to be his duty openly to declare his opinion, and to give his cordial, though reluctant support, to the passing of a bill for the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

The Duke of Gloucester and Lord Holland shortly opposed the bill, after which the vote being put, it was carried by 150 against 55, being a majority of 115. The bill was then read a third time and passed.

On the same day Lord Castlereagh laid open in the Commons the measures which he wished to propose in consequence of the facts stated in the report of the secret committee. He assured the House, that in the whole course of his life he had never performed a more painful duty than that which he was then called upon to discharge. It had frequently been necessary for him, in

extraordinary exigencies of the state, to call on parliament to take extraordinary measures to meet those exigencies. But it was peculiarly painful and grievous to find, that after having passed through all the dangers and pressure of war, it became necessary, notwithstanding the return of peace abroad, to require the adoption of proceedings that might insure the continuance of tranquillity at home. Yet however painful, it was not perhaps wonderful, after such a revolution, that there should be men in the lowest situations who imagined themselves qualified to fill the highest offices in the state. Happily the revolutionary spirit had now descended from the higher and better informed orders to the inferior classes. Yet while he contrasted the different orders of society in which the revolutionary feeling existed now and formerly, he by no means implied that he did not think much of the talents and ability of those designing individuals who took advantage of the existence of the present feeling. There was no lack of talent on the part of those who were engaged in these criminal enterprises. Let the House read the libels which degraded all existing authorities, which vilified every thing sacred and established, they would not trace in them a vulgar understanding. The men by whom they were written, however perversely, however mischievously disposed, were men of evident ability. In support of this assertion, he need only appeal to his honourable and learned friend near him, to state the difficulty which he encountered in dealing with those libels. But this was not all. There were many men distinguished in station and abilities, who, if they were not connected with those meetings, conducted themselves in such a manner as to countenance their principles and their proceedings. These persons who had distinguished themselves by their efforts to excite and inflame the

public mind, were recognized by the conspirators as their allies—as embarked in a common cause; and though they did not render themselves liable to the operation of the laws, yet, in the deliberations of the conspirators, they were referred to, and named familiarly amongst themselves, as those who, under a new state of things, should compose their committees of public safety. (*Cries of name, name!*) He did not feel it his duty to name any one. He would distinctly allow, that the committee had not seen the slightest evidence to shew, that any individuals of the higher ranks were members of any of the combinations to which he had alluded; but the persons actually combining considered that such individuals so effectually aided and abetted their purposes, as to be persuaded, that as soon as an insurrection should have overturned the state, those individuals would be ready to declare themselves, and to put themselves at their head. Lord C. conceived, that the unanimous report of the secret committee, a body not composed of any one class of statesmen, must leave no doubt as to the existence of treasonable practices. It had been proved, that a strong effort had been made in arms to attain the object in view, and it appeared that the individuals who were deeply implicated in the crime of treason, had been the most active to procure meetings for the apparent purpose of parliamentary reform, particularly that of the 2d December. The petition of one individual, who had taken a prominent part in the meetings in the metropolis, was before the House. It was not for him to assign the motives which actuated that individual; but this he would say, that, admitting all the statements in that petition to be true, they did not negative what he had asserted, that the project of the first meeting in November was formed with the view of feel-

ing the pulse of the public, and that the public in November not appearing sufficiently ripe for the purpose in view, December was considered as a period when the poison might be more likely to be poured with effect into the public mind, and that for the purpose of the effort which they were equally ready to make in November. It appeared from the report, that that effort was only part of the hopes of the conspirators, and that they had other hopes which were not closed yet,—hopes which were founded on being able; if not by a desperate effort to seize the ruling power, at least gradually to poison the public mind, more especially in the manufacturing districts. Such being the nature of the dangers to be apprehended, he proceeded to state the remedies which it would, in his opinion, be expedient to apply. These were, 1st. the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. 2d, To extend the act of 1795 for the security of his majesty's person, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as the person exercising the functions of royalty. 3d, To embody into one act the provisions of the act of 1795, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies, and the provisions of the act of the 39th of the king, which declared the illegality of all societies bound together by secret oaths, if not by secret oaths, which extended itself by fraternized branches over the kingdom; and to make it enact that the nominating delegates or commissioners, under any pretext, to any other society of the kind, should be considered as sufficient proof of the illegality of such societies or associations. 4th, To make such enactments as should be thought most effectual to punish, with the utmost rigour, any attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association or set of men, and withdraw them from their allegiance. He was anxious that the

House should observe the distinction which he wished to make as to the duration of these measures. Some of them it would be thought wise to enact as permanent laws, but others might be merely for a time. Particularly the law against seditious meetings and debating societies was one which ought not to be continued longer than should be thought absolutely necessary to obviate the present temporary danger. When that law had been first introduced, the time during which it was to continue in force had been limited to three years from the end of the session when the act was passed. On the present occasion, he anxiously indulged the hope, that by the complete exposure of the nature of the doctrines which had been so industriously inculcated, the associations in question would fall to pieces by their own absurdity, and that it would not now be necessary to extend the duration of this measure so long as at the time when it was first proposed, and when the country had a double contest to maintain, against a foreign as well as a domestic enemy. He would, therefore, wish this act to endure till after the commencement of the next session of parliament, when it might be renewed if circumstances should seem to render it necessary, or if not, it might be suffered to expire. His lordship concluded with moving that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.

Mr Ponsonby, as a member of the secret committee, expressed his entire concurrence in all the facts stated in its report. Contemptible as the societies were in which the seditious designs had originated, he was convinced they might become dangerous by neglect, and was ready to go every length which duty and propriety would allow in strengthening the hands of government against them. He concurred,

therefore, in the proposed act for the defence of the royal person, and in that which related to the crime of seducing soldiers from their allegiance. With regard to that regulating meetings and debating societies, he could not deliver any positive opinion till he knew its nature more exactly. But he could by no means extend this assent to the proposed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which would meet with an opposition from him as perfect and as firm as his support to the others. He censured also those parts of the preceding speech which appeared to reflect upon individuals, and on which subject an explanation was offered by Lord Castlereagh.

Sir F. Burdett seeing so much exaggeration of well-known facts, and such unauthorized insinuations against persons who were innocent; believing that an attempt was made to create alarm for no other purpose than as a ground for measures which would prevent the people from demanding their rights, felt that he should not be doing his duty if he did not oppose *in limine* these new regulations which ministers had proposed.—(*Hear!*)—With respect to clubs, he himself belonged to more than one of those from whom danger, treason, and conspiracy were said to spring. He (Sir Francis) owed allegiance to the laws and the constitution, but he owed no allegiance to the ministry of the day, or to the borough-mongers of the House, and he believed that the cry of treason was raised from a dread of a reform of the House.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)—He (Sir F.) was a member of the Hampden Club; he had the misfortune likewise to belong to the Union Club, both proscribed by the noble lord. He was called a traitor for mingling in such societies; whereas he taxed the noble lord with being a conspirator, and at the head of a society much more formidable than the Spenceans, viz. the

Expenceans;—he would tell him he had committed offences for which he ought to be impeached, and for which he would have been impeached, if he had not been protected by the general participation of his crime.—(*Hear, hear!*)—He had committed more treasons than all the Union Clubs put together! He had endangered more the safety and the constitution of the country. The noble lord was an old offender. Let his conduct in Ireland be considered; let the bloody course he there pursued be duly taken into the account, and this country would see reason for being on its guard against him. Of the committee he had an unfavourable opinion, though it contained some names which he respected; but the numbers chosen from his side of the House might be said, without disrespect, to be notorious alarmists. He believed in his conscience, that without reform, security of property and personal liberty could not exist much longer in this country.—(*Loud cries of hear!*)

Mr Lamb thought it not handsome or parliamentary to use nicknames, by calling him and the other members of the committee notorious alarmists. If he were to retort, and call the honourable baronet a notorious Jacobin, there might be as much reason in the charge. He firmly believed the truth of the facts in the report, and the justness of its inferences.

Sir F. Burdett did not mean alarmist in a bad sense; but Jacobin could not be used in a good one; as it generally passed for cut-throat.

Sir S. Romilly wished the House to consider the subject maturely, before it adopted the measures proposed. There was great danger of rashness in legislating; and if there had been a due consideration of what the law was as it at present existed, and how far government had endeavoured to carry it into execution, he was convinced that

the committee would not have recommended any change. The noble lord was mistaken in his speech, in supposing that no law existed against secret meetings. There were strong, efficacious, and severe enactments against such seditious or secret meetings,—against societies that took oaths,—against societies that corresponded or had an interchange of delegates,—against societies that required contributions of money, and all persons who were found guilty were liable to transportation for seven years. If these laws were not effectual, what could be effectual? What steps had been taken by ministers to enforce them? The only other part of the report referred to blasphemous and seditious libels. It should be known here likewise how far existing laws had been enforced, before new powers were claimed. He had no doubt that there were many persons who were labouring to degrade his majesty's government; but the House should take care to shew the people that they were no parties in the object, and that they were most anxious to preserve those great bulwarks of their liberties, the Habeas Corpus Act and the trial by jury.

Mr Brougham was sensible of the disadvantage under which he stood, in being ignorant of the evidence on which the report was founded; yet even in the face of it, he saw reason to differ from the opinion of his friends, Mr Lamb and Mr Ponsonby. He could discover no sufficient reason for calling upon the House to pay down their constitutional rights by instalment, to submit to a gagging bill to-day, to the punishment of transportation to-morrow, and to a total suspension of the constitution on the day after. When he considered the very small extent to which actual insurrection had gone, and the smallness of the means by which it had been proposed to maintain it, it did appear marvellous

to him, that twenty-one honourable gentlemen should, upon such evidence, gravely require the assent of the House to the danger arising from the absurd and visionary speculations of the writer named Spence; because some foolish individuals who had adopted his absurd principles had met at Spafields with a numerous body of persons in distress, and because it was said that a plan was in agitation to proceed from thence to pillage the Bank, after which their military ardour was to lead them a step farther, to attack the Tower, and take it by a *coup de main*, without having any thing like guns, though a man had certainly ordered a few hundred pike-heads to be made. But it was scarcely possible that any body could believe such an absurdity, as that these persons, unarmed, and without a single sapper or miner amongst them, were to proceed to destroy the bridges. Without having been in any of those battles which had immortalized the Duke of Wellington and his soldiers, he did think he had sufficient knowledge of engineering to declare that the story was made a little too strong for credibility, when it was said that with such means the Spenceans were to destroy those immense piles of architecture which connected both sides of the river. The Spencean doctrines and their author appeared to him utterly contemptible, and such as must speedily die of themselves. When the power which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the trial by jury would give to any ministers was considered, it would become the House to pause well before they consented to arm such ministers as the present with powers that might be devoted to the worst of party purposes. It was impossible not to believe that this measure did not originate in party motives, and that its object was to distract and divide the political opponents of the present administration. But he would

tell the noble lord, that the hope was vain; for the attention of the people was not to be diverted from those salutary and necessary objects, retrenchment and reduction, and, finally, a reform in the representation of the people. Whatever might be the fate of the bill, the noble lord would find that, as soon as it was got rid of, the House would immediately take up the last motion, that on the Lords of the Admiralty, from which its attention had been diverted.

Mr Canning had often remarked, that no creed was so extravagant as the creed of unbelief; this seemed confirmed by the case of those who thought that all the matter of the report was a plot invented by ministers. "The object of this ingenious and diabolical invention, it seems, was to defeat the efforts of the mighty phalanx which is combined to investigate our conduct, and drive us from our seats. And for this purpose we have, it is supposed, gone through the following elaborate, but compendious system of operations. We have, first, devised or resuscitated a set of extravagant and pernicious principles, hostile alike to the peace of nations and to the welfare of mankind, which we have caused to be circulated throughout the country, and particularly throughout the distressed and suffering parts of it. We have next selected a certain number of desperate, but trust-worthy incendiaries, to act upon these principles to the full extent of direct physical resistance and rebellion, risking their own lives, but keeping our counsel all the time. Next, so secure have we felt in the framing and jointing of our conspiracy against ourselves, so confident that nothing would appear that should betray the secret of its fabrication, that we have ventured to submit it to the inspection of a secret committee, composed, as I have stated, and as we all know, that committee to

have been; and so entirely has the event justified our confidence, that we have been enabled to procure a report—an unanimous report—from that committee, affirming the existence of the plot, but without a hint at the suspiciousness of its origin. Why, sir, all this sounds very foolish, and it is so; but it is the creed, real or pretended, of those who say that the plot is the plot of ministers; and it is, as I have said, the ordinary course of those, who hardly deny what, according to all fair rules of evidence, they cannot avoid believing, to take refuge in some extravagant hypothesis, by which the most implicit credulity would be staggered." It had been asked what was the nature of the danger? "Why, sir, the danger to be apprehended is not to be defined in one word. It is rebellion, but not rebellion only; it is treason, but not treason merely; it is confiscation, but not confiscation within such bounds as have been usually applied to it in the changes of dynasties, or the revolutions of states; it is an aggregate of all these evils; it is all that dreadful variety of sorrow and of suffering which must follow the extinction of loyalty, morality, and religion; which must follow upon the accomplishment of designs, tending not only to subvert the constitution of England, but to overthrow the whole frame of society. Such is the nature and extent of the danger which would attend the success of the projects developed in the report of the committee." It was said that the Spencean doctrines were mere idle and visionary speculations; but when their supporters came forth armed in furtherance of them, was it not time to be on our guard? He did not believe the Spenceans meant to make an equal partition of the land, but he believed they meant to spoil its present possessors. Ministers were far from feeling any wish to wield at pleasure an unconstitutional

authority. "The executive government do not ask for these additional powers as a boon, (God knows they are no object of desire,) but for the due discharge of an embarrassing and distressing duty, we feel bound to receive them as a trust—to support them as a burden, which we shall most unwillingly carry, and shall most gladly lay down. We ask them—we will accept them—only for the conservation of the public safety. At our own suggestion, the duration of the most onerous and delicate part of this trust is to be limited to a period during which it will be exercised under the immediate observation of parliament. Does this look as if our application had in view any object which we fear to describe?" Besides, if the government demanded extraordinary powers, were not these extraordinary times? "Have we—has England ever seen the like before? We have had our share in this country of every species of political dissension; disputed titles to the crown; disputed rights to the people; invasions; rebellions; the struggles of rival dynasties; and civil wars both of politics and religion; but in all our varieties of agitation and convulsion, were we ever exposed to such pests as these of the present day? In our civil wars, there was enough of violence and of blood; but principle was opposed to principle, and honest and upright men might be found on either side. Republicanism was opposed to monarchy, and monarchy was overthrown; but the overthrow of monarchy was not effected for the sake of throwing all government into confusion—they destroyed not in those days for the sake of destruction alone. In religion, independency was opposed to episcopacy, and independency triumphed; but it was still for some form of religion that the contest was carried on. It was not for the destruction of all religious principle; it was not the

opposition of mere *negation* to God. It was left for the reformers of modern times to endeavour to strip the mind of all reverence for the Deity, in order to prepare the man to become a mere instrument of ruin,—a remorseless agent of evil."

The sense of the House upon this subject was strongly marked by the vote, in which, by a majority of 190 to 14, leave was given to bring in the bill. At the same time leave was given to bring in the other two bills announced by Lord Castlereagh. The Habeas Corpus Act having originated in the Lords, was to be received from that House.

In consequence of the rapidity with which the Habeas Corpus Bill had passed the House of Lords, the first reading was moved in the House of Commons on the 26th. It gave occasion to a long and animated debate.

Mr Bennet said, he would oppose in every stage this arbitrary, impolitic, and uncalled-for measure. After what had passed in the House that night—after the statements of various members, and from various parts of the country, he was surprised that the noble lord opposite should move the first reading of this bill as a matter of course. He was surprised that no defence was offered, that no explanation was given, that no facts were stated, for the purpose of inducing the House to enact a measure which suspended all the benefits of the constitution, which enslaved the country, and placed the liberty of every man in it at the disposal of ministers. With regard to the report, he could not help being surprised that his friend Mr Ponsonby had disgraced himself by sitting in the committee, particularly in company with Lord Castlereagh. Similar charges had been brought forward against the country in 1794 and 1812, the falsehood of which had been afterwards proved by judicial evidence, and the

actual disturbances were found to have been in a great measure fomented by government. No man could condemn more than he blasphemous expressions and publications; but the existing laws upon this subject appeared to him quite sufficient for their suppression. Nothing was more ridiculous than the importance attached to the attempt of the 2d December. How was this mighty project to be accomplished? Could a hope be formed of success? Could there be the least danger apprehended from such wild and absurd projects? Could they suppose that they could overpower a garrison without spreading an alarm, in a case where a single watchman would not be surprised? He was willing to admit that some wild, mad, desperate, and mischievous enthusiasts might discuss the probability of success attending such enterprizes in ale-houses; that they might, in their ignorant and intoxicated societies, start such absurd ideas, but could there be any danger from such instruments? Was there not strength enough in the existing law to restrain their attempts? and because they were so frantic and foolish, was the liberty of the whole nation to be placed at the disposal of ministers? The pompous display of burlesque design in the report, compared with the instruments and the means of execution, put him in mind of a performance, which perhaps the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr Canning) would remember better than he could, he meant the attack on the Abbey of Quod'burg, (in the Anti-Jacobin.) To describe this enterprize in the style of that performance, there would be—Scene, Spafelds—Time, morning—Enter waggon, with six men and the ammunition stocking.—(*A laugh.*)—From Spafelds they must proceed to blow up the bridges, without sappers or miners; they must take the Bank, defended by its guard; they

must advance to summon the Tower, defended with artillery, and manned with soldiers; they must overpower all opposition, and take possession of the town. Was not such an absurdity, gravely advanced in the report, sufficient to throw discredit on the whole? Shame, shame, to those who could produce this absurdity to parliament, and, on the ground of its importance, call upon us for a surrender of our liberties! It was said that few of the higher, or even middling classes, were concerned in these proceedings. If there was any one, he ought to have been named. If there was none, then this part of the report insinuated a falsehood. The whole people were in this report libelled and arraigned; they were traduced in their characters, and were to surrender their freedom to such trash as this,—“trash” which was only fit to be trampled under feet. Yet upon vague and absurd allegations, the invasion of the constitution was justified, and measures were to be passed, by which he might be apprehended and imprisoned to-morrow, by the command, and during the pleasure, of the noble lord. “Though those,” said the honourable gentleman, “in whom I have the greatest confidence were to require such a sacrifice—though ministers, whose conduct I was convinced had always tended to promote the public good—though my own friends made the demand, I would oppose them, till they shewed, in the necessity of the case, a justification of their proposals. I will never consent, therefore, to surrender the rights of the people, without such necessity, into the hands of such ministers as the noble lord, who would abuse the power intrusted to them, who have already imbrued their hands in the blood of their country, who have already been guilty of the most criminal cruelties.”

Lord Castlereagh spoke to order. He felt it his duty to call upon the

honourable member to state which individual member of the present government had criminally imbrued his hands in the blood of his country?

Mr Bennet said he charged the members of his majesty's government in their official situations, with having before called for the very same powers which they now required, and with having abused the trust then reposed in them, and afterwards covered their misconduct with a bill of indemnity.

Lord Castlereagh. "I have then to say, that, if it has been asserted that I ever criminally imbrued my hands in the blood of my country, the honourable member has stated that which is false."

After some conversation by Lord Milton, Mr Yorke, Mr Wynn, &c. Mr Bennet said, that, though he would be the last man alive to retract anything he might have said, from any regard for the consequences which might ensue so far as they could affect himself, he had, however, no hesitation in saying, that the charges in question were meant generally, and were not intended to be confined to one individual. When he had spoken of a minister imbruing his hands in the blood of his country, he had not meant to speak of the two hands belonging to any individual member of the government, but he spoke of all that administration in whose time those scenes had passed in Ireland, which he should ever sincerely lament; and, under which this very law was called for.

Lord Castlereagh, when he interrupted the honourable member, had thought the charge which he had made was directed personally against him. Now that he had heard the honourable gentleman say he meant it generally against the government of which he was a member, he had no cause to complain.

Mr Frankland Lewis and Mr Yorke supported the bill, and Mr Smyth of Cambridge opposed it.

Mr Robinson observed, that the union of Mr Ponsonby and Lord Castlereagh, so much deprecated by Mr Bennet, appeared to him the clearest proof of the solid grounds upon which the committee proceeded. It was easy to deny the facts reported by a committee of this nature, which could not with propriety state names and authorities. The Spenceans, however, were no new society; they had been mentioned in the report of 1801, under the name of Spensonians, their object then being the same as now, a general distribution of the property of the country. Many societies, meeting ostensibly for lawful purposes, carried on similar plans; and nothing appeared to him so dangerous as the unlawful oaths which were so generally administered.

Lord Althorp felt himself conscientiously called upon to vote against the bill.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland communicated some facts relative to that part of the kingdom to which he belonged. Publications had been recently circulated there, calculated to familiarise the popular mind with every immoral and seditious principle. Directions were given to watch very closely the conduct of those persons who were conspicuous in the seditions of 1796. The consequence was, that they were soon put in possession of information, that a regular conspiracy had been organized. It was found that an oath of the most dreadful import was used to bind together the members of this conspiracy.

"In awful presence of God, I, A. B., do voluntarily swear, that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Britons of every description, who are considered worthy of confidence; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes or insanity, the elective franchise at the

age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require; and I do further swear, that neither hopes, fears, or punishment, shall induce me to inform or give evidence against any member or members, collectively or individually, for any act or expression done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such society. So help me God, and keep me steadfast."

Many hundred persons were bound together by this oath, both in Glasgow and its vicinity. Soon afterwards information was obtained, that a meeting had been held, in which a motion was made for the purpose of modifying the oath, and of leaving out its most offensive terms; but such was the malignant disposition of that assembly, such its determination to have nothing to do with persons who would flinch from their horrid test, that the proposition of amendment was unanimously rejected. The result was, that at the next meeting several persons were apprehended while sitting in full conclave. Though these were all the persons who had been taken up, yet there were others in a different sphere of life, who ought to have been apprehended, and who would have been taken up, provided the evidence against them had been more satisfactory. This conspiracy was not confined to Glasgow; its ramifications extended through various parts of the kingdom; and so wide had the mischief spread, that he was in his conscience convinced that nothing but the passing of this bill could prevent the effusion of the blood of our fellow-citizens; for a riot once commenced, who could say where it would end? He deeply regretted the great misfortune that such a measure should be

necessary; but he was persuaded that the very safety and existence of the constitution was concerned, and that the constitution could not be preserved unless on this occasion one of its best and strongest bulwarks was suspended.

Lord Milton still retained his opinion as to the dangerous nature of the designs of the disaffected, though he was surprised to hear the noble lord repeating the oath in question, which had been purposely kept back by the committee. Notwithstanding his conviction of the nefarious designs of many individuals throughout the country, he did not think there were a sufficient ground for removing the great bulwark to our liberties.

Mr Wynne considered the danger of the country as very serious, and entirely approved of the bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly again urged that no trial had been made of the efficacy of the existing laws, and conceived that the proposed suspension could not be agreed to without serious danger to our liberties.

Lord John Russell saw no ground whatever for the proposed suspension. He conceived it indispensable for the justification of such a measure, that persons within the country should be plotting with an enemy from without. There seemed nothing in the present danger which the existing laws were not sufficient to encounter. "The report of the committee refers to two objects—to the plot which broke out in Spa-fields, and to the system of clubs and combinations now carrying on. As to the first, though the story is told in very pompous language in the report, we know the fact to be, that a few miserable malcontents attempted a riot; that one man summoned the Tower; and that another party, which went to the Royal Exchange, was defeated by the Lord Mayor and Sir James Shaw. So that whatever the danger may have been previously, it is

now past. The insurrection was tried and failed. Now, sir, what better proof can there be of the excellence of the present laws? An attempt was made to overturn them; the people refused to join in it, and it was immediately quelled. What better evidence could we desire of the sufficiency of the constitution to repel the dangers which menace it." With regard to reform, he thought the best mode by which the House could preserve the respect of the people would be, that, while they were ready to sanction a new code in favour of the crown, they should not refuse all innovation in favour of the people.

After some remarks from Mr Courtenay in favour of the bill, Sir Francis Burdett expressed his satisfaction at the speech of the noble lord. The name of Russell was dear to every Englishman; and in the defence of these rights his revered ancestor had lost his life. He did not believe that the proposed measure was designed for the benefit either of the crown or the people. In his opinion, it was calculated solely for the benefit of the ministers, who having brought the country into inextricable difficulties, found a general demand for retrenchment of their profligate expenditure. The extravagance of which ministers had been guilty, was tenfold more destructive of the landed property of the kingdom, than the newly raised and visionary mischief apprehended from the disciples of a weak man who died twenty years ago, who never dreamed that he should make such a noise in the world, and from whose absurd tracts no real danger could ever be anticipated. The Expencean party, as he would denominate them, came to the same point as the Spenceans, whom they denounced. The honourable and learned gentleman had contended, that it was necessary to arm ministers with this despotic, de-

testable, and mischievous power, because, he said, there were criminal persons in the country, the guilt of whom government had not the means of proving. According to him, men were to be punished, not because they were guilty, but because there were no means of proving them guilty. Was there ever doctrine more odious and more abominable, held in any assembly, or under any tyrant on earth? This country had nothing to do with the political scenes of the French revolution, and with regard to its impiety, he knew nothing that could equal it, but the impiety which had lately been practised in this country, in the prayer which, in solemn mockery, implored of heaven to guard the Prince Regent from the pestilence that walked by day. He (Sir F. B.) knew of no pestilence except that pestilence which met the people at every corner, which visited their firesides, which partook of their meals, which accompanied them to their beds, which contaminated every thing they touched—the pestilence of insupportable taxation. The Attorney-General possessed already enormous power over the press, and if he did not prosecute, it could only be because there was no proof of any offence. The noble lord might fine and imprison, he might erect a gallows in Palace-yard, or in the lobby of the House of Commons, but he could not physically gag the mouths of the people. If it was true that the great mass of the population of the empire was infected with the principles reprobated by the noble lord, could he shut it up? Had he prisons sufficiently capacious? Buonaparte erected eight additional bastilles in France; but the noble lord must do much more, for our gaols were already overflowing. The execution of this act had been attended with many gross instances of cruelty and oppression,

and far from agreeing to it for even a few months, he would not agree to it for a few hours.

Lord Castlereagh said, that with all his respect for the rank and talents of the honourable baronet, it appeared to him that his speech tended rather to the destruction than the salvation of the British constitution. The substance of that speech, the attempt in it to treat with ridicule the present alarming state of the country, was only consistent with the honourable baronet, who had many years ago, during the late war, endeavoured to ridicule those treasons, which if they had been treated as lightly by parliament as they had been by the honourable baronet, the constitution would long ago have been overturned, and that House would now have lain prostrate, the victim of treason and rebellion, under the mask of reform. He begged pardon for having detained the House on a subject foreign to the question before it. But really it was matter for serious consideration to find the dangers which now threatened the country talked lightly of; to hear even ridicule endeavoured to be thrown on the attempts against the person of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent—attempts of a nature so criminal, so abhorrent to human nature, as scarcely to be credited as having been made in any civilized country; to hear those plots attempted to be made the subject of laughter which threatened the subversion of the constitution, and which had threatened the lives and properties of the people of England. He disclaimed any use of the bill for the purposes of punishment, but thought it essential to the safety of the state. He believed that a conspiracy existed in the country, for the subversion of the constitution. He was convinced that that conspiracy was great in point of numbers; that the members were bound together by oaths, involving the

horrid principle of inflicting death on those who revealed them. He believed, too, that if the societies engaged in this conspiracy were not soon put down, they would be capable of struggling by force against the laws and government of this country. He believed that the conspirators thought they were strong enough on the 2d of December to accomplish their purpose; he believed they afterwards adjourned the execution of their intention to the 10th of February. He would put it to the House, whether on the eve of an insurrection, embracing many parts of the country and the metropolis, they wished the executive to sit with their arms folded, and make no effort to arrest it till it exploded against the state? Did they wish ministers to suffer it first to explode, and blood to flow in the country? Was it not humanity to snatch the leader from the head of his troops before he could lead them against his majesty's peaceful subjects?

Mr Ponsonby was placed in a hard situation between his friends, who accused him of credulity, and gentlemen opposite, who called on him to support the bill. He was still fully convinced of the existence of the alleged disaffection; but it appeared to him confined to the lower orders, and to be the effect of distress acted on by malignity. He had a reverence for this law amounting almost to superstition; he believed it the great bulwark of British liberty—that which brought home to the poorest man in the country the value of the British constitution.

Lord Lascelles supported the bill, while Lord Stanley and Lord Cochrane opposed it.

The question was now put, when there voted for the first reading of the bill 273

Against it, 98

Majority, 175

After this triumphant majority the bill was speedily carried through the different stages of the committee, and of the second and third readings. Several amendments were made, of which the only important one was that made by Sir Samuel Romilly in relation to Scotland. The power of committal was now there, as in England, to be exercised only upon a warrant signed by one of the principal secretaries of state. That power had formerly been left in the hands of even a subordinate magistrate. The third reading was carried by a majority of 265 against 103. The amendments were then carried up to the House of Lords, and on the 3d of March were agreed to, and the bill passed.

The bill for restraining seditious meetings was also carried through, though not in so rapid a manner. On the 10th March, Sir James Mackintosh moved an amendment, by which the punishment of death, pronounced upon those who did not disperse in an hour after warning given by a magistrate, should be commuted to transportation for seven years. It was negatived by 70 to 26. Sir James moved also that, in the clause authorising the magistrate to apprehend those who stirred up the people to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution, the word *government* might be omitted, as being a term often used as synonymous with the existing administration. The in-

ference was denied by ministers, and the clause was rejected by 43 to 16. Two clauses were however introduced, exempting the East India College and societies incorporated by royal charter or act of parliament. The third reading of the bill was carried, on the 14th of March, by a majority of 179 to 44. The bill was then carried to the Lords, where it received several amendments, of which the only important one was that which prohibited any public meetings from being held within a mile of the Houses of Parliament and Westminster-hall. The bill, however, was argued against at considerable length, particularly by Lord Erskine; but it was carried by a majority of 111 to 23. Eight lords protested. The amendments were agreed to by the Commons, with the exception of a trifling one respecting a penalty of 50*l.*, on the principle, that the House would admit no alteration in any thing connected with *money*. The amendment was agreed to by the Lords, and the bill was passed on the 29th March, before the Easter holidays.

The bills for the protection of the person of the Prince Regent against treasonable practices, and for the prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in the army and navy, passed both the Houses without a vote, and with few observations. They were both made perpetual.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAME SUBJECT RENEWED.

Disturbances at Manchester—Rising in Derbyshire—Message from the Prince Regent—Appointment and Report of Secret Committees—Renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—On the Employment of Spies.

THE most important of the provisions which had now received the sanction of parliament were only to continue in force till the period when the session was to close, leaving room for their renewal or expiry, according as the country should subside into a settled and tranquil state. During this interval, however, events occurred, affording ample room for proposing the renewal of these restraints. The metropolis, indeed, exhibited no alarming symptoms, and repeated meetings took place, even on the critical spot of Spa-fields, without any disturbance. The country, however, disappointed in its expectation of receiving the lead from London, began to move of itself. Manchester, the metropolis of the cotton trade, was the centre of agitation; a circumstance which too clearly pointed to distress as the source of irritation, or the engine employed by the agents of disorder to produce it. Great, however, as was the sympathy due to the want of employment under which the manufacturers laboured, it was impossible to allow them to employ their unwelcome leisure in new-modelling the British constitution.

On the 10th of March, Manchester became the scene of an extraordinary

commotion. The leaders of the reformers circulated proposals that the whole body, providing themselves with blankets and knapsacks, should proceed to London, and there present in person, to the Prince Regent, a statement of their grievances, with a petition for redress. They were believed to be encouraged by reports of a most numerous body of allies who were on their way from Scotland, and whose van had even entered Preston. It was expected that they would continually gather strength as they proceeded, and that in passing through Stockport, Derby, Nottingham, Coventry, Birmingham, and other large towns of this most populous part of England, they would be reinforced by a great proportion of the inhabitants, not to mention arms and other equipments with which they would be supplied. The object of all this machinery very evidently was, that the petition might be presented in such a shape as might render perilous a refusal to grant the prayer contained in it. The doubts as to the reality of this meditated expedition were dispelled by a placard which appeared on the 8th, appointing a meeting on the 10th, near St Peter's church, and expressing a hope, that all those who intended to

proceed to London should supply themselves with the requisite means "for this loyal and necessary undertaking." It concluded with stating, that persons were ready to receive contributions for the promotion of this purpose. The aspect of this undertaking was judged by the magistracy to be such, as to call for their active interference. A great number of special constables was sworn in, while four troops of cavalry, and a detachment of the 85th foot, were kept on the watch. In the morning, vast crowds were seen pouring into Manchester from every direction, to the number, it has been supposed, of 60,000, which, however, is probably exaggerated, as it is admitted that there were at no time more than 10 or 12,000 present on the field. Of these a large proportion, according to instruction, were provided with blankets and knapsacks, preparations for the journey on which they were destined. About nine, a temporary stage was erected on a cart, round which the orators seated themselves, one being employed to invite as many as possible to concur in the design; while another took down the names, another received contributions, &c. On a sudden, by a dexterous movement of the magistrates and troops, the cart was surrounded, and all its contents taken into custody. A movement of the cavalry then scattered the multitude in every direction. A large body of the *blanketeers*, however, adhered to their purpose, and took their departure on the road to Stockport. On arriving there, they found the bridge occupied by two troops of cavalry; but a number throwing themselves into the river where it was fordable, they succeeded in turning that barrier, and entered Stockport. By the activity of the police and military, many were arrested in the streets, and most of the remainder deterred from advancing. About five hundred only penetrated, and pushed on to Macclesfield, where they were

received by another troop of dragoons, and not above twenty were supposed to reach the borders of Staffordshire. Of the great number apprehended on this occasion, most were dismissed in a few days, on expressing contrition for their error, and promises of peaceful behaviour in future.

After the breaking up of this extraordinary explosion, the disaffected districts remained for some time in a state of apparent tranquillity. The agitators, however, were only planning in secret bolder and more desperate schemes. These were soon brought to maturity; and, before the end of March, the magistrates of Manchester announced their knowledge of a plan for a general insurrection, to take place on the 30th. By a simultaneous movement, the magistrates were to be seized, the prisons thrown open, the soldiers either surprised in their barracks, or thrown into confusion, firing several of the factories. They expected to muster from 2 to 3000 men for the immediate execution of the plan, after which, their numbers would speedily swell to 5000. The introduction of troops, the knowledge that their plan was discovered, and the seizure of a number of the ringleaders, prevented any attempt to carry this plot into execution. After this second disappointment, the activity of their measures was for some time intermitted; but towards the end of April, its activity was renewed, though in a more secret and cautious manner. Correspondence was now avoided as much as possible, and it was strongly recommended to conceal the names of the leaders. The business was now conducted by delegates, who met in small numbers, and carried on an extensive but verbal correspondence among the disaffected. Derbyshire, Nottingham, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, appear to have become the centre of action. About the middle of May, a new expedition to London

seems to have been planned ; and as the migratory petitioners were now to be supplied with arms, either provided beforehand, or seized on their way from individuals and depôts, the character of insurrection would have been no longer equivocal. Various reasons induced the postponement of this measure to the 9th and 10th ; and its execution on a great scale was finally protracted by the activity of the magistrates. The borders, however, of the counties of Derby and Nottingham presented a certain form of insurrection. One Brandreth, called the Nottingham Captain, collected at Pentridge a band of about a hundred men, with which he proceeded through Ripley and Eastwood, towards Nottingham. Mr Rolleston, the magistrate, came from that town to reconnoitre, and finding the hostile attitude in which this body was moving, returned, and directed a troop of hussars to attack them. At sight of the hussars, the insurgents took to flight, and dispersed in every direction. The ringleaders were taken, and afterwards brought to trial. The full account of the proceedings on that occasion, given in the Appendix, (p. 16,) will be found to include the details of this rash and desperate sally.

This course of proceeding, even prior to the occurrence of the last part of it, clearly shewed the country to be in a state as disturbed as when parliament, as noticed in the last chapter, had been induced to arm government with extraordinary powers. The presentiment of an application for their renewal was felt even in the opposition side of the House ; and, on the 15th May, Mr Ponsonby, alluding to the expiry of the former acts on the 1st July, requested to know, what were the intentions of ministers before the members should begin to withdraw into the country. Lord Castlereagh replied, that ministers felt it their duty to advise the Prince Regent to make a fresh com-

munication to parliament on the state of the country ; and judged it candid to add, that it was their intention to propose the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus, till the commencement of the next session. He stated also, in reply to Mr Brougham's inquiry, that the first measure proposed would be a committee of inquiry, similar to that at the beginning of the session.

On the 3d June, the message from the Prince Regent was sent to both Houses, in which, as on the former occasion, he submitted to their inspection papers tending to prove the disturbed state of the country. In both Houses, it was determined to refer these, as before, to a secret committee. In the House of Lords, the same noblemen were named as before, with the exception of the Duke of Bedford, who declined, and the Earl of Talbot was named in his stead. In the House of Commons, Sir J. Newport proposed an entirely new committee, in which Lord George Cavendish, Lord G. Russell, and Sir S. Romilly were introduced, while, of the ministers, Mr Vansittart and Mr. H. Addington were substituted for Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning. This was negatived by 126 to 66, and the former committee re-appointed.

In a few days the reports of the committees were presented to the two Houses. The committee of the Lords stated, that though, by the active exertions of the government, and particularly of the magistrates, in execution of the general laws, and of the special powers entrusted to them by parliament, the designs of the conspirators had been frustrated, yet they have reason to believe that the same wicked and desperate projects are still continued. The information on which this conclusion is founded is said to be collected from sources frequently unconnected and unknown to each other,

but the result is said to be uniform, and is also corroborated by a striking coincidence in many minute particulars.

The committee then observe, that their intelligence rests, in many of its parts, upon the testimony of persons who are either themselves implicated in these criminal transactions, or who have apparently engaged in them for the purpose of obtaining information, and imparting it to the magistrates, or the secretary of state.

The committee allow that such testimony must be very questionable; and state, that they have reason to apprehend, that the language and conduct of some of the latter description of witnesses has had the effect of encouraging those designs which it was intended they should only be the means of detecting. But allowing for these circumstances, they are still of opinion, that the statement which they proceed to give is by no means exaggerated, but perfectly warranted by the papers submitted to their inspection.

The committee then take a view of the various transactions which had taken place at Manchester and its vicinity. They announce the intended general rising in the northern counties on the 9th and 10th of June, the intention of which, though frustrated, was proved to have existed, by the intelligence just received of partial insurrection.

“The committee think it important to state, that many of the most active magistrates, and persons whose civil and military situations enabled them, upon the most extensive information, to form the most accurate opinion, concur in attributing the disappointment of the attempts already made, and the hopes of continued tranquillity, to the exercise of the new powers which parliament intrusted to the executive government, and to the influence produced by the knowledge that these powers

would be called into action as soon as necessity should justify their employment. They concur likewise in a representation of the danger with which the expiry of these powers at the present moment would threaten the country; and the committee feel, that they should ill discharge the high trust reposed in them, if they did not declare their unreserved assent to this opinion. They, therefore, with the fullest confidence in the loyalty and good dispositions, not only of those classes of the community and those portions of the kingdom which have generally hitherto remained free from disaffection, but of the greatest part of those very districts which are the chief scenes of discontent and of threatened disturbance, cannot refrain from declaring it as the result of all the information which they have collected, that the time is not yet arrived, when the maintenance of public tranquillity, and the protection of the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects, can be allowed to depend upon the ordinary powers of the law.”

The presentation of this report, with one of the same tenor in the Commons, was immediately followed in both Houses by motions for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, which gave rise to debates as long and as animated as those which had taken place at its first introduction. The same ground, however, being to be gone over, the speeches on both sides could be little more than a repetition, in different words, of the arguments formerly urged. The only novelty was afforded by some facts, partially admitted by the committee, who, as above, express their apprehension that the designs of the disaffected may have been encouraged by the language and conduct of some of the witnesses. In fact, one Oliver having been apprehended in Yorkshire, as one of the most active ringleaders of sedition, was, on being brought before Sir John

Byng, the commander in chief, immediately liberated, and was then understood to have been employed by government as a spy. The profligate character of Castles, brought forward as a witness in the recent trial of Watson, afforded a fair theme for the invective of opposition. The most violent language was used by the popular leaders. Sir Francis Burdett in particular, after observing that Oliver had been in the habit of going about using his own name, observed, that the infamy of such proceedings was greater on the part of the employer than the employed. They who held out encouragement to such agents to destroy the sources of social happiness, to overturn the mutual confidence of men, to endanger their lives, and rob them of their liberty—the ministers who acted in this way were worse than the agents themselves; and, “if universal justice ruled the ball,” the noble lord who employed them should be brought to the bar with his associates Castles and Oliver. Whether they had authority or not, ministers were answerable for their acts, and it would be no defence to say that they had exceeded their instructions. Happily for the country, an honest jury, aided by great legal abilities, had defeated their infamous purposes, and deprived them of the blood-money that was to be the reward of their villainies. He afterwards declared, that this atrocious act, if passed, would place this country in a situation never to be envied by any other. The preamble of the act stated an untruth; for the real conspiracy was that of corruption and profligacy, aided by spies, who worked up discontent and insurrection in the haunts of misery and want. In proof of this he had various letters from different parts of the country, all unfolding the missions of Oliver and his friends. He could not imagine how any government which employed spies could be held estimable;

since he always thought that spies were a disgrace to a free state. We had already one fruit of that system in the preferment of Mr Reynolds here, concerning whom he would only say, that he never met an Irishman who did not shudder at his very name.

In reply to these strictures, it was stated by Lord Castlereagh, that Oliver had not been sent for, but had applied to government, though he could not mention names connected with Oliver. Mr Oliver had stated, that he had been applied to by a delegate, who was desirous of ascertaining the state of things in London. There was also another person present, who had said it was his intention to leave the country, but he would remain if an effort should be made. The question for the consideration of government was, whether Oliver knew facts connected with the treason, and if he should be allowed to give information respecting them. The conduct of government in that respect was fully justifiable; and, from the communications made by Oliver, government saw no reason to think that there was any imputation upon his moral character. No encouragement had been given to get up a treason, but he was to give information to the magistrates how any rising might be prevented. Oliver accompanied the delegate to the country, and from that circumstance acquired the confidence of his associates. But it was impossible that the arrival of a stranger could have had the effect ascribed to it, and what must have been the state of the country if it had? The fault of Oliver had been, that he brought himself too much into observation; but he certainly had prevented the explosion of the 9th June, and had not been deep in the confidence of the rioters. Sir John Byng, the commander of the district, had admitted that information had been procured by Oliver, and the conspiracy had been in full vigour be-

fore Oliver left town, had it not been stopped by the magistrates. Much exaggeration had doubtless taken place on the part of the delegates as to the number of their adherents, and Oliver had been told that 70,000 men had assembled in Spa-fields; but still some measure was necessary to be adopted, and had not Oliver been sent down, another delegate would have been appointed, and the effect would have been the same, without any information being given to the government. He must protest against government being censured for such a proceeding, as it was certainly far better to watch the treason in its progress, than to suffer it to break out into actual rebellion.—Mr H. Addington also mentioned, that Oliver was introduced to the office of his noble relative as a good and useful character; he had been a respectable builder. He gave references to people who could vouch for his former character: he mentioned that his only desire was to be employed in procuring and transmitting information, and that he had no sinister purpose whatever to accomplish. No reward was proposed to him, no hire was offered, nor had he been led to rely on the hope of any remuneration whatever.—Mr Ponsonby also, as a member of the secret committee, while he opposed the renewal of the suspension, gave the following statement. He did not believe that the insurrection had been contrived by Oliver, but that he had predecessors in that laudable course. Many had, no doubt, been in the confidence of government, but he could only speak of Oliver. An association existed in certain counties that had never existed before in England, of a most atrocious kind, but not connected with politics. He alluded to the Luddites. But was the Habeas Corpus Act on that account to be suspended all over England? That was not the way to put a

stop to such proceedings, nor was a general act of legislation the proper remedy. The remedy should be of a local nature, and adapted to the place where such a spirit of insubordination prevailed. The conduct that had taken place in the country had been impelled by the circumstance of Oliver having appeared as a delegate from London, nor was there any disaffection, except among a few of the lower orders of manufacturers. It was the duty of the House to inquire into the nature of the combinations to which he had alluded, and by breaking these combinations, tranquillity would be speedily restored in the disturbed district, without having recourse to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which was not necessary.

Notwithstanding the vehement opposition made to the renewal of the bill, it was carried in the Commons by a majority, at the first reading, of 276 to 111; at the second of 80 to 30; and at the third of 195 to 65. Two motions being made, one for limiting it to the 25th December, and the other to the 1st March, 1818, the latter was carried by a majority of 152 to 50. In the Lords, the bill was carried by a majority, at the second reading, of 190 to 50, and at the third, of 141 to 37.

In reference to the question of the employment of spies, which has been discussed in so violent a manner, we shall take the opportunity of making a few short observations. There is a species of espionage, which is certainly criminal and tyrannical. It is that which inquires into the private opinions of individuals, into the discourses held by them in their family, or at the social board, which seeks, as it were, to pry into their very thoughts. Such a system has always rendered its employers the just objects of public odium. But it is a different case when men form themselves into associations for the purpose of political action. It then

becomes absolutely incumbent on government to know, if possible, what their views and designs are. If there be reason to think them such as strike at the very root of the social system, the necessity becomes still more urgent; and it would be a weakness equally ridiculous and criminal in government to allow them to mature in secret the plans by which the peace and social order of the country would be overthrown. There is, perhaps, scarcely any faction so small which might not become authors of the most dreadful calamities, provided they were thus left to mature their projects unmolested. Few individuals, perhaps, have had higher notions of public virtue than Cicero, and few assemblies than the Roman senate. Yet we find Cicero boasting to Catiline of the intimate knowledge which he possessed of his most secret movements, to a degree which could only be derived, as history shews it to be, from the testimony of a pretended accomplice. In such exigencies, then, there arises a necessity for government to employ means from which it would otherwise have shrunk: they must receive and reward the information of real and even counterfeit accomplices. On the other

hand, the strictest care is requisite that they should be merely passive accomplices, and do nothing tending to aggravate the offences which it is their object to repress. There cannot be a greater enormity than that of a plot against government fomented by its own agents. A natural temptation is offered to such base instruments, of thus increasing the importance of the information which they communicate. It seems indispensable, therefore, that they should be warned, at their very utmost peril, not to involve themselves in any proceedings of such a tendency. From the statement of the committee, as well as from other quarters, there appears ground to suspect that, in the present instance, these limits were passed. If so, an investigation ought surely to have taken place, and the offender, if found guilty, ought not to have been shielded by his connection with ministers, who, we are confident, would never sanction such a course. Ministers, however, protected their instruments; and opposition, perhaps, were less anxious to bring a culprit to justice, than to involve their antagonists in the odium which his proceedings were calculated to excite.

CHAPTER V.

FINANCE.

Lord Castlereagh's Statement of proposed Reductions, and Motion for a Committee of Inquiry.—First Report of the Committee.—Second Report.—The Budget.—Debate on the War Salary of the Secretaries to the Admiralty.—On the number of Admiralty Lords.—On the Office of Third Secretary of State.—On Mr Canning's Mission to Lisbon.—On Mr Harris's appointment.

THE distressed circumstances of the nation during this session, the stagnation of the agricultural and commercial interests, the diminished amount of the revenue, all appeared imperiously to call for economy and for reduction to the utmost extent possible. The nation, as formerly observed, was probably mistaken in expecting from this source any immediate relief; still economy being substantially excellent, it was well that government should by this impulse be urged to its full adoption. The Prince Regent, in his opening speech, had recommended this subject to the attention of the House; and the 7th February, Lord Castlereagh entered upon it at full length. He premised a view of the reductions which were intended to be effected in the different branches of the public expenditure.

First, then, he requested the attention of the House to the subject of the army expenditure; and, in comparing the expence for the present year with that for the last year, the best mode, perhaps, would be to consider the troops in France and India as out

of the question for the present, as these did not bear upon the estimates of the public expenditure of this country. With respect to the land forces, then, the numbers for the last year for this country, Ireland, and the colonies, was 90,000 men—53,000 for the home service, and 46,000 for the foreign establishment. The number at home was to be reduced by 5,000 men, the reduction of the troops abroad was to be 13,000; making a total reduction of 18,000 men. He did not at present think it necessary to state the particular circumstances which had regulated these reductions; but had no hesitation in stating, that they were made under a strong sense of the pressure of the moment. On that account, ministers had felt it necessary, in a great measure, to put out of view the military defence of these colonies against any external attack, and to consider merely what was necessary for internal security. He thought that the present circumstances of the country justified that policy, because there might be a price beyond which it would be improper to go for putting these colonies in a com-

plete state of defence. But as to the home department, there was no price that could be too great for that object; and the only question was, what was the proper and necessary force for the external and internal protection of the state, and the rights and liberties of the people? and events had pressed upon them of late which sufficiently proved, that the magistrates were unable to enforce the laws by means of the civil power alone, without the aid of a military force. The number, then, for the service of Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, would now be 81,016 men, as compared with 99,000, the number for the last year, there being a reduction of 5,000 men in the home establishment, and 13,000 in the colonial, a reduction upon the whole of 18,000 men. Then, as to the votes, the total number for which a vote had been taken last year was 150,000 men; the total number for which the vote of this year would be taken was only 123,000 men. The reason for this was, by the convention with France, the number of our troops there was to be reduced from 30,000 to 25,000 men, and the number of the government troops in India, from 20,000 to 17,000 men. So that the vote for the British, Irish, and colonial establishments, would be for this year 81,016 men, as compared with 99,000 men voted last year; and the total number voted for this year would be 123,000, instead of 150,000 voted last year. It would be proper, however, to mention, that a sum of L.200,000 would be required for regiments now in progress to reduction, but whose reduction had not yet been completed. Having stated this much as to the numbers of the army, he should proceed, in a summary way, to mention the charge for the army. The supplies for the regular land forces would be for this year about L.6,513,000, and, including the militia, L.7,500,000. The supplies for

the commissariat and barrack departments for Great Britain L.580,000, and for Ireland L.300,000, making a total for these departments of L.880,000. The army extraordinaries for this year would be L.1,300,000. The total charge for the army, except the ordnance, for this year, would be L.9,230,000, instead of L.10,564,000, which was the supply for 1816, making a diminution in the supply for army service, for the year 1817, of L.1,334,000, as compared with the charge of last year. With respect to the ordnance, the supply for last year for that department was L.1,696,000. In the present year, the charge for that service would be L.1,246,000, being a saving of L.450,000, as compared with the charge of last year. This saving was effected by the reduction of 3000 men, and other reductions in the artillery. It was proper to call the attention of the House to the circumstances, that of the L.6,538,000 for the regular forces, a sum of about L.2,551,000 was for services already given. All the half-pay and retired pensions had been included in the calculation; so that the sum required for the regular forces actually on service was only about four millions. Gentlemen, therefore, when they talked of reduction, ought to consider, that when reductions took place, the half-pay and pensions for retired services must, on the faith of the legislature, be paid; and, therefore, the reduction, in point of expence, has by no means kept pace with the reductions in point of numbers, as compared with the sums paid to the troops when actually on service. When a body of troops was reduced, the expence was still continued to the amount of 1s. 3d. or nearly 1s. 2d. He now came to the naval establishment. The number voted last year was 33,000 men; the number for this year would be only 19,000 men, being a reduction

of 14,000 men. On a full view of the state of the navy, and the distresses of the country, those whose duty it was to attend particularly to this department of the public service were of opinion this reduction might be made without danger. But it was not intended to make any reduction in the marine corps; and the reason was, that the reduction of that corps would render the speedy equipment of the navy at a future period a matter of very great difficulty. The vote, therefore, was to be taken for six thousand men for this year, being the number voted last year. The charge for the navy, last year, was L.10,114,000. The charge for this year would be only L.6,397,000; making a saving of L.3,717,000, as compared with the charge of last year. In the charge of L.6,397,000 for this year, there was, it ought to be mentioned, a sum of L.500,000, which would not appear in the estimate of the following years. It would be proper, also, to mention, that though the number of men was only reduced to 14,000, the charge was calculated, with reference to that of last year, as if the vote had been only for 12,000 men. The reason was, that as you reduced the men, you also reduced the ships; so that there was a reduction not only of the expence for the men, but also of the expence for wear and tear. The reduction in the estimates for the navy, then, as compared with those of last year, would amount to L.3,717,000; to which adding the savings under the heads of the army, the commissariat, the ordnance, and the other branches of service to which he had previously adverted, would make up the gross saving to L.6,510,000. He meant this, he repeated, as compared with the supplies of last year. The noble lord then recapitulated the separate charges, as estimated for the current year:—

For the Army	L.7,050,000
Commissariat	808,000
Extraordinaries ...	1,300,000
Ordnance	1,246,000
Navy	6,379,000
Miscellaneous	1,500,000

Making a grand Total of L.18,373,000

He might state some reductions which might fairly be anticipated in next year, even of the L.18,373,000, which was the estimate for this. There might be expected a saving of

In the Army	L.223,000
Extraordinaries	300,000
Ordnance	50,000
In the Navy, under the head of Transport Service	500,000

L.1,073,000

which, added together, would amount to more than a million, thus reducing the charge to L.17,300,000. This sum included not only the charges for the public service of the year, but that expenditure likewise required for services already performed, namely, pensions and half-pay. The addition to what would otherwise be necessary for this purpose was under the heads of

Army	L.2,551,000
Navy	1,271,000
Ordnance	223,000
Pensions	400,000

L.4,445,000

which being deducted from the estimate for the year, would leave little more than 13 millions for services.—

In 1792, the supplies, indeed, amounted to only L.5,200,000; but to this was to be added the separate charge of L.1,000,000 for Ireland, making L.6,200,000. The pay and allowances of the army had, since that time, been greatly augmented; the pay of a regiment of cavalry had risen

from L.28,000 to L.38,000. While he deprecated all gloomy views of our situation, while he saw no reason for alarm or despondency, and entertained hopes of an alleviation of our burdens, even sooner than many would allow, he was as little disposed to deny, as he was ready to lament, that the country was suffering under the severest pressure, in every branch of its industry and resources; that this distress was as universal as it was severe; and that, from the highest to the lowest rank, through all classes of society, the hand of Providence was heavily felt. It was rather an aggravation than an alleviation of the sufferings of a generous people, to know that they did not suffer alone; but if our calamities could be soothed by a fellowship in distress, we need only look into Europe to find causes of consolation. No state on the continent, however small or great, no class of society were exempt from that pressure and exhaustion which were consequent upon a war of such extent. If he compared Great Britain with any one of these states, he should be led to describe her as comparatively happy. Comparisons of this kind, however, could not lighten our distress. Whatever was the lot of other nations, our sufferings were severe, our calamity was great; but if it was great, the ardour of those in affluent circumstances to relieve was likewise great. (*Hear, hear!*) That desire to lighten the burdens of the destitute, by sharing them—that generous sympathy which bound all classes of society together in this happy land, and diffused a general spirit of beneficence and charity—had wrought, not only within the limits of law, but had exerted itself in public and in private, with spontaneous efforts, beyond any thing ever witnessed on any former occasion. The example of England would be admired by the world, and would ope-

rate a reduction of the evils felt over Europe. In the highest quarter, in the head of the government of this country, the same feelings and sympathies were shared that actuated his people. He not only sympathized with their distress, but was prepared to share their privations; and, from the spontaneous movement of his own mind, had expressed his determination to abstain from receiving, in the present state of distress, so much of the civil list as he could refuse, consistently with maintaining the dignity of his station, without doing what parliament would disapprove of incurring. His Royal Highness had given his commands to inform the House, that he meant to give up for the public service a fifth part of the fourth class of the civil list, which, it ought to be observed, was the only branch connected with the personal expences, or the royal state of the Sovereign; for all the other heads of charge included in the civil list, except the privy purse, were as much for paying public services as the sums included in the estimates he had this night mentioned. That branch of the civil list amounted to L.209,000, and his Royal Highness offered out of this and the privy purse, L.50,000 (*hear, hear!*) for the public service. The servants of the crown (as we understood the noble lord to say, for he spoke so low as to be inaudible in the gallery at this particular time,) had resolved to follow the example of their royal master, and to surrender that part of their salaries which had accrued to them since the abolition of the property-tax; and he trusted that the whole of what would thus be given up might amount to a sum not unworthy of the acceptance of the country, nor unbecoming their situation. He now came to the proposition already alluded to, of a committee to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country. Ballot

had been an usual mode of chusing such committees, and he was still inclined to think it a good one; but as it had been objected to, and Mr Brougham had revived an old joke of Mr Sheridan on the subject, he would now openly name the members proposed. It could not be expected, that he should name twenty-one individuals who could be considered as perfectly impartial. He confessed he had not observed, that the sentiments of that small class of men who wished to be considered as neutral and independent were treated with any respect by gentlemen on the opposite side: on the contrary, the House must have remarked, that if any class of men were treated by them with more of contempt, asperity, and sarcasm than another, it was that which set up a species of claim to independence and impartiality. This kind of claim seemed, indeed, to be resented by gentlemen opposite with a peculiar acrimony: so that he could not expect to form a committee out of that rare and pure class of members which would be at all acceptable to them. (*A laugh.*) For his part, he must frankly confess, that though he did not share that spirit to its full extent with which gentlemen opposite seemed imbued, yet he did go along with them to a certain extent; for in his conscience he believed that matters would be in no degree better, if there was no party management in that House; convinced as he was, that much of that splendid and comparatively happy situation which the country enjoyed, was produced by the fair, manly, and liberal conflict of parties, and that it was by the determined competition of public parties that truth, wisdom, and public virtue, were often elicited. Men in office certainly ought not to predominate in such a committee; but a few of them were necessary for giving information. He would combine them

with some who were looking forward to office in the event of a change of administration, and with others not looking to office at all. The noble lord concluded with reading the following list:—

Lord Castlereagh,	Mr Arbuthnot,
Chancellor of the	Mr F. Lewis,
Exchequer,	Mr Huskisson,
Mr Ponsonby,	Mr N. Calvert,
Mr Bankes,	Mr D. Gilbert,
Mr Long,	Mr Cartwright,
Mr Tierney,	Mr Holford,
Lord Binning,	Mr E. Littleton,
Sir J. Newport,	Lord Clive,
Mr Peel,	Mr Gooch,
Mr C. W. Wynn,	Sir T. Acland.

Mr Tierney said, that he could not be expected to be able at once to go through the whole of the details which the noble lord had brought forward. The noble lord had professed to give a very ample account of the expenditure of the great establishments, but he had left out what might be considered rather a *material feature* in the case, (*a laugh,*) and that was the income which was to meet this expenditure. From some expressions of the noble lord, it appeared that it was conceived that the machine of finance would go on without any increase to the debt: still there could scarcely be any mode of income devised which would not amount to the same thing: it would only be a question about putting in at one end, and taking out at the other. He was very far from wishing to encourage a spirit of despondency in the country; but he felt most strongly, what it seemed his Majesty's ministers were at last brought to feel, that now was the time for probing the subject to the bottom. He was, however, glad that the ministers at last saw what every body else had long seen—that the expences of the country should be reduced to some reasonable proportion with its means. He was gratified by learning the noble conduct of the Prince Regent, but

censured ministers for not having sooner advised what there appeared such a promptitude to accede to in that distinguished quarter. As to their own concession, he considered it as tardy, and made only from necessity. In regard to the nomination of the committee, the noble lord said, that the best proof he could give of the sincerity of government in this business would be, to take an equal number of gentlemen from the two sides of the House. But then, at the same time, the noble lord treated the neutrals rather too roughly, (*a laugh*), for although he did admit them into his committee, yet he seemed to intimate that they were not likely to do much good. Now he (Mr Tierney), would say, that if the neutrals were good for any thing, it was for such a committee as this. (*Laughter.*) He had sometimes been reproached with being a party man; but whatever opinion some persons might entertain on this subject, he could only say that he gloried in being a party man. Certainly this was not the case with a good many members of that House, but there were even different parties among the neutrals, one party of whom had maintained a sort of armed neutrality, which ended in their joining the belligerents, and as soon as they had done so every one of them was put upon the staff. (*Laughter.*) The gentlemen on the other side of the House seemed always to find fault with the neutrals; but those on his side only did so when they fought under false colours, and kept a double set of colours in their hold. (*Laughter.*) But the question was much more serious as to the admission of men in office into such a committee. He would ask if the noble lord was in earnest about the abolition of offices, when he put into this committee the holders of offices? For instance, one of the proposed members of this committee was a right hon. gentleman with whom he had main-

tained an uninterrupted friendship of forty years, (meaning, we presume, Mr C. Long,) and towards whom he meant not the slightest disrespect by this notice, who was himself the holder of an office (joint paymaster of the forces,) which must be among the very first of those to be abolished. Was it of such members that the committee ought to be composed? The noble lord, however, said, that without the assistance of men in office, a committee set to decide upon the necessity of maintaining or cutting off certain offices, would be like a judge set to decide a cause without counsel or witnesses. In answer to this he would just say, that he would wish to have the assistance of these gentlemen merely as counsel or witnesses, but in no other capacity. As a member of the committee he would wish to have these gentlemen in office before him, and not beside him. If the committee were composed of, he would not say independent men, because it would be unparliamentary to apply that name exclusively to any set of men in the House, but of men whose immediate and personal interest or feelings could not even be suspected of a leaning towards the preservation of any particular offices, then the House might expect from it a report on which it might act during the present session; but if the committee were not so composed, it would be a mockery to expect any substantial good from its labours, or any thing that could lead to a beneficial arrangement during the present year. He called upon the House to support him in this most important point; that, before separating this night, they should appoint such a committee as the circumstances of the country required, as the nature of the duty which they had to perform rendered necessary, and as the expectations of the whole nation looked for.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

observed, that it was only last year that the income of the Prince Regent had been placed upon such a footing as to make it possible for him to contribute to the exigencies of the country. What ministers had done was in no degree to be considered in the light of taxation, but merely of voluntary contribution. He endeavoured to shew that the finances of the country were in a more flourishing and promising state than they had been represented by Mr Tierney.

Mr Brougham expected, in the present state of the nation, that when economy was set about, it would have been in a workman-like manner, and that the members of the committee now proposed would have been distinguished, not by their habitual subservience to the crown, but by their attachment to the rights and liberties of the nation. The real ground taken for the formation of this committee was, when strictly examined, that it could do nothing: it was obvious that in its operation it must meet with a mass of patronage and of influence which would impede every endeavour at reduction. Without referring to their names, he might, without speaking invidiously, predict, that every salutary object would be evaded; and that the principal cause of this defeat would be the overwhelming mass of papers and unintelligible accounts with which the committee would be inundated. He might safely say, that they would look only to the favourable side of the account. It was, however, incumbent on that House to look into the real condition of the country, at this moment. (*Hear, hear!*) The public made a call: would they refuse to answer it? What the public wanted was the reduction of an enormous expenditure. This was a cry not to be smothered; it was a want not to be disappointed. We had now arrived at the grand point of

seeing a committee of public expenditure and revenue, the destroyers of abuses, and abolishers of sinecures, constituted of the same persons who enjoyed them. (*Hear, hear!*) The ordinary way of choosing six on the one side, as it was supposed, and six on the other, would not do, unless they looked to the equal result, or, as he might say, the real working. How could they expect gentlemen to be exact commissioners of inquiry who were themselves interested in the very subject of that inquiry? The only, the great, the effectual inquiry which could be instituted was, an inquiry into the possibility of reducing the salaries of all the high offices in the state without exception. No work of retrenchment was suggested, no great offices of the crown were reduced, and it was for the House to determine whether they would make themselves parties to the illusion. It was for them to say, whether they would wish to see a committee formed of the landed and independent interest, or whether they would desire to see it composed of the friends of ministers, and those who aspired to become ministers themselves.

Mr Canning, though he never expected that any proposition of his noble friend could meet the approbation of the gentlemen opposite, was yet astonished at the degree of irritation which this had excited. In his opinion, the only reasonable doubt could be, whether the system of retrenchment had not been carried too far. The honourable gentleman stated, that the object of this committee ought to be to diminish the influence of the crown, and that, therefore, official men should be excluded from it. It was a matter of argument whether the influence of the crown had grown up within the walls of parliament or in the country, in such a proportion as to render it proper that official men should be excluded from the present inquiry. If tried even by their own test, it would

be found, that the number of officers in parliament was infinitely diminished, when compared with the best times of the Constitution. When compared with the days of the Whigs—with the time when the Septennial Bill was passed—when those saviours of liberty were in power—from that time, downwards, an evident diminution in the number of official men in parliament might easily be shewn. Gentlemen opposite had no right to assume that the object of the committee was to diminish the influence of the crown, and to state that as a reason for excluding official men. If a committee were specifically formed to inquire whether that influence of the crown had not been increased, and ought not to be diminished, then, indeed, it might be right to reject the members of government; but he denied, that the committee now contemplated, had any such object in view.

Mr Wilberforce considered the appointment of such a committee as highly expedient; but was afraid the report would not be produced in sufficient time to do much good. He saw no impropriety in official men holding a place in it; at the same time he was of opinion that the influence of the crown had increased; it met a man everywhere. He thought, therefore, the committee should be so constituted, that the members might be as independent of the crown as possible.

Mr Brand and Mr Ponsonby spoke shortly against the motion, and Lord Lascelles in its favour. It was carried by 210 against 117, forming a majority of 93.

The committee proceeded to their functions without delay; and, disproving the anticipations of delay, speedily prepared a report, which was presented to the House, on the 27th March, by Mr Davies Gilbert. It relates to sinecure offices, and those, the salaries of which appeared to be more than

in proportion to the duties performed. From its interesting nature, we have been induced to give it entire in the Appendix, p. 208. The last proposition, for allowing, in room of abolished sinecures, a limited number of pensions, in reward of efficient public services, was made the foundation of a bill to that effect, called the Offices Compensation Bill. It was strongly opposed, however, by Sir Robert Heron and by Mr Brougham, the latter of whom observed, that it was adding L.42,000 to the pension list of these kingdoms; which, with the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. West India fund, amounted to L.240,000, regularly employed in extending the influence of government. Ministers ought not to be put upon half-pay, like clerks and barristers. It was by having a race of high-minded statesmen, raised far superior to such humble inducements, that Britain had been raised to her present distinguished rank among nations. There was no fear of the want of public men: After all that had been said of public places not being worth accepting, there were no symptoms of any dearth of persons ready to fill public situations.—The bill, however, was defended by Mr Smith and Mr Bankes, who, as the pension list had not been increased since 1782, notwithstanding the fall in the value of money, could not consider its amount as extravagant. It was carried by a majority of 105 to 45.

The committee, actively prosecuting their inquiries, were not long of producing a second report. It relates to the actual expenditure of the army, in every department of which it enters into extensive details. As it is of great length, and relating chiefly to temporary objects, we have not judged it expedient to fill our pages with it. A comparison is made between the establishment of the army in 1814, and in 1817. In 1814, we had, in cavalry, infantry, foreign corps, and

embodied militia, a force of 344,746
In 1817, a force of122,952

Decrease in 1817,221,794

Sums voted for army services.

For 1815, wereL 13,435,392

In 1816, L.8,727,994

In 1817, L.6,989,948

Decrease in 1817;..... L.1,738,496

The expence of the same number of infantry in 1792 and 1817, is nearly in the proportion of two to three. In the former period, the expence of 8,000 men was L.245,000; in 1817, it was L.331,974. The pay of the rank and file has been exactly doubled, with additional allowances after seven years' service; but the pay of the officers has not been raised in nearly the same proportion. The pay of the dragoon soldiers has been only raised from 8d. to 1s. 3d., with additions for length of service. The numerical amount of the army, for Great Britain, in 1817, exceeds that in 1792, by 14,000; of which 3,000 are on account of reliefs for the foreign service. The difference for Ireland is 12,000. In 1792 there were maintained in the colonies 12,650. In 1817 there are maintained in the same colonies 20,416; besides which, there are in the new colonies and foreign possessions 12,600. The Chelsea pensioners amount, for Great Britain, to 51,591; for Ireland, to 10,631. This annual expence, which can admit of no reduction, exceeds a million sterling. The committee suggest a number of minor savings; but, upon the whole, they sanction, with their approbation, the *exposé* submitted by Lord Castlereagh, at the commencement of the session.

After these arrangements, the most important matter relating to the revenue consisted in the annual budget, presented as usual at the close of the session. On the 20th June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that

the House should go into a committee of ways and means. The great deficiency of last year, he said, was principally in the excise and customs. Ireland had a large deficiency of 20 per cent. on the produce of its revenue. The means by which he meant to provide for this deficiency, would neither be burdensome nor objectionable, and would provide for all that was wanting.

SUPPLIES.

Army (including 1,500,000l.

for extraordinaries, and
exclusive of troops in

France)..... 9,080,000

Navy (exclusive of grant
for the reduction of

Navy debt)..... 6,000,000

Ordnance..... 1,221,300

Miscellaneous..... 1,700,000

Total supply for service

of the year 1817.....L.18,001,300

Interest on Ex-

chequer Bills 1,900,000

Sinking Fund

on ditto..... 330,000

To make good

the perma-

nent charges

of Ireland to

the 5th of Jan.

1817..... 246,508

Towards the

reduction of

Navy and

Transport

debt..... 1,660,000

..... 4,136,508

Total, L.22,137,808

Such was the total amount of that establishment he had to propose. He could not call it a peace establishment, for the period had not yet arrived at which we could be said to enjoy the benefit of a profound and real peace. The House would recollect, that at the opening of the session he had estimated the expenditure at 18,300,000l.,

which fell 300,000*l.* short. The unfunded debt was 1,900,000*l.*, and there were thirty-three millions of unprovided expenditure. This expenditure he proposed to meet in the following manner :

" WAYS AND MEANS.

Annual duties.....L.3,000,000

Disposable 1815, 15,749

Ways and Means

1816,.....1,849,110

1,865,559

Excise duties continued (after satisfying the grant thereon for the year

1816)..... 1,300,000

Money remaining at the disposal of Parliament of the consolidated fund at

5th April 1817,..... 1,225,973

Lottery..... 250,000

Old Stores..... 400,000

Arrears of property received or to be received between the 5th of April 1817, and 5th of April

1818,..... 1,500,000

L.9,541,537

Irish Treasury

Bills.....3,600 000

Exchequer Bills 9,000,000

12,600,000

L.22,141,537

The arrears of the property-tax, he hoped, would be made available by next Christmas. But it would be seen by the statement, that a sum of 12,000,600*l.* remained to be provided for. The Bank of Ireland did not wish to be paid off all the debt due to it, but would expect 5 per cent. for it. He had no doubt an arrangement could be made with the Bank of England for reducing the interest as soon as the bills on that subject should be passed. He proposed to provide for the deficiency, by an issue of nine millions of Exchequer bills. He could have raised

the money by loan on very advantageous terms ; but he found by the state of the market, that an issue of Exchequer bills would be still better. They had disposed of twenty-seven millions Exchequer bills in little more than three months, and they would have eight months to dispose of twenty-four millions. It was therefore with much pleasure he had to recommend this measure to the House, which would provide for the deficiencies of the year on advantageous and by no means objectionable terms. He had another subject of importance still to allude to ; that was, the actual state of the public debt ; and though the finance committee had not yet made a report on this subject, yet he was enabled to state, that all the most sanguine expectations formed last year had been realized. It had been calculated last year, that three millions of the public debt would be paid off this year : by the accounts before the House, it appeared that upwards of 9,400,000*l.* had been paid off. But it was right he should state, that six millions, part of this payment, was made from the surplus of 1816, the actual payment being about 3,400,000*l.* But, in addition to this sum, the public debt had been farther reduced by the sum of thirty-two millions of stock bought up by the commissioners, and he looked forward with an anxious expectation of seeing twenty millions more paid off before another budget was laid before the House. Whilst, for the present year, the sum likely to be added to the debt would be about 12,500,000*l.*, we should pay off 16,000,000*l.* : this would reduce the debt 3,500,000*l.* more, but this sum would be liable to be diminished by any falling off in the consolidated fund. The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to contend, that our difficulties did not arise from any domestic circumstances, but from the general state of depression of the continental

kingdoms, which depression prevented the consumption of British articles. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the credit of the country was looking up, and our commerce improving. Under all these circumstances, he trusted he should hear no more of reducing the interest of the national debt, or of breaking faith with the public creditor, but that the spirit and loyalty of the country would enable them to meet much greater difficulties than these. The several resolutions were then put and agreed to.

Besides these general financial arrangements, the opposition members carried on, without intermission, a species of *petite guerre*, upon alleged instances of useless and culpable expenditure on the part of ministers. Such a system forms a regular part of the functions of a parliamentary opposition, and though it may sometimes be carried on upon frivolous and vexatious grounds, is, on the whole, highly to be applauded. Ministers are thus kept constantly on the alert, and made to feel, that they cannot spend a single shilling, without being liable to have it contested and exposed to public view.

The first attack was made on the 18th February by Lord Milton, on the subject of the war salaries claimed by the secretaries of the Admiralty, on occasion of the expedition to Algiers. At a time, his lordship observed, when the ministers of the crown and the Prince Regent himself were resigning large portions of their salary, it could scarcely be expected, that the secretaries of the Admiralty would be claiming an addition. He insisted, that there had been nothing fairly to constitute a state of war; no declaration, no orders issued for capture and reprisal, no letters of marque. Lord Exmouth had said in his dispatch, "Thus has a provoked war, of *two days* existence, been terminated by complete

victory." Yet the Admiralty had dated the war from the time when the Prince Regent's orders were issued to fit out the expedition, and down to the period when the intelligence of the treaty had reached the Admiralty. He moved, therefore, "That the issue of the war salaries to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and certain other officers, in consideration of the expedition to Algiers, is uncalled for, and therefore an improper application of the public money."

Mr Croker trusted no one would suspect him of being influenced in his conduct by so paltry a consideration as that of receiving a sum of L.220. He had considered it as his right, the assertion of which was due to the office he held. He was as ready as any man to make sacrifices to the public good; but it was first necessary to ascertain what was his to give. Letters of marque had not been issued, because Algiers was not a mercantile state. If no hostilities had ensued, he would not have made the demand; but it was quite a mistake to suppose that the duration of a war was only to be measured by that of the actual hostilities. In that case, the war with Denmark would have lasted only during the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the last French war only during the battle of Waterloo. There had been no favour in the case; he had made the demand as a matter of right.—Mr Calcraft and Mr Tierney admitted that the secretary was right in demanding the increase, but thought the Lords of the Admiralty should not have granted it. Government had a general power to cut down superfluous salaries. The war did not begin till after the rejection of the treaty by the Algerines, and it ended with their submission; and the secretary had no right to more than two days addition, or L 2. 5s.—Lord Castlereagh insisted that it was imperative on the Lords of the Admi-

ralty to grant this salary ; the order of 1800 left them no choice. What a monstrous doctrine, that the heads of an office could cut down at pleasure the salaries of the inferior officers ! As well might the Commander in Chief be allowed to reduce the pay of the army. Duty to the English flag, duty to the honour of the English character, duty to the civilized principle throughout the world, made a war with Algiers at once lawful and necessary. Although Lord Exmouth had carried out an alternative of peace or war, it was quite certain, from the circumstances, that there could be nothing but war ; and very great exertions had been made by the Admiralty in fitting out the expedition. All this outcry was about L.220. Nothing but the dearth of all fair grounds of attack could have induced the right honourable gentleman to have recourse to such an insignificant point.—Mr Lamb insisted that such a war did not come within the intent and meaning of the order in council, and that it was mere quibbling and special pleading to call it a war. This was a time when nothing should be done that could lower official men in the eyes of the country. The motion was negatived by a somewhat narrow majority of 169 against 114.

The next motion of this nature was made on the 25th February, by Sir M. Ridley, relative to the continuance, in time of peace, of six Lords of the Admiralty, being the same number employed during the war. Sir M. gave a short view of the progress of the navy, which had been first brought to a flourishing state under the direction of the Duke of York, chiefly through the activity and attention of Mr Secretary Pepys. A regular board had then been formed, and had continued ever since, but varying in its number. In 1702, when Prince George was at the head of the naval lords, their num-

ber was only four ; in 1706, the number was the same. In 1709, when Lord Orford was first commissioner, the number was four ; in 1714, under the Earl of Strafford, the number was five ; in 1717, under Lord Berkley, it was five ; in 1775 and 1776, under Lord Sandwich, the number was still five. Since that time, he was aware that the number was usually six. Perhaps the business of the board had increased during the long wars that had succeeded : but though that number might be necessary during the increased operations of war, he saw no reason why it should be continued in peace, when it could be no longer necessary. If the increase of numbers had been a matter of necessity, it should cease with the necessity : if it were to be considered as a grievance, its long continuance should be no argument for its permanence. (*Hear, hear.*) He believed that he should be acquitted of all wish to throw personal imputations on any man ; but he thought that the House should go with him, if he could shew that the appointment of six lords was neither consistent with former practice, nor with the necessity of present circumstances. Mr Secretary Pepys, in his naval administration, had laid down a rule, which was well worthy the attention of his Majesty's ministers : he took care not to employ any gentlemen who were not masters of naval affairs, and distinguished at the same time for strict integrity, and regular habits of industry. To this testimony he might add the recommendation which some years ago appeared in the report of the commissioners appointed to investigate the state of the naval management. They had stated their conviction as to the necessity of employing the most effective means for the right administration of the navy ; and observed how much depended on scientific knowledge, on ability, on uninterrupted

industry, and recommended that no other circumstances should be permitted to introduce any persons into the Board of Admiralty management, except the being fit for all the duties of their situation. How far his Majesty's ministers had complied with this recommendation, he left it to the House and to the public to judge. When it was seen that a cornet of hussars, without the slightest pretensions to naval knowledge, was made a Lord of Admiralty, what motive could be supposed to have influenced the minds of those who made him so, except such a motive, as was too obvious to every understanding to make it necessary for him even to touch upon it? During war, the number of seamen employed was 140,000; the present number was about 19,000. At that time there were 1200 vessels in service; at present, he believed that the number of vessels, of every sort and description, did not amount to 200. Could any thing, then, justify the continuance of these useless lords, unless it was meant to say, that their offices ought to be kept as sinecure offices for the reward of the friends of ministers?

Lord Castlereagh complimented the honourable baronet on the temperate manner in which he had introduced his motion. Perhaps, however, it would have been better had he waited for the results of the committee of finance now sitting. He must certainly express his regret at the novel course now adopted by the honourable gentlemen of the other side, a course which seemed to him to be in direct opposition to those parliamentary rules which were framed on a comprehensive view of public utility: he alluded to that course of insulated and unconnected notices respecting different places and appointments, the perpetual renewal and suspension of which over the heads of the House, kept the public mind in a state

of perpetual agitation. He could not admit that office was to be tried by that strict rule which the honourable baronet seemed to contemplate, that public business was always to be done by the fewest hands possible. If this principle of making persons in high office perform all the labour possible, without any such relaxation as they might be supposed to require—if this principle were acted upon, offices of state would be filled by very different persons from those who now filled them. Did the honourable gentlemen mean to say, that the labour performed should be precisely as much as a man could perform without any relief? Did they mean to hold out the expectation that any men of liberal rank in life would submit to such a rule? And would they go further, and drive out of the administration all those young men of high birth, whose accession to a government was one of the best pledges for the security of the constitution? Would they tie down persons of this description to the same laborious routine of duty as a banker's clerk, or a merchant's apprentice? He could not find in the principle of any administration, that it had ever been understood that the Board of Admiralty should consist solely of professional men. In his conscience he believed, that nothing was more likely to do mischief to the public service. As to any individual against whom this motion might be aimed, he should not enter any particular defence, but was prepared to say, that a few offices should exist in which young men of rank in life might find a motive for studying the constitution of their country. Few men could be statesmen at once: they must learn through the gradations of inferior offices to manage the high departments of the state. It was true, that there had been some instances of men emerging into the height of public life at once. Mr Pitt started at

once into that distinguished situation, which he continued to fill during his life; but there had been other great men, perhaps of not inferior talent to Mr Pitt, who had risen by slow gradations to the highest ranks. Mr Fox had not thought it inconsistent with his character or talents to take his seat as a member of the naval board, though he had not the slightest professional knowledge of the navy, nor was he the only illustrious man who had begun by filling this minor office. Sir Robert Walpole, and others, had first come to the notice of parliament, and of their sovereign, through this very office. He would contend, then, that if the circle of offices was to be narrowed, or abolished, serious mischief would accrue to the constitution; for one great source of the education of statesmen would be cut off. He should not consent to such a proposition, unless he thought it useful to the general welfare. He never understood that the noble lord on the opposite bench (Lord Althorp) had thought himself unfit to take a seat at the navy board, though not a professional man; and Lord Spencer, he believed, had put quite as much confidence in lay lords of the Admiralty as any other administration. Although many duties discharged by the board in time of war ceased during a period of peace, yet there were many details particularly relating to the dockyards, which were unavoidably neglected in the former period, and which occupied much of their attention during a time of peace. It was also very important, that while a full Admiralty Board sat in London, there should be the means of sending out a competent commission to the out-ports.—Mr Croker also observed, that since 1685, with the exception of one year, the number and salary of the Lords of the Admiralty had continued without any variation.—The motion of Sir M. Ridley was opposed by Mr Canning,

but strenuously supported by Mr Bankes and Mr Brougham. The opposition divided strong upon the subject, having 152 against 208.

On the 29th of April, Mr Tierney made a motion relative to the office of third secretary of state, which was created in 1794 for the war department, had afterwards the business of the colonies annexed to it, and had now no business except what arose from the colonies. He moved, in the first instance, a committee to inquire, whether the business of this office might not be transacted by the secretaries of state for the home department. The office of third secretary of state, he observed, had been created since the commencement of the war; it arose entirely out of the war. From 1794 up to 1801, every thing connected with the colonies was carried on in the home department. Now, though one half of the business is at an end, it had quite escaped the treasury, that one half of the salary should be taken away. It was now only half an office. From 1794 to 1801, the Duke of Portland carried on both the home department and the colonies. He had to discharge that office during the most arduous period of the war. He had to direct the management of all the colonies, of every kind and description; he had to control the business of the alien office, then very laborious; he had to regulate every matter connected with the militia; he had also cast upon him the business of corresponding with the government of Ireland, then mostly in a state of rebellion. Would Lord Sidmouth confess himself less competent to the duties of secretary than the Duke of Portland? Let Lord Chichester be examined before a committee, and if he said that he asked the colonies to be taken from him, Mr T. would never again open his lips on the subject. The business of the home department lay now in a very

narrow compass indeed; it was little more than a police office, and there were two under-secretaries to manage it. By abolishing this office, there would be a saving of L.12,000 a-year.

Mr Goulburn contended that the business of the colonies had so much increased, as to render a separate office indispensable. It was difficult to give any statement on the subject which might not be open to ridicule; but, in the 14 years from 1768 to 1782, the number of pages filled in the books of entry for twelve colonies were 3189. In an equal period, from 1802 to 1816, the pages of entry for the same colonies were 6098. The business in the home office was also greatly increased, and he might say the same of all the offices. He believed one reason was, the diffusion of education and intelligence; every person could now address representations to the offices by letter, and these were very numerous. The abolition of the slave trade formed the business of one whole office; and in the anxiety and vigilance necessary for the due enforcement of this object, ample room was found for talents and industry. There was also the care of legislating for each particular colony. To all of them, English laws and English principles were to be recommended, yet in such a manner as not to clash with local feelings and prejudices. To watch the times and opportunities, to select the proper modes and instruments for effecting these improvements, required the vigilant exercise of considerable powers. He could not think so ill of the country as that it would sacrifice the welfare of the colonies, and the happiness of thousands, for a saving of L.12,000.—Mr Ponsonby did not see how, when one office had conducted the business, both of war and the colonies, the same establishment should be necessary for the colonies alone. The idea of the secretary of state being the legislator for the

colonies appeared to him very extraordinary. He thought the nation entitled at least to an inquiry into this subject.—Mr Wilberforce declared, that from all he knew and heard, the office alluded to was overloaded with business, and the home department equally so. It was, in his opinion, essentially necessary that the superintendence of our colonial concerns should constitute the business of a distinct, efficient, and dignified government.

On a division, the large majority of 190 to 87 appeared against the motion of Mr Tierney.

On the 6th of May another grand attack was made (by Mr Lambton) on the subject of the expences incurred in Mr Canning's mission to Lisbon. He should confine himself to state facts, and it was not his intention to implicate a particular individual, but to make out such a case as would render it manifest, that his Majesty's ministers had been guilty of lavishing away the public money. It was on all hands acknowledged, that, after the war, the mission to Lisbon was reduced to a mere job, which would be, if possible, more fully exposed, if the House had the papers on its table. The honourable member entered into a statement of the motives which induced the servants of the crown to send the present member for Liverpool to Lisbon, and he read two letters from Lord Strangford to the Secretary of State, intimating it was the intention of the Prince Regent of Portugal to return to Europe; but it turned out to be the fact, that his Royal Highness indulged no such design. The plain statement of the case was, that it was found necessary, for political purposes, to nominate this honourable gentleman to that station, and to accommodate him with an annual stipend of L.14,000 a-year. He succeeded a deserving public officer, (Mr Sydenham,) who had

only a salary of L.5000, and continued at Lisbon, till he received L.18,000 of the public money, for doing nothing.

Lord Castlereagh agreed, that if the case could be made out satisfactorily which had been so boldly and broadly stated by the honourable gentleman, he and his colleagues must fall not only under the displeasure of the House, but be exposed to the reprobation of the whole country. He contended that the expence of the mission was greatly overstated, it being only L.8200 a-year, and in truth, the actual expence was not more than had been granted by the House for the employment of a minister of the second order. This government acted under the view that the Prince Regent would return to his European dominions. The return of his Royal Highness was of much importance, and was urged as far as decency would allow, by his Majesty's ministers; so that it would have been unpardonable on their part, had they not taken the steps necessary under such a contingency. The strong objection urged by the Prince Regent of Portugal against returning to Europe was, the unsettled state of the continent; when, therefore, the peace of Paris took place in 1814, the expectation of his Majesty's government, that the court of Portugal would return to Lisbon, was very much strengthened, and a squadron was sent to the Brazils to convey him home. Ministers certainly flattered themselves with the expectation that the Prince of Portugal would return; if they had deceived themselves, they might be blameable for want of foresight,* but not criminal.—Sir F. Burdett contended, that the appointment was considered out of doors a most scandalous job; and varnish it as ministers would, an inch thick, it was a scandalous speculation on the public purse.

Mr Canning said, after one year of menace hanging over his head, and

three months of awful preparation, to find so strong a phalanx opposed to him, and so many of the leaders of that phalanx hanging back without stating manfully what the charges were they had to impute to him, was peculiar indeed. He then entered into a statement of the expences of various other ambassadors, particularly that of Lord Charles Stewart, who had expended from April 1813, to April 1814, L.31,200. He next went into an explanation of the mission immediately connected with himself. Having proceeded to Lisbon, under the restriction of L.6000 per annum allowance, without knowing how far that sum would go, but with a desire to try—this, with an allowance of a further sum, made the whole sum nominally L.8200, and this sum he intended should be sufficient for all his purposes. But he found there were deductions at home, amounting to 28 per cent. so that he was compelled to forego the line he had chalked out for himself. The total amount of the allowances was L.11,700. His agent had received one quarter's allowance of the L.6000, which he directed should be returned to the treasury, without any previous knowledge that his mission would form the subject of parliamentary inquiry. The right hon. gentleman observed, that he was open to all the imputations which gentlemen might cast upon him, in respect to his eagerness for office, and to his having acted under his noble friend; but as to pecuniary matters, he stood upon a rock from which all they could say would not remove him. Mr C. condemned the personalities which were used in debate, which tended to degrade and debase the debates in parliaments, and placed them on a footing with the harangues in Palace-yard. He defended himself from the imputation of having accepted office under his noble friend, and asked the House if the reconciliation of private enmities

ought to be the ground of public accusation.

Lord Milton declared, that he considered it his duty to vote against the motion of his honourable friend Mr Lambton; although he could not agree that the parties concerned in the appointment of this embassy were entirely free from blame.

The House now divided, when the previous question was carried by a majority of 270 to 96.

On the 8th of May, Mr Bennet brought forward a motion on the subject of Mr Herries's appointment to a situation in the Civil List. He took a review of Mr Herries's public life, and enumerated his several public appointments. Mr Herries was first appointed to a public situation in 1798, when he was appointed to a situation in the Treasury. He was afterwards appointed secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; afterwards Commissary-General and Comptroller of Accounts; and to these he had various other situations and emoluments added. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to enumerate the services of Mr Herries, which amounted to five years' service in the Treasury, and thirteen years' attendance on the Chancellor of the Exchequer as secretary, and for these arduous services he was rewarded with an income of L.2700, a sum more than double what would be given to a General who should have fought the battles of his country for 20 or 25 years. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving a resolution, declaring that the House considered the allowing Mr Herries to retire with the half of his salary of L.2700 a-year, and allowing him afterwards to take an office of L.1500 a-year, was a great waste of the public money.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was fully persuaded, that when the House had heard what he had to urge, they would think what had been done

for Mr Herries was merely justice. Mr Herries was first appointed secretary to him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) when a Lord of the Treasury; and afterwards he was appointed private secretary to Mr Percival, a place of great trust; and such as had invariably led to great preferment. In 1808, Mr Herries was appointed a comptroller of army accounts, with a salary of L.1500 for life; this certainly he gave up, and in 1811 succeeded Colonel Gordon as Commissary-General. In this situation he continued till 1816, when an arrangement was made in the Commissariat, by which a sum of L.11,000 was saved annually to the public. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to contend, that in retiring under such circumstances as he did, Mr Herries was entitled to his half-pay as Commissary-General; and with respect to his appointment of Auditor of the Civil List, parliament had decreed that there should be such an officer; if Mr Herries had not been appointed, some other person must; and no man, from his talents, knowledge of business, and extensive connections, was so well suited to the situation as Mr Herries was.

Mr Tierney had no personal feelings towards Mr Herries, but was as ready as the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be to acknowledge his personal services; but, allowing them to their fullest extent, the question was, whether he had not been more than paid by his appointment of L.2700 a-year? Mr Percival appointed Mr Herries to a situation of L.1500 a-year, as Auditor of Accounts; and in doing that, no doubt, Mr Percival thought he had rewarded that gentleman's services.

After a few words from Lord Castlereagh, to which Mr Bennet replied, the motion was negatived by a majority of 93 to 42.

CHAPTER VI.

POOR LAWS.—PUBLIC DISTRESS.

General Observations on the Poor Laws—Remedies suggested.—Mr Curwen's Motion—Committee appointed—Report—Debate upon it.—Mr Brougham's Motion on the Distresses of the Country.—Mr Vansittart's Plan for the Relief of the Labouring Classes.

IN this era of public distress, the attention of the public was mainly directed to the devising remedies for the various ills with which the nation was beset. Among these, none struck reflecting men, and particularly landed proprietors, with such alarm and dismay as the enormous increase of the poor rates, now risen to eight millions, and threatening farther and speedy augmentation. Notwithstanding, however, the most anxious endeavours of parliament, stimulated at once by patriotism and self-interest, no remedy, or even palliative, appears yet to have been discovered. We cannot boast of having made any profound researches into this subject; nevertheless, in the course of observation and inquiry, some reflections have occurred, which we do not exactly recollect to have met with elsewhere; and as the subject is so important, and one on which the nation is still involved in such deep perplexity, hints from any quarter may not be wholly unacceptable.

There are few channels by which a greater mass of valuable information has been collected, than by the reports

presented to parliament on the different branches of political economy. Yet we cannot help thinking that there is a tendency to spin out these investigations to too great a length, and to exhaust upon them that zeal, and those efforts, which might have led to the fulfilment of the object for which the inquiry was instituted. These are carried on from year to year, till all the first enthusiasm has evaporated, and till the subject has begun to pall both on the House and the public. At last, it is declared, that the utmost efforts of parliament having been employed for years without any result, the evil may fairly be considered as beyond the reach of remedy,—when, in fact, nothing has been even attempted beyond the collecting and printing these voluminous masses of evidence. Such, perhaps, has been somewhat the process followed, with regard to the very important subject of the present chapter. It has been overlaid by the very mass of the materials thus collected; the mind of the legislator has been puzzled by confused and contradictory materials, and rendered inca-

pable of devising any distinct and feasible plan for the attainment of the object. • Yet we are inclined to think, that the truth does not lie at any very unfathomable depth; that a few simple principles, applied to the obvious facts of the case, may afford all the materials necessary for attaining an accurate view of it. •

One circumstance, which appears to us to have materially impeded the adoption of any remedial measure as to these laws, is the loud call made by their opponents for a total repeal. This is a step upon which, in the present state of society, it seems impossible to venture; and, indeed, some doubts may exist as to its absolute expediency. Perhaps, even, it may be questioned if there be such a total absence of right as is maintained by modern politicians. The casuists have decided, that the man who can by no other means obtain food to keep him from starving, is justified in seizing it by force: may not this, then, constitute some sort of natural right? May it not be too much to leave the bare existence of a great body of the community dependent upon casual charity? We are, indeed, very willing to believe, that the voluntary charity of Britons, should it become the sole dependence of the poor, would not be wanting. Yet, it may be observed, that Ireland and Italy, two countries in which no poor rates exist, are peculiarly remarked for the misery of the lower orders, and for a system of extensive and degrading mendicity. Even as to Scotland, while we are fully disposed to claim for it the praise of superior management, we still doubt whether the former entire exemption from these burdens be not connected with peculiar circumstances in the state of society and occupancy. At the present moment, we know a parish, at the distance of only thirty miles from Edinburgh, in which there are not only no poor rates, but no

paupers. The cause lies in the poverty of the district, which has prevented it from being reached by the modern agricultural improvements and arrangements. It is situated on that somewhat elevated and bleak table land, which fills the greater part of the space between Edinburgh and Glasgow. The land is parcelled among small proprietors, and equally small tenants, both of whom cultivate with their own hands the spot which they inherit or rent. Both consider themselves as of a superior class to common labourers, and would think it a disgrace to allow their relations to become dependent upon public charity. In the whole presbytery of Linlithgow, of which this district forms part, assessments are known in one parish only, though this presbytery be situated in the close vicinity of the great cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, where poor rates have been long established. Even in those richer tracts, where estates and farms were on a much greater scale, the *kinds*, as they were called, were anciently on a different footing from mere hired servants. They considered themselves almost as bound to the glebe, or rather the glebe as bound to them, from which their ejection would have been contrary to the usages and established principles of society. After a life spent in the *place*, they expected, upon continuing to render such services as their strength afforded, to collect a subsistence, in some shape or other, from the soil which they had spent their lives in cultivating. At present, in all these districts, the farmer is a merchant, with a large capital invested in his employment, who turns every part of his produce to account, exacts work for whatever is paid, and whenever a servant can no longer perform his usual functions, turns him off, and hires another. Thus, in the low country of Scotland, the agricultural labourers have generally

been reduced to the same precarious and dependent situation as those in the large towns and manufacturing districts. From these causes, we conceive, and not from a mere error of management, have arisen the assessments which have become so general over the low country of Scotland. Their growth, indeed, has been observed to take place remarkably on the English border, and has been naturally ascribed to the contagion of this vicinity. The remark, however, applies almost solely to the rich and highly improved agricultural districts of the east border. The mountainous border on the west, where old habits still continue, has exhibited little change. In general, the Scotch assessments have not yet arisen to any very serious or alarming height; nor are we inclined to share the dread so generally entertained of their indefinite and ruinous extension, provided care be taken to avoid those palpable errors which have rooted themselves in the English system.

The law upon which the present system of poor rates has been founded, is the 43d of Elizabeth, which enacts, "that the churchwardens, or overseers, shall take order from time to time, (with the consent of two or more justices,) for setting to work the children of all whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise by taxation, &c. a convenient stock of flax, &c. to set the poor on work." This natural, humane, and seemingly so reasonable enactment, has been the source of all the evils with which England has been inundated.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluxit.

The framers of this act knew not that there is in every society only a limited quantity of work to be had, which cannot be increased at pleasure; that the overseers and churchwardens are not at all likely to be the best persons for finding out, superintending, and directing this work, and for disposing of its fruits to the best advantage; and that whatever they do obtain for those under their charge must be taken from others who perhaps stand equally in need of it. The consequence has been, that since they could not give work, the laws held them bound to give the wages of work; effective claims for relief have been advanced not only by the aged and infirm, but by those who, from their own misconduct, perhaps, found difficulty in obtaining employment, as well as from those who had more than a very small number of children; in short, there remained scarcely any barrier to prevent the whole labouring population from coming upon the funds appropriated to charity.

A view of the errors in the English system, as arising out of the great fundamental one now stated, may, perhaps, afford the best clue to the discovery of a remedial process. These errors appear to be, 1. The too liberal scale of allowance. 2. The extension of relief to the labouring poor. 3. The confinement in workhouses.

1. In defending the expediency of some legislative provision for the poor, we conceive it to be indisputable, that this ought to be confined to what the French call the *physique necessaire*,—to that which is strictly necessary for the support of life. In laying down this principle, we should be sorry to be understood as asserting that no more ought in any case to be given. The generosity of the opulent and charitable may often be laudably employed, not in preserving the existence merely, but in bestowing comfort on

the declining years of a deserving object, who is attached to them, perhaps, by some peculiar ties. But this is the sphere of private charity, to whose discriminating and tender care it ought to be exclusively consigned. The simple preservation of life is all that comes within the cognizance of the national bounty. Thus, while the law secured all against the extremity of want, it would still leave that scope which is so desirable to the operations of private beneficence. In Scotland, the pauper considers himself amply provided for, if he obtains oatmeal sufficient to satisfy the cravings of appetite, with, perhaps, the seasoning of a few vegetables. According to the report of the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse for 1816-17, the expence of each individual in the house was only L.6, 6s.* of which not quite L.3 was for food. Now, in England, 5s. a-week, or L.13 a-year, appears to be the es-

tablished allowance for an individual. There are instances in and round the metropolis, where this sum rises so high as 7s. Where the expence incurred for bread is mentioned, it appears to be only about a fourth of the whole; whereas we should conceive that it ought to be about a half; but mutton, cheese, and suet pudding are mentioned as established articles in the diet of a poor-house. It cannot be denied that the English labourer is accustomed to a more generous diet than the inhabitant of Scotland; to put him upon porridge and oat cake is what we should not propose; but, surely, sound wheaten bread, with a very moderate portion of the cheapest wholesome condiment, is sufficient to maintain in health any person who has no hard labour to undergo. If any one who has a kindness for the suffering individual chuses to give more—well; but this is the utmost length, we con-

* As there is a statement in the report itself calculated to convey a different impression, which has in fact generally gone abroad, we shall give the particulars:—

Maintenance	£ 2,578	19	11
Clothing, bedding, and furniture	969	12	0½
Washing, lighting, and coals	555	17	2½
Petty household charges	260	14	7½
Interest of money	139	12	5
Household fees and salaries	587	5	0
Buildings, repairs, and funerals	415	14	4½
Mr Wilson, Kirk Treasurer,	75	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£ 5,582	15	7
Pensions to families, &c.	1,770	6	0
House children at nurse	264	13	0
Temporary supplies	118	3	0
	<hr/>		
	£ 7,735	17	7

It is then stated that 884 have, during this year, resided in the house; that 83 children have been paid for at nurse; and 14 families and individuals regularly supplied, (out of the house.) Hereupon the respectable manager, committing an error against himself, divides the sum total by 884, and gives the result, *seven pounds, fifteen shillings*, as the average expence of those *maintained* (in the house,) never reflecting that the sums given out to families can with no propriety be added to the expence of those *within*. This last amount terminates with the total we have made after Mr Wilson's salary, which, divided by 884, gives the rate stated in the text, being the real average of those maintained in the house.

ceive, that the public ought to go ; and the attempt can with no propriety be made to maintain, in the same comfortable manner, the pauper, and him who supports himself upon the fruits of his own industry.

2. The second, and still more fatal error, which has taken root in the English system, is that of affording regular parochial aid to the labourer, even while able to work, and in full employment. It seems to be considered there, that a man, earning only 12s. a-week, is unable to support a family, even of moderate size, but must come more or less upon the parish. This is the most alarming part of the case, since it leaves scarcely any barrier against the whole population of the kingdom falling into a dependence upon the poor's funds. In Scotland, there does not exist even the idea of a man able to work, and having work, applying for parochial relief. If his family be large, he must, no doubt, be in penury, and, almost as in the case of the pauper, must be reduced to the simplest necessities of life. This is an evil, but it is considered as one which the order of nature inevitably imposes, and for which it were vain to seek a remedy. Meantime, it may be observed that a large family can seldom be long thrown entirely upon the hands of the parents. At a very early period, they become fit for some little employment, either in the fields, or in manufactures ; and the well disposed are anxious, if possible, to employ the members of such a family. These observations do not, of course, apply to the ease of the declining strength of the labourer. When his earnings are reduced by growing infirmity, a supply must be provided, carefully modified according to the capacity for labour which he still retains.

We have considered the case of the employed labourer ; but it may hap-

pen that, retaining his full capacity for labour, he may find no one able or willing to pay him the wages of it. In the ordinary state of society, this can scarcely happen without some very decided misconduct ; but there are occasions, of late unfortunately too frequent, when a large body of the labouring community are reduced to this lamentable situation. Certainly then, abstractly speaking, they appear placed on the same footing, and to have the same claims, with the infirm pauper. At the same time, it would be infinitely desirable that this temporary distress should be provided for by temporary and voluntary means. These would not break, in the same degree, the spirit of independence ; and they are usually administered with a more strict and active care than the permanent funds. The habit of the labourer applying to the parish, when out of work, opens a wide field for abuse, rendering even the having employment, or not, a matter of indifference to him. Subscriptions to relieve these masses of unemployed labourers have not in England been superseded even by the poor laws ; in Scotland they have been so extensive, as almost wholly to prevent any pressure on the ordinary funds. It is laudable, in the distribution of the sums thus raised, to exact work of some kind or other. The plan suggested of digging a hole in the earth and filling it up again, is doubtless better than nothing ; but greater praise seems due to the system adopted in the great cities of Scotland, of employing the labourers so relieved to make convenient roads and ornamental walks in their vicinity.

3. The next error, as appears to us, in the English system, is the plan of shutting up the poor in workhouses. We are aware, that in regarding this as a source of evil, we run counter to the report of the committee, and to the opinion of the greater part of those

who have the management of the English poor. Among them the opinion is prevalent, that the work-house system alone saves England from total perdition. The dread of this species of imprisonment is said to be the sole motive which prevents almost the whole population from throwing themselves upon the funds destined to charity. Upon this view of the subject we may first observe, that this very reluctance implies the severe hardship and almost inhumanity of the measure. Severe, indeed, is the lot of the parent, who, in his declining years, is torn from the bosom of his family, his kindred, and from the society of all those who respect and revere him. Cut off from all the sacred charities of life, he is thrust like refuse into a neglected corner, to close his days among beings with whom he has no natural sympathy. Surrounded by his friends, the old man feels, as it were, a second life, in witnessing the hope and activity of youth among those whom he loves; while, within the walls of an hospital, every thing bears the stamp of that wretchedness and decay, which he feels within himself. This system appears, moreover, calculated to unhinge the moral relations between the different portions of a family. The aged members, besides the advice which they are qualified to bestow, serve, by their mere presence, as a mild and constant check upon the irregularities of youth; to which we may add, that the presence of the young, to whom they ought to set an example, operates as a secret check upon themselves. The grandmother (*grannie*) and the *auntie* form integral and constituent members in the family of a Scottish peasant; and though their tempers may be sometimes discomposed, this does not disturb the mingled respect and affection with which they are viewed by its youthful members. Round the evening fire, the tales of their youth

are eagerly listened to, and convey, in the most impressive manner, the lessons which a long life has taught. Perhaps they relate tales and traditions, which hold an important place in the history of their country; and, upon the whole, we incline to think, that this habitual infusion of the mind of age into the mind of youth, has had no small effect in producing that superior intellectual character which is allowed to distinguish the Scottish peasantry.

Admitting all this, however, it may be still asserted, that the discontinuance of the workhouse system would lead to a material addition of expence, in which it is absolutely impossible for England to involve herself. This is a point of view in which it is certainly incumbent on us to consider the subject. We cannot forbear premising the broad fact, that the English management, which proceeds upon the workhouse system, is the most expensive, and the Scotch, which does not, the most economical of any that is known. This surely affords a strong presumption in favour of the latter; and a close inspection will soon enable us to discover distinct causes for the difference. The first disadvantage of the workhouse is the same which has produced the ruin of every chartered trading company,—that of a large establishment, managed by persons who have no personal interest in keeping down its expenditure. Allowing the most perfect integrity, the absence of all disposition to abuse and extravagance, nothing, it appears, can compensate the economy prompted by the continual action of personal interest. The same cause renders nugatory any work which may be done in these receptacles, in which neither the performers, nor the procurers, nor the disposers, have any concern of their own. But there is another circumstance, to which we would attach the

greatest importance of all. It is only out of the workhouse that humanity could permit that strict limitation to the necessities of life, which ought to be the principle of a legislative provision. The sweets of liberty and society would compensate for many privations which, deprived of them, must appear intolerable. Thus, too, room is afforded for those supplemental aids which private kindness can bestow. Probably the pauper may have relations who, on receiving the pittance of the parish, would be willing to share with him all their comforts. He may have richer neighbours, with whom he has been variously connected, who may remember him from infancy, and have their hearts bound to him by many tender recollections. Thus variously a meritorious and well approved individual, if he be furnished with a bare subsistence, will usually pick up such additions, as may render life comfortable. But when thrust into the workhouse, severed from every human sympathy, and immured within those gloomy walls, as in a living tomb, it seems cruel, after withdrawing him from all the other enjoyments of life, and all means of further aid, to withhold a portion of those comforts for which habit has created a demand.

It may be objected, indeed, that the difficulty of inspection, and the liability to abuse and imposture, under a different system, will be so great as to counteract all its other advantages. We do not, however, believe that this difficulty is so great as it is usually represented, or that, without very gross negligence, extensive abuses are likely to prevail. A strict system of inspection and inquiry is alone wanted; and we believe there is no insurmountable obstacle to its establishment. The lower ranks feel great sympathy with each others sufferings; but they cherish also great indignation against imposture and false pretences, and are

by no means disinclined to communicate any unfavourable observations of this nature. In a village, the character and wants of each individual are matters of pretty general notoriety, and, even in towns, a little inquiry at the neighbours will generally furnish the requisite information. Scotland, indeed, possesses peculiar advantages in a body of elders, a class of persons who are considered as forming constituent members of the church, and send deputies to her ecclesiastical courts. The office is thus attended with a degree of consideration, which renders it easy to fill it respectably. Its permanence gives it another decided advantage over that of the English church warden. Our knowledge of the English ecclesiastical constitution is not such as to make us good judges of what would be the best substitute there; but the proposal made by the committee of forming select vestries, is one of which we should be inclined to think favourably. Probably, however, in every case of large towns, benefit would be derived from the employment of a salaried and responsible officer, whose operations might still be checked and superintended by a more numerous body, acting gratuitously, but interested in reducing the contributions to the lowest possible amount. If such a system were steadily pursued, we should not be believers in that mysterious and indefinite increase, which many writers represent as inseparable from the continuance of a system of poor laws. If a plan of strict investigation were set on foot, carried on or superintended by those who contribute the funds, it does not appear why the check should be materially less efficient than in the case of a voluntary subscription.

If the views now given be well founded, the remedial processes by which the pressure of this great bur-

den may be rendered moderate, will appear sufficiently obvious. Giving up any idea of an entire abolition of a national provision for the poor, which would at least be impracticable, the objects would be, to reduce the allowances made to the strict necessities of life—to confine them to the aged and infirm poor, unable to procure subsistence by their own labour—and to distribute them in small pensions, instead of accumulating the objects of charity in overgrown workhouses. It is easier, indeed, to make these general indications, than to point out the details of a plan for carrying them into effect. Much must depend upon the parishes themselves, with regard to all the improvements now mentioned, but more particularly the third, the introduction of which seems to depend altogether upon their exertions. Much benefit might arise if persons of intelligence and influence in any particular parish would exert themselves to introduce a better system, which might then serve as a model to others. But though the legislature could perhaps do little directly towards the introduction of a better and more limited system, its aid is indispensable in removing certain invincible obstacles which at present oppose it. As the law stands, if the pauper is dissatisfied, an appeal lies to the justices, who fix the amount according to the extended scale which long usage has established. It would be most desirable, if this appeal to the justices could be done away; but if this cannot be done without removing entirely the character of a legal provision, still the proposed limitations cannot possibly be carried into effect, unless the power of the justices be modified and limited accordingly. It would, therefore, be requisite to fix a maximum, which was not to be exceeded in the case even of those who were to depend entirely upon charity; while deductions were to be

made from it proportioned to the degree of labour which the individual appeared capable of performing. A rate of this kind, fixed upon the supposed lowest amount necessary to preserve life, must, we suspect, be made with some reference to the prices of grain. Mr Malthus objects to this as tending to prevent that diminished consumption which is the necessary palliative of a scarcity; but this diminution must presuppose some previous superfluity, and can scarcely have place when the allowance made is understood to be the very least possible. In pursuance of this same system, the justices would no longer be authorized to assign allowances to such of the labouring poor as still retained their full capacity for labour. It were most desirable to limit to the utmost this power of the justices, and to take away, if possible, all temptation to resort to them. For this purpose, the allowance which they were authorized to order might be made somewhat less than a vestry of common humanity would be disposed to give. It has been alleged, indeed, that a claim for the continuance of the present system exists on the part of the actual incumbents, and even of all those who have entered into matrimonial engagements under the faith of having their family partly provided for by the poor laws. It does not well appear how this claim can be admitted. The mere law establishing poor rates cannot constitute any permanent right on the part of the poor. It is not a boon given to them; it is a mere resolution formed by the society, through its representatives, to give such an amount in charity. This donation it has a right at any time to recal, in the same manner as a private individual has a right to recal those which it has given to particular objects of charity. As well might it be argued, that a man who, when married, paid only a certain

amount of taxes, ought not, during the rest of his life, to have any more imposed upon him. What regard has been paid to such a right, the experience of every British subject will wofully demonstrate. No doubt this right of withdrawing what has been once given ought to be exercised with tenderness and consideration. We should not even object to the full admission of the claims above-stated, were we not convinced that they would give rise to investigations so complicated, and distinctions so invidious, as would wholly baffle the measure intended. If, then, it is to be done at all, it must be done at once, at least it must be done without any respect or distinction of persons. The change, if it is thought eligible, may be made by gradual steps; but each step must be general. Any attempt to make it otherwise would lead, we repeat it, into inextricable difficulties, and would probably end in the final defeat of the whole scheme.

The subject of the poor laws was introduced into the Commons by Mr Curwen on the 21st February. This gentleman, in a clear and argumentative speech, took a comprehensive view of the poor laws, in their origin, progress, and present oppressive magnitude. These great evils were increasing, and would increase much more, unless some remedy were applied. We had, it was to be recollected, from an agricultural, become a commercial country. In 1776, the poor rates were stated at a million and a half; now, in the course of forty years, they might be taken altogether at *eight millions and a half*. This monstrous sum must excite the deepest regret, but it was not merely the amount that was to be deplored; the sum of happiness and consolation was not increased by it; but, on the contrary, there was an augmentation of human misery. He was well aware

that the amount was so great, that it was impossible to cut it down at once. We had, in the course of years, in fact, taken away the care of the people from themselves; and the result of this conduct unfortunately was, that they regarded the present time as every thing, and the future as nothing. It was now our interest and our duty to endeavour to rescue them from this condition, and to revive and elevate their minds by the operation of some other principle. If we did not, we should lend ourselves to the destruction of their industry, their virtue, and their happiness. A foreigner must look with astonishment at the enormous sum raised for the relief of the poor. Few foreign sovereigns had so great a revenue for all the purposes of their government. He could make his appeal to those gentlemen who were magistrates, to say, whether the poor were at present happy, contented, and grateful? No, they must answer, they were unhappy, dissatisfied, and ungrateful to those who afforded them temporary relief, without real comfort. They looked on every thing with a jaundiced eye and discontent of mind. Nothing, he was convinced, was so dangerous as pauperism; yet were there no less than two millions of British subjects in that degraded condition. Could the House require a stronger stimulus than this afflicting consideration to impel them to the application of an instant remedy? After ages of inconveniences had passed, the remedy could operate only by slow degrees, but still he must assume the possibility of its efficacy. It was not possible for the legislature to prevent premature and imprudent marriages; but it must be their object to inspire the poor with some foresight of the miseries that might come upon an offspring unprovided for. The great object of a proper committee would be, to find means of shewing to the people

their own interest and advantage, in taking their happiness into their own hands. He gave a melancholy picture of the demands in the shape of poor-rates in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where one farmer, occupying 210 acres of land, was called upon to pay a guinea a-day, and in Sussex, Shropshire, and other counties, he mentioned assessments at 18s. 20s. 24s. and 26s. and even higher. After stating a number of laborious calculations, to enforce and elucidate his arguments, he said that the plan of relief which he contemplated was not entirely new; as, in 1633, every inhabitant of a parish was rated in proportion to his visible ability; and, in 22d of Geo. I., in the parish of Clerkenwell, rates were made according to the land tax. In fact, it was a contradiction of the divine law, to say that only a particular description of persons were bound to relieve the poor. He thought that the burthen should be equalized; and with this view he proposed that the interest of the funded and unfunded debt, which amounted to 32,000,000*l.* should be rated at a proportion amounting to 1,250,000*l.*, that the India Company's stock, which amounted to 6,000,000*l.* should be rated at 600,000*l.*, that the South Sea Stock, amounting to 4,000,000*l.* should be rated at 150,000*l.*, and the Bank Stock at 1,200,000*l.*, the whole amounting to 8,200,000*l.* This aggregate sum he would apply to the relief of those parishes which were most oppressed by the poor rates and least able to discharge them. He did not mean that this plan of relief should be permanent, but that it should be applied to as an extraordinary remedy for the present difficulties, and should be co-existent with them. The honourable gentleman proceeded to propose that the income of trade, which amounted to twenty millions, should be rated at 10 per cent. thus producing

about 1,600,000*l.*, the whole amounting to 4,800,000*l.*, and he rated the income upon labour, calculated at 150 millions, at 2½ per cent., thus producing three millions and a quarter. The honourable member concluded, by moving for a committee to inquire into the state of the poor laws.

Lord Castlereagh was anxious to bestow the utmost possible attention on the subject. He admitted fully all the evils of the poor laws, and their injurious effects on the character of the inferior ranks. He thought that the lot of the lower orders in Ireland had been, to a certain extent, misrepresented, and their wretchedness very much exaggerated. The comfort in which they lived, when the sources from which it sprung were contemplated, might be advantageously compared with that of the same classes in this country. Their food might be, in some instances, of a coarser kind, and they might have less the appearance of ease and art; but they enjoyed health, and acquired strength from the food on which they lived, and the exertions to which they were inured. You could trace in them a cheerfulness of temper, and a dignity of character, which could not exist in a country where the qualities of the people were destroyed or broken down by dependence, and the degradation of applying for individual relief. There, where there was no legal provision for the support of indigence, every one depended on himself, or on the kindness of his friends or neighbours; their independence constituted their enjoyments; a general aspect of good humour and happiness was observable; individual charity was awakened to relieve individual distress; and general benevolence and self-esteem rendered their character respectable. It would be highly desirable if, as in Scotland, charitable relief could be distributed without being claimed as a

right, without breaking down the feelings of individual esteem, or affecting the habits of industry. The opposite system was, however, now the law and the practice of this country; the feeling and the conviction was general among the people, that they could not suffer indigence without having a right to relief. This feeling was too general, and too deeply rooted, to be precipitately interfered with. Upon the maturest deliberation, he could not consent to shake a system that was so generally considered as founded in right as well as in law, especially at the present moment, when the poorer classes had established such a claim on the admiration and benevolence of the more affluent, by their patience, their fortitude, and resignation under those great sufferings and privations which arose out of the transition of the country from one state of social exertion to another, and from which he hoped the charitable and humane contributions of individuals, coming in aid of the law, would find them relief, till a change of circumstances, which might soon be expected. (*Hear, hear!*) However desirable it might be to make some change in the poor laws, the property of the country could not at once escape from this burden. He conceived that the extent of the abuse was in a great measure owing to the bad administration of the law. There were parishes where the law was well administered; but he was sure that he should be borne out by the experience of most members of the House, when he said, that in the general state of the country, over the great mass of parishes, its administration was extremely lax and injudicious; that it was carried into execution under the direction of incapable persons, persons who did not know how to act properly, but who were too active in what they conceived to be the line of their duty, or the exercise of their powers. (*Hear, hear!*)

He might appeal to other members for a confirmation of the assertion; but he need go no farther than the parish in which he himself sometimes resided, where the poor laws were administered by a woman. He agreed with Mr Curwen as to the propriety of distributing the rates over the different descriptions of property, but conceived that great difficulties attended the execution of such a plan, and could not hold out a hope of its being speedily realized. He gave his warmest support to the motion for a committee, and, if so fortunate as to be appointed one of its members, would lend it all the assistance in his power.

The following committee was then appointed:—

Mr Curwen,	Mr L. Keck,
Lord Castlereagh,	Mr Dickinson,
Mr F. Lewis,	Lord Lascelles,
Mr B. Bathurst,	Sir J. Shaw,
Mr Brand,	Lord Stanley,
Mr G. Rose,	Mr Robinson,
Sir F. Baring,	Mr D. Gilbert,
Mr Huskisson,	Mr Holford,
Mr Morton Pitt,	Sir T. Aekland.

On the 4th July Mr Bourne submitted to the House the report of the committee. It is of great extent, and evidently drawn up with great care and industry. They begin with pointing out the manner in which the present system was originally established. While fully admitting the purity of the motives which prompted to it, they cannot forbear remarking, that it has had the effect of abating those exertions on the part of the labouring classes, on which their own welfare and happiness depend; that it is perpetually encouraging and increasing the misery it was designed to alleviate, creating at the same time an unlimited demand on funds which it cannot augment. At the same time, the rest of the community, including the most industrious class, are oppressed by the weight of these contributions, and are

no longer able to afford the same employment to the labourer. Hence wages are lowered, and the system is found to produce the very necessity which it was intended to relieve. It appears, that though complaints were long made of the increasing burden of the poor laws, no account of the actual expenditure was taken till the year 1776. It amounted then to L.1,720,316, of which L.1,556,804 was expended on the poor. In 1815, the sum raised was L.7,068,999, and the evidence shewed, that the amount had, since that time, greatly increased. Of this, only L.5,072,028 was expended on the poor, the rest being consumed in church rates, county rates, highway, and militia.

Urgent application had been made for a more equal distribution of the burden. The original intention of the act appears clearly to have been, to impose it upon every species of property; but the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the amount of any other except land and houses, has caused it, in the end, to fall exclusively on them. The funds seem the only one free from this difficulty; but the proposed attachment of them appears, in several respects, a breach of the national faith; besides that it would create a large class of contributors, who have no local concern in the system, and no means of controuling its expenditure. For the same reason, the committee justly reject any proposal of providing for the poor out of the public and national funds. A considerable loss appears to be sustained in large towns, from the impossibility of levying the rate from poor and shifting tenants, which they suppose might be obviated by levying the assessment on the landlord.

As a means of enforcing economy, the committee suggest the plan, which has been adopted in a number of instances, of fixing the rate at a certain

amount, which it was at no future time to exceed. We suspect that this is rather a coarse and undistinguishing remedy, making no provision for the actual preservation of the poor from starvation, and operating, besides, in a very unequal manner, according as time may change the circumstances and population of a parish. Another proposition, the expediency of which seems to us very dubious, is, that instead of an allowance being made to the parents according to the number of children, the children themselves should be educated and employed by the parish. As this proposition was recently submitted to parliament, an opportunity of estimating it will afterwards arise. As to adults, the committee justly point out the impossibility of furnishing them, according to the terms of the statute, with work, indefinitely as wanted. They seem to think, however, that, to a limited extent, it may be advantageously given, and even mention with some approbation the plan of parochial farms. To us it does not appear, if the giving of work be adopted at all, what limitations can be put to it, or how it can, in any case, be refused. The only thing, perhaps, that could be done with advantage, is to assist the infirm poor in obtaining such work as their impaired strength might render them qualified to perform. The committee bestow a sanction on the advantage and necessity of workhouses, which, for reasons already stated, we feel little inclined to concur in. They proceed to observe, with truth, that discrimination, as to the degree and objects of the bounty, has been the quality chiefly wanting, and in which the superiority of Scotland has chiefly manifested itself. As England does not possess the useful and respectable body of elders, an institution peculiar to presbytery, they suggest the formation of select vestries, and, in large towns,

the employment of a salaried and responsible officer.

The committee conclude with some observations on the law of settlement, which has been the source of much hardship to the English people. Since the reign of Charles II. a settlement entitling to poor rates could be gained by a residence of forty days; but in order that parishes might not be burdened with paupers, from whose labour they had not profited, the overseers were empowered to remove all new-comers who did not rent a house of L.10 value. The labouring poor were thus tyrannically prevented from settling themselves in the places where they could employ themselves most advantageously, and obtain the best wages. Dr Smith was the first who pointed out the enormity of this grievance, and expressed a just astonishment that a nation so jealous of liberty as the English, should have tamely submitted to it during so many ages. At length, in 1795, the chains were broken by an act, which declared, that poor persons should not be removed till they became actually chargeable. The complicated nature, however, of the enactments, and the various contrivances used to obtain or obstruct a settlement, gave rise to most ruinous litigation, the expence of which, in 1815, amounted to L.287,000. With a view to obviate this, the committee very judiciously propose, that a residence of three years, without obtaining any aid from the poor rates, should create a settlement. This has been long the established regulation in Scotland, where it has been found to answer well, and has never been productive of any serious litigation.

Mr Bourne, in bringing up this report, said, that if by any alteration on the system of the poor laws any relief could have been given to the pressing wants that were so generally felt, the committee would not have been want-

ing in proposing alterations; but that, finding that it was not an alteration, but a total change that was required, they delayed making any report to the House till they could lay before them the character, effect, and tendency of the whole system. The committee hoped, however, that much good would be effected by the report now laid on the table. After this view of the subject should have been exposed for several months, some ultimate object could be more effectually attained. If the season should be genial, and the harvest abundant, the country would be better prepared for such a measure. Members would have an opportunity, in the meantime, of correcting errors, and of confirming such parts of the report as should be supported by the state of the country.

Mr Calcraft thought the conduct of the committee might be prudent, but it had very much disappointed the expectation of the country. If any one thing excited expectation more than another, at the commencement of the session, it was the prospect of alteration of the poor laws. While the distress was unparalleled, it was very naturally expected, that some alleviation, or at least some suggestion of relief, should come from this committee.

Lord Castlereagh conceived that it would have been unwise in the committee to have recommended any practical measure till the whole subject was investigated. The report itself would prove that any such attempt would have been very unwise. The labour of the committee had been extraordinary: in every week they met three days, and generally their meetings were from day to day. They had carried their investigation into every branch connected with the subject of their inquiry. Great as was the difficulty of the measure, he did not despair but parliament could make some effectual

progress towards the mitigating, if not removing altogether the evils that were so generally complained of in the present system.

The subject of the poor laws was not taken up by the House of Lords so early in the session. On the 9th May, however, Lord Liverpool moved for a committee of inquiry, which was unanimously voted, though time did not admit of its report being produced during the present session.

From the measures taken on the subject of the poor laws, we proceed to those which had reference to the general distress in which the public were involved. On the 13th, Mr Brougham brought forward a motion upon this subject. The session, he observed, had hitherto passed without doing any thing to relieve the country; efforts had been adopted to stifle the voice of the people, at least to preserve the public peace; but nothing had been done to examine into the causes of discontent. That there was a great alteration in our commercial circumstances all would admit, and he feared it was greater than many imagined. The petitions which had been presented to that House proved the great falling off in trade, and the returns of exports and imports confirmed the fact. According to these returns there were 5000 fewer vessels engaged last year than were engaged the year before. In 1800 and 1812, in particular, there had been nothing like the deficit and distress now known in wages and work. In the clothing districts, out of 3360 cloth-dressers, one-third were wholly unemployed, and one-third were only half employed. In the iron trade the distress was still greater. Birmingham was a fair example. Out of 30,000 souls there were 27,000 paupers. The workmen of that neighbourhood might be divided into four classes—miners, gunsmiths, nail-makers, and artificers. The miners, who used to get two guineas a

week, now obtained not more than ten shillings—the gunsmiths (when employed) received no more—the nailers were best off; the employed artificers, however, got no more than one shilling a-day! But although starving, rather than living, on such miserable wages, a more loyal and peaceful population was not to be found. The ancient branch of trade, that of spinning, was in the most deplorable condition; it had occupied about half a million of souls, and the wages had now come down to 4s. 3d. per week, from which was to be deducted a fourth for the expence of cloth, &c. the whole being piece-work, thus leaving little more than 3s. 3d. per week for the existence of so fearful an amount of the population! Another proof of the extent of distress was the immense diminution of the consumption of all articles of luxury, as was proved by the excise and customs, and to such an extent had pauperism risen, that in many parishes the poor rates were equal to the rack-rents; in one instance, on an estate of 200 acres, the rates were twice the amount of the rent. The watch trade also had suffered greatly. In London 3000 watchmakers were out of employ. With respect to another branch of trade, there were 18,000 tailors out of work. The great use of machinery now adopted throughout the country had increased the difficulties; for heretofore, when machinery threw hands out of employ, there were other resources; but now, when they were thrown out of bread by such means, no other resource was left. The landholder and the agriculturist were alike embarrassed: in fact, the distress of the country was of a general nature, occasioned by a long continuance of bad policy, and not by a transition from war to peace. At the end of former wars, the country had recovered in less than half the period that had elapsed since the last war. The honourable

and learned gentleman enumerated the deficiency in new taxes, or those which had been increased, and argued that the history of taxes on tea, coffee, and other articles, proved that diminution of the duties had led to an increase of revenue, because a greater consumption ensued when the tax was lowered. He asked how it happened, after the return of peace, that trade had not revived? Where, in short, had we to look for commercial facilities? With the allies, with whom we fought and for whom we bled, not one custom-house regulation had been made in our favour. In Russia, and along the frontier of Poland, a contraband trade was allowed, to the injury of the fair profit formerly derived by British merchants. In Prussia, Austria, and Spain, we had no sort of commercial interest. With respect to Spain, the conduct of that country appeared an instance of black ingratitude on their part, and imbecility on ours. After the beloved usurper came back, we abandoned the manly tone with which we supported the Cortes, and became the pander of that ruler, against the independent views of his colonial subjects. In return for such crimes we were punished, for almost the first act of Ferdinand VIIth's was a restriction upon our trade. He concluded with moving the following resolutions:—

1. That the trade and manufactures of the country are reduced to a state of such unexampled difficulty as demands the most serious attention of this House.

2. That those difficulties are materially increased by the system of policy pursued with respect to our foreign commerce; and that a revision of this system ought forthwith to be undertaken by the House.

3. That the continuance of those difficulties is in a great degree owing to the severe pressure of taxation under which the country labours, and which

ought by every practicable means to be lightened.

4. That the system of foreign policy pursued by his majesty's ministers has not been such as to obtain for the people of this country those commercial advantages which the just influence of Great Britain in foreign courts fairly entitled them to expect.

Mr Robinson was perfectly aware of the distressed state of the manufacturers of this country. It was owned that both our iron and woollen trade had suffered by the sudden transition from war to peace. The greatest year of expenditure was that of 1815; and yet, at that time, distress was by no means so overwhelming as at the present, since the resources kept pace with the expenditure. When, however, the duration of the late war was taken into consideration, with the expence of that war, and the capital it had put in activity, it must be evident that these circumstances made it different from all former wars. The unnatural prosperity which accompanied that march of war, and the tremendous revulsion that had followed it, ought to operate as warnings for future times; and teach us the necessity of labouring to preserve our restored peace. There was, in his opinion, no chance of placing our commerce on the footing it was during the war, when, owing to the rich colonies we possessed, and our exclusive trade, our exportation of colonial produce amounted to nearly eight millions. Nor ought it to be concealed that the people of the continent had ingenuity, property and enterprize; and if it remained at peace, as God grant it might, there was little doubt that the continent would be enabled to manufacture most of the articles they stood in need of. He moved as an amendment to the motion of the honourable and learned gentleman, that the House do pass to the other orders of the day.

Mr Finay did not agree with those

who supposed the distress of the country proceeded from a diminished demand for our manufactures. The evil lay in the low state of wages. This, he believed, was an evil experienced over all Europe, occasioned almost solely by the change from war to peace, which sent back to their homes great numbers of men who had been engaged in military pursuits. He objected to the resolutions; but he wished to see some other way of disposing of them resorted to than that of passing to the order of the day.

Lord Castlereagh admitted the existence of the distress, but could see no ground for gloom and despondency. He was not disposed to shade the distress of the country, though it was most certain that the distress was fast abating. Last year the House had heard a great deal of the distress of the agricultural interest, and more despondency had been felt than was now entertained on the subject of our commerce. But that distress, as now appeared, had arisen from temporary causes, and the same would be the case as to the fears entertained for the manufacturing interest. The distress had arisen from a diminution of internal consumption, and was not to be imputed to the want of commercial treaties. The fact was, that this country had made too many treaties. A commercial treaty with this country was looked to with suspicion by the power that concluded it, and occasioned such a spirit of jealousy, that was productive of more harm than the treaty itself was of advantage. In the year 1816, the exports of British manufactures had amounted to 36,700,000*l.*, a larger sum

for any year, except the one immediately preceding. The case was the same with respect to our woollen and linen manufactures. It should also be taken into the account, that there had been a great decrease of demand in the home market. In the ordnance department, when the demand had formerly been two millions, it was now only L.300,000, and a similar diminution had taken place in the Commissariat, and in the other departments in the government. The exchange was now 6 or 7 per cent. in favour of this country, and was a proof that the demand for our manufactures on the continent was increasing.

Lord Cochrane contended, that the root of this distress arose from the excess of taxation, and not from any temporary causes, or from any sudden return from a state of war to a state of peace.

Mr Alderman Atkins hoped the House would see the necessity of relieving commerce from the distresses and trammels under which it laboured. He thought the House should go into a committee, with a view to meet these evils; and he was surprised that the honourable and learned gentleman had not proposed that measure.

Mr Brougham replied, when the House divided—

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Although ministers had always frankly stated their opinion, that the general stagnation of industry and employment was an evil which lay be-

IN 1812, the amount was 31 millions. In the case of the export of cotton goods in 1816, that had been L.16,300,000, which was more than

sing money, at a time when the money was not capital, but the means of em-

playing capital. On the 28th April the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the whole House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the propriety of a grant of Exchequer bills, for the relief of the labouring classes of society. The first resolution that he proposed for the opinion of the committee was, "That Exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding one million and a half, be advanced to certain commissioners for Great Britain, to be distributed at their discretion towards the relief of the poor's rates, by the encouragement of industry, and employment of the poor in public works of utility and fisheries. Security for repayment to be taken from the poor's rates of the districts to which such monies might be advanced." Ireland was under circumstances somewhat different from those of the rest of the empire; and he should therefore submit a second resolution for their opinion, "That the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should issue the sum of L.250,000, Irish currency, from the consolidated fund of that country, (repayable under certain securities,) for the employment of the poor, in the encouragement of public works and fisheries." On every former occasion of an advance made by government towards alleviating the distress of any community or district, the advance had been preceded by inquiries into the nature and extent of the distress prevailing, and of the relief required. Under present circumstances, unhappily, such proceedings were altogether unnecessary, as the House was but too well acquainted with the nature and extent of the distress prevailing, by the numerous petitions that were lying upon the table, and by the labours of the committee of last session and the present. On other occasions, advances had been made towards the completion of great public works, which

were likely to prove of public benefit; but the present proceeding was somewhat different from any that had preceded it; for the commissioners were not only intrusted with the distribution of money they were charged with, and the completion of public works, but they were always to have under their consideration the effect which the works themselves would at this moment have on the labouring classes; their object, therefore, was of a complicated nature—the utility of the work, and the prospect of benefit to those employed. There were a variety of public works that had received the sanction of parliament, such as harbours, canals, roads, and the like, that languished and stagnated ~~from~~ the want of capital for their completion; and applications were frequently made to parliament by the promoters of such undertakings, for contributions out of the public money. Whatever aid parliament might now be disposed to afford, was to be submitted to the discretion of commissioners wholly unconnected with government; the sums advanced were to be placed with them, and they would receive applications from corporations, or other bodies concerned in public works, such as roads, canals, harbours, bridges, and the like; and as it might be thought advisable that this grant should not be confined merely to undertakings that had received a parliamentary sanction, the fisheries might also be encouraged, and afford ample employment to seamen who are now destitute of any means of support. At all events, much would be gained, if great works of utility or ornament could be brought to a completion, without loss to the public, of which the example of former grants, and the interest to be paid under a proper security, afforded a reasonable hope. In Ireland, where there was not the same facility of lending money on government paper, and where great works

were commonly effected at the public expence alone, it might be deemed more advisable to place a sum in the hands of the lord lieutenant, and avoid the difficulties that would attend a selection of commissioners. With respect to the agricultural portions of the community, he had never thought that any assistance of this kind could avail to them. Their necessities were far greater than could be embraced by any relief of this sort, and their interest so widely extended, that it was hardly possible to conceive a case in which parliament could advance to their assistance. Indeed, he fancied such an advance would only have the effect of increasing their poor rates, by making them constitute a part of the wages of labour. On these accounts, a general relief of the agricultural distress did not form a part of the present plan, which he thought not likely to have any effect in increasing the poor rates. The amount to be granted to any district on the credit of these rates, was not to exceed half the rate of the last year, and no advance was to be made until that rate doubled the amount of the average of the three preceding years; but although he could not promise a general relief to the agricultural interests, he should have been sorry not to have laid before the House some measure which promised considerable assistance to a portion of the poorer classes, who are at this time deprived of employment. He then moved a resolution, that it was the opinion of the committee, that commissioners should be enabled to issue L. 1,500,000 in Exchequer bills, under certain limitations, for the furtherance of public works of utility, the encouragement of the fisheries, and the employment of the poor, for a time to be limited, securities being given for the advances.

Mr Ponsonby thought the right honourable gentleman had made a ma-

terial omission in the exposition of his measures, by not particularizing the mode for the repayment of the advances.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, his view was, that the advances should be repayable in 1820 by instalments, to be settled by the commissioners according to the circumstances of the cases. In advances made for the promotion of useful public works, there might probably be a farther extent of time allowed. He should propose a clause to meet such cases, giving an extension of three years more. It was his intention that the rate of the exchequer bills should be as it now is. As to public works, the commissioners could not be called upon, except when they were of public utility, and when security was given by individuals. That security was most likely to be found among the proprietors of such works or undertakings.

Mr Phillips declared his inability to comprehend the nature of the security alluded to by the right honourable gentleman. Did the right honourable gentleman mean to confine the proposed loans to public works actually begun? ("No, no," from the treasury bench, "they are to extend to works to be begun.") As these loans were to be granted for the construction of public roads, how, he would ask, were the parochial rates to be relieved by pledging these rates to the persons who should become security for the repayment of these loans? Such a plan would, in his opinion, rather tend to augment the rates, and to aggravate the evil so loudly complained of. Then as to manufactures, it was a delusion to conceive that this plan would afford any relief. For, to his knowledge, the manufacturing towns did not want capital to give employment to labour, but a market for the sale of their productions. (*Hear, hear!*) Again, as to the system of se-

curities proposed by the right honourable gentleman, it was obvious that the establishment of such a system must interfere most injuriously with the transfer of property. For who could calculate that, under such a system, any property purchased might not most unexpectedly be swept away by an exchequer extent, or extent in aid?

Lord Cochrane thought the money should be given to the people as a repayment for what had been taken from them, and no securities required. We had been told from authority, that commerce would revive; but had that been the case? That revival was obviously impracticable. Our distress, he might almost say, was brought upon us by a profligate expenditure. If they put a sponge on the whole public debt, and threw the books into the sea, the country would not be poorer.

Mr Littleton said, the right honourable gentleman had assumed certain facts which he did not think were tenable. First, that the present distress was greatly owing to the want of capital. He did not conceive that to be the case. It was rather a want of the

means of employing capital, and rendering it productive. And unless they could provide a market for the produce of labour—unless they could revive the commerce of the country, he did not see how the issue of exchequer bills could be of any benefit, for they could not create resources.

Mr Brougham was most willing to allow this plan to produce all the good effects of which it was capable; but he entertained very strong doubts of its efficacy. The poor were to be employed almost entirely in public works; but what prevents public works from being carried on at present? Is it want of capital? He was afraid it would be found to be solely want of demand. There was at present no want of capital in the country. There was no fear of exchequer process on the part of the borrowers. Private lenders were preferable to a public creditor. The only effect of the measure would be a facility of obtaining loans. It would throw L.1,500,000 into the market, and thus facilitate loans; and this would be its only effect, its only benefit.

The resolutions were then agreed to.

CHAPTER VII.

TREATMENT OF BUONAPARTE.

General Observations.—Motion by Lord Holland.—Explanation by Earl Bathurst.—Motion negatived.

~~Few~~ circumstances, during the present year, excited a stronger interest than the reports and representations transmitted from St Helena relative to the illustrious individual to whom that island had been assigned as a prison. There is something very remarkable in the estimate formed throughout this country of that extraordinary personage. There never, perhaps, was an individual, all whose views and conduct were so thoroughly those of a despot. He obliterated every vestige of that liberty on whose foundation he had risen; every thing in France, under him, was governed at the point of the bayonet; and in all the states over which he acquired influence, he demanded and enforced the abolition even of the most moderate forms of popular suffrage. Yet in Britain, each party, in proportion to the zeal avowed by them in the cause of liberty, has made him their favourite; till, among the most inveterate sticklers for popular rights, he is revered almost as an earthly divinity. Yet, glaring as is this inconsistency, it were probably unjust to charge them on that account with a want of sincerity in their political creed. It is difficult to estimate the varied motives by which the human

mind is guided in its passions and predilections. The most operative, in the present instance, appears to us to have been the same which we know a witty old gentleman to have assigned as the cause of the love men of large property are observed to entertain for their grandsons—that of being the enemy of their enemy. The natural and irreconcilable enmity between the French emperor and the British ministry, formed a tie between him and the individuals in question, to which every other consideration was apt to appear as secondary.

It must be confessed, that the admirers of Napoleon had something to boast of in the dignified serenity and courtesy of his deportment, when received on board a British vessel, and in the first moments of so mighty a fall. We should scarcely, indeed, from a survey of his life, be justified in ascribing it to a greatness of soul so high, as to render its possessor superior to all the vicissitudes of human fortune. It manifested, however, a very uncommon energy and self-command, not, indeed, unsupported by powerful motives; for Buonaparte, on the deck of the *Northumberland*, had the eyes of mankind as intensely fixed upon him

tect the governor against frivolous charges; and, on the other hand, if any grave charge should be adduced, to insure relief sooner than would otherwise be possible, because it would not be necessary to send back to St Helena, to inquire into the truth of it, before steps could be taken to remove the inconvenience complained of. In fact, no such application had been made to Sir Hudson Lowe, though it had to Sir George Cockburn. With regard to books, the fact was this: Soon after his arrival at St Helena, he expressed a wish for some books to complete his library; and a list was made out by General Buonaparte himself, and transmitted to this country. This list was sent to an eminent French bookseller in this town, with orders to supply such of the books as he had, and to obtain the rest from other booksellers. As several of the books were not to be obtained in London, the bookseller was desired to write to Paris for them. He accordingly obtained some of them from Paris, but others of them could not be obtained; those which could not be procured were principally on military subjects. These books, to the amount of L.1300 or L.1400 worth, (which the letter called a few books,) were sent, with an explanation of the circumstances which prevented the others from having been sent. This anxiety to attend to the wishes of the individual in question, was not at all taken, in the paper he had referred to, as an excuse for the omission. A complaint connected with this was, that newspapers had been withheld. As to this, he should say, that if the noble mover thought that General Buonaparte should be furnished with all the journals he required, he (Earl B.) had a different sense of the course which it was proper for him to pursue; and this opinion was grounded on the knowledge, that attempts had been made, through the medium of

newspapers, to hold communication with Napoleon.

The next complaint was, that he was not allowed to open a correspondence with a bookseller. Now this was not true, unless it meant that that correspondence could not be carried on but under sealed letters; for there was no reason for preventing that correspondence, unless it was carried on in that particular manner. It was also said that he could not correspond even with his banker or agent. Now it was, in point of fact, open to him to enter upon any such correspondence under the restrictions he had mentioned; and there was no reason why a letter to a banker should be sent sealed up. He (Earl B.) did not deny, that, on a correspondence between friends, the necessity of sending letters open was a most severe restriction, because it was impossible to consign to paper the warm effusions of the heart, under the consciousness that it would be subject to the cold eye of an inspector. But this surely did not apply to a correspondence with a banker. Who had ever heard of an affectionate draught on a banking-house, or a tender order for the sale of stock?—As to the assertions that the letters had been opened by inferior officers; or that, after arriving at St Helena, they had been sent back to Britain before being delivered, these were positive and direct falsehoods; and, indeed, in the voluminous papers which had been transmitted from St Helena, nothing was more painfully disgusting than the utter indifference to truth shewn throughout. With regard to personal liberty, Napoleon had been allowed at first, during the day, a range of twelve miles unattended; and even after he was found to abuse this liberty by tampering with the inhabitants, he was still allowed eight miles. Even after sunset he might walk in the garden, observed by a serjeant, but did not

chuse to do so. When any vessel was on the island, or in sight, the governor was directed to keep him confined within the boundary where sentinels were placed: but the execution of this order had been very liberal; and strangers whom he was disposed to see were allowed to visit him. It was not true that all intercourse with the inhabitants was refused, though he had chosen to act as if it were. The original allowance made by government for his establishment was L.8000 a-year, but on Sir H. Lowe's advice, it had been at once raised to L.12000. This appeared sufficient, and if he wished for more, it ought to be drawn from his own funds, which he boasted of as ample. It had been complained, that his household establishment allowed only one bottle of wine a-day for each person. This did not appear to Lord B. so very poor an allowance—it was thought by a regimental mess sufficient both for their own use, and for entertaining their friends.—The fact, however, was this. There was an allowance of strong and of weak wine. The quantity of weak wine was 84 bottles in the course of the fortnight; but he should put that out of the question, and merely state the quantity of the other description of wine. Of that better sort of wine, there were no less than 266 bottles in one fortnight, applicable wholly and entirely to General Buonaparte and his attendants. The particulars were—7 bottles of Constantia, (or 14 pint bottles,) 14 bottles of Champagne, 21 bottles of Vin de Grave, 84 bottles of Teneriffe, and

140 bottles of claret; in all, 266 bottles. The number of persons connected with General Buonaparte, excluding those of tender age, amounted to nine, so that there was an allowance of nineteen bottles in one day for ten persons; and, taking one day with another, the allowance might be considered two bottles a-day for each grown person, which he was sure was as much as would satisfy the noble lord's wishes, either for himself, or for any person in whom he was interested. In addition to this quantity of wine, forty-two bottles of porter were allowed every fortnight, being at the rate of three to each individual. Seeing no ground for the motion, he gave it his most decided opposition.

The Marquis of Buckingham entertained no doubt as to the purity of the motives of his noble friend in bringing forward this motion; but with the views which he entertained of the character of Napoleon Buonaparte, it appeared to him quite unnecessary and injudicious.

Lord Darnley was happy the motion had been made, as it had afforded to the noble lord opposite the opportunity of making the candid and able statement by which the allegations in question were certainly entirely refuted. He thought his noble friend ought not to press the motion.

Lord Holland, in reply, endeavoured to prove that there was still room for entertaining his motion, which, however, was negatived without a division.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

The Catholic Question—in the Commons—in the Lords.—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion for Parliamentary Reform.

THE two leading questions during this session, aiming at an important and permanent change in the constitution, were those relating to the privileges of the Catholics, and to parliamentary reform.

On the 10th May, the annual motion relative to the Catholic question was made by Mr Grattan, who proposed a committee to endeavour a final and satisfactory adjustment of the existing differences. He expressed his sanguine hope that securities would now be afforded, calculated to afford satisfaction to all parties. The Catholics had held a communication with the Pope, and if their claims continued to be rejected, an entire separation from England was to be dreaded. He therefore moved the appointment of a committee, to take into its most serious consideration the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with a view that such a final and conciliatory adjustment may be made as may be conducive to the force and strength of the United Kingdom, the stability of the Protestant Establishment, and the general satisfaction of all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

Mr Leslie Foster could not conceive upon what grounds the honour-

able gentleman could ascribe to the Catholics a peculiarly conciliatory disposition at this moment. The House would have the goodness to recollect that in the last session two petitions had been presented to them from different parties of Irish Catholics; the one from the Catholic aristocracy, professing to accede to any securities which the House might please to require; the other, far more numerous—signed, by all the Catholic clergy, and declared to be expressive of the feeling of the whole Catholic population, expressing an unqualified opinion on the subject of the restrictions, branding the other petition as mischief, and denouncing with anathemas those who signed it as worse than Orangemen. The veto was now out of the question, and the only security offered was domestic nomination. The present mode of nominating a Catholic bishop was by a committee of the other bishops, who recommended a successor to the Pope. This recommendation was uniformly attended to, at least there had never occurred above one or two instances in which any difficulty was made. The committee, too, invariably recommended the coadjutor, appointed by himself, of the

deceased bishop, so that in fact the Roman Catholic bishops appointed their own successors. He understood something was to be done to take away this influence of the predecessor. This might be useful to the Catholic, but it was nothing to the Protestant; the one was domestic nomination, as much as the other. The grand concession, therefore, by which the Catholics were to remove every ground of distrust was, that matters should stand exactly as they were. He would proceed to inquire into the nature of that danger which required restrictions as a defence against it. It was impossible for the Protestants in Ireland to view without apprehension, a population of four millions, depending for their education, habits, morals, principles, and attachment to the Government of Great Britain, on a numerous body of ecclesiastics, whom the fatal and mistaken policy of our ancestors had treated in such a manner, that it was inconsistent with human nature that that body should be otherwise than alienated from that government. We might lament that which was passed, but we could not annul it. The Protestants had seen that numerous body so lately proscribed, even for the discovery of any of whom a reward had been offered, who were studiously rendered a severed order, nevertheless exercising more power over the population and feelings of Ireland, than the legislative or executive authority had ever been able to obtain. The Protestants had seen his order submitting to a small body of bishops; and they had seen those Catholic bishops acting with an unanimity and a perseverance in furtherance of their common interest, unparalleled, except in the history of papal Rome. The Protestants had seen these bishops assemble annually for the ostensible purpose of regulating a college of education, but not separat-

ing until they had accomplished the more important object of communicating with each other on their general affairs. The Protestants had looked in vain for any friendly feelings as following upon the numerous concessions which had been made in the course of the last thirty years. In too many instances a personal proscription had been established against those who professed the Protestant faith. The Protestant tradesman had been deprived of his Roman Catholic customers. The Protestant farmer had been menaced, his habitation destroyed, himself way-laid at night, and treated with brutal outrage, until he either sought peace in emigration, or bought it by his conversion. Added to this had been the system of intermarrying Protestants with Catholic families, producing in many instances a change of faith in the Protestant husbands, and almost invariably ending in the Catholicism of the children. The Protestant saw all this; he saw the number of Protestants diminishing; he saw the property of Protestants decreasing; he saw the interests of the Roman Catholic clergy pursued with indefatigable activity; and he was then told to be of good cheer, for he had nothing to apprehend. Such had been the state of things under the system of domestic nomination. As to the veto, it was a curious fact, that when that House in a committee expressed an opinion favourable to the Catholic claims, with the restriction of the veto, a synod of Roman Catholic bishops was holding in Dublin; and on the very day which brought to Ireland the news of the vote of the House of Commons, that synod of Catholic bishops published a declaration, that "they would cheerfully lay down their lives rather than submit to such an interference in spiritual matters." In what a situation would the country have been, had that

proposition of the committee been carried into effect! If such was the opinion of the Catholic clergy with respect to the veto, that of the laity went hand in hand with it. At all subsequent public meetings the Catholics vied with each other in finding terms sufficiently expressive of their abhorrence of the proposition. He held in his hand some resolutions agreed to at a meeting in the county of Kilkenny, which he had selected not by any means as the strongest that could be found, but as affording a fair sample of the whole. These resolutions termed the veto "a penal law, and a persecution, which, if persisted in, would shake the British empire to its foundations." He would put it to any friend of Catholic emancipation, if any change had taken place in the sentiments of the Catholic clergy in respect to the veto, except that of regarding it with still deeper detestation. Domestic nomination and the veto being thus proved to be both nugatory, what new security could a committee be expected to devise? It had on a former occasion been said to the House, "Give us a committee, and then you will see we will find securities." The expedient had been tried. The House had gone into a committee to see what could be done. That committee had groped about for principles. The mountain had laboured, and brought forth—the veto, an object at once of Protestant ridicule, and of Catholic abhorrence. The uniform opinion of all Europe on the subject might be collected from the report on the table, of which he should merely give a general outline. It was a curious fact, that there were but two states in Europe, Prussia and Great Britain, in which Catholic bishops were suffered to exist at all. The example of Prussia, therefore, was very material, as bearing on this question. In Prussia—not merely in

Silesia, which was Catholic, but in Prussia—there were several Catholic bishops. The King, however, nominated to all the bishoprics. What was still more surprising was, that there was not a Catholic priest in the Prussian dominions who was not appointed by the Protestant Government. There was no synod allowed to be held until its object was ascertained, and until it had received the express sanction of the state. No communication was allowed with the see of Rome, but through the bureau of the Protestant minister of state. If there was any proposition to put the Irish Catholics on this footing, even if he were wild enough to suppose that they might be induced to accede to it, it would by no means be his wish that they should do so. But there were degrees of interference and restriction. Some securities of a similar nature might be devised to which no Catholic objection could be made. He had heard it said by some who sought for a distinction between the Catholic clergyman in Ireland and the Catholic clergyman in Prussia, as one part of it dwelt on the fact, that in Prussia a stipend was annexed to all ecclesiastical functions, Protestant or Catholic. Of this distinction he could get rid in two ways. First, he was decidedly for allowing the Catholic clergy in Ireland stipends, (*hear, hear!*) convinced as he was that no possible system of countercheck, such as that in Prussia, could be otherwise established in Ireland. But the second and more substantial answer was, that it was impossible, if the interference of the King of Prussia in the appointment of Catholic bishops interfered with the spiritual authority of the Pope, that the Pope could ever have consented to it. It was said he gave *aliquod spirituale pro aliquo temporali*; but the fact of his having acquiesced in such a bargain was a proof

that he only gave up a temporal privilege. As to the other Protestant states in Europe, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, &c. no Roman Catholic bishops were permitted to reside; and the inferior Catholic clergy were prohibited from holding any intercourse with the see of Rome, except through the respective governments of those states. If, therefore, the parliament consented to grant the full participation in all civil rights to the Catholics, it would be to try an experiment which no state in Europe had ever made; and when the right honourable gentleman (Mr Grattan) spoke of this country as the only intolerant state in Europe, he should have also added, that if it adopted the course now recommended, it would be the only Protestant Government which ever ventured such a trial. In Russia, the Catholic bishop was appointed by the Emperor; but it was said in a work of great authority on the question, (the *Edinburgh Review*,) that there was less difference between the Greek church and the Catholics than between Catholics and Protestants. This was not the fact, as the Greek church differed from the Romish in all the points at issue between the latter and the Western Reformers, and besides esteemed the Pope and his adherents madmen, schismatics. But notwithstanding this, when the Empress of Russia proposed to give a stipend to the Catholic Archbishop of Mohilew, and to appoint that officer, the proposal was gladly accepted by the see of Rome. A regulation which the Pope could accept under a Greek Emperor, he could not object to under a Protestant King of Great Britain, on any religious principle; and if the objection was merely political, he should on that account be more disposed to insist on the enforcement. Thus much as to the states which dis-

separated from the church of Rome. As to the Catholic states, there were none, great or small, enlightened or ignorant, which permitted any communication between their clergy and the see of Rome, except with their own privity; and in all states, with some inconsiderable exceptions, in the case of a few sees in Naples, the bishops were appointed by the sovereigns of the respective countries, and not by the Pope. In Spain, where it would be expected there would be the most superstitious attachment to the see of Rome, any communication between a clergyman and that see was punished by deprivation and imprisonment in Africa. Even the attorneys, who were the parties in such a transaction, were punished by ten years' imprisonment in Africa. The free communication with Rome which the Catholic clergy were to enjoy in this country, while the laity possessed all civil rights, was a perfectly novel experiment. Indeed all countries in Europe, Catholic as well as Protestant, had carefully shut out the doctrines propagated by the court of Rome for its own power and interest. These tenets, known by the name of transalpine doctrines, were excluded from all Europe, excepting two spots—the one was the Vatican, the other the college of Maynooth. The intolerance which still prevailed in the Romish church was shewn by the rescript of the Pope against that noble society, which, like the angel in the Revelation, bore the gospel through the world. He referred also to the late pamphlet of Dr Gandolphy, in which Protestantism was described as a visitation on England, worse than pestilence and the sword, and the Bishop of London was represented as an emissary of the Prince of darkness. He believed, that in the acts of violence which took place between the

members of different religions, the Catholics were uniformly the aggressors.

Mr Yorke would state candidly his opinion, though it might not be in his power to satisfy either party. He was most anxious that something should be done, and considered the freedom of the Pope as affording an opening towards it; since no arrangement which had not his concurrence could have any stability. He considered securities essential, whether by the veto or otherwise; but a nomination purely domestic appeared to him to afford very ample security. He should have little difficulty in granting the request, if the Catholics of Ireland were like those of France or Germany; but he believed them to be the most bigotted that now existed. His chief difficulty would be with regard to seats in parliament, and efficient offices under the crown. It was true, he would be glad to see the Howards, the Clifords, and the Arundels, taking their seats in our parliament; and the Plunketts and Barnwells from over the water; but the greater part were of a different description. He hoped, however, the House would find some means of consolidating the union of the two countries, and confirming them in mutual attachment.

Sir J. Cox Hippisley supported the motion, and controverted the statements of Mr Foster.—Sir H. Parnell observed, that Mr Foster had materially mis-stated the fact relative to the nomination of the bishops. It was by no means a general practice for bishops to appoint a coadjutor; it took place only when they were in some manner incapacitated for the duties of their office. The practice was for the bishops to make up a list of three, which was transmitted to the Pope, who usually chose the first on the list; but he had the full right of acting

otherwise, of appointing any one whom he chose, or of leaving the see vacant. The Catholic clergy were ready to enter into a concordat with the Pope, by which this right should be given up. They were also ready to take the following oath: “I, A. B., do most solemnly swear, that I will not effect or connive at the election of any man whom I do not believe to be a loyal and faithful subject, and of a peaceable demeanour and disposition; and that I will not attempt by open force or by secret fraud, to subvert or destroy the constitution, either in church or state. Nor will I attack any thing as by law established, and if by any correspondence, or by any other means, I discover any persons endeavouring so to do, I will without delay make it known to his Majesty’s Government.” He considered every requisite security as thus afforded, and earnestly hoped the house would go into the committee.

The motion was zealously opposed by Mr Webber, and as zealously supported by Mr Elliot.—Lord Castlereagh was deeply sensible of the importance of the measure, and was unwilling, by opposing it, to occasion the annual occurrence of such a discussion. Any great question hanging year after year about parliament, was an evil, especially when religious were mixed with political considerations.—It was impossible to contemplate the temper recently manifested in Europe, without feeling that the former dangers connected with the question were considerably diminished, if not wholly removed. There was a period when the alliance of the Pope was courted by all, and when he had it in his power to convulse Europe by his influence. Latterly, however, Rome had not interfered in political questions. Let the House carry its attention back to the treaty of Westphalia, in which the

question of religion formed so leading a feature; in which Catholic votes were balanced against Protestant votes, and in which the principle of exclusion was carried into effect. What was the case at present? When the great political questions of Europe were last discussed, he had never heard the subject of religion mentioned in any of those discussions. In the diversified states of Germany, in some of which the Protestant religion, and in others the Catholic religion predominated, the whole body chose equality of religion as the basis of their mutual arrangements. He conceived that concession had been chiefly prevented by the rash and intemperate conduct of the Catholics themselves. Though differing in opinion from Mr Foster, he was much gratified by the information his speech contained; but the facts disclosed in it led, in his mind, to an opposite conclusion. He believed that a sound temper would never exist in Ireland while religious considerations continued in that country on their present narrow basis. Never would he believe that any existing danger could be aggravated by the introduction into parliament of a few noble Catholic peers, or of a few generous Catholic commoners. On the contrary, he was persuaded that they would be the foremost to repress any deluded people of their own religious persuasion, who might be tempted to disturb the public tranquillity; and the concession of the Catholic claims would afford them most powerful means of achieving an object so desirable. It was the unhappiness of Ireland under its present circumstances, that the state had not sufficient talents to maintain itself, and carry it through adverse circumstances. A connexion with the higher ranks of the Catholic body would afford an aid in that respect which would be invaluable. He would press this measure, if possible, with the concur-

rence of the Catholics, but otherwise even without that concurrence, and would trust to its producing ultimately the proper effect. He would expect ample securities both as to oaths, and as to government having some influence in the nomination of Catholics. He certainly knew that every objection on the part of the Pope to such an arrangement was now withdrawn. He conceived that much would be done if the crown even received information previous to the appointment of a bishop. He regretted the word *velo* had been used; it was a *forbidding* word. Upon the whole, he apprehended nothing but good from the introduction of a few Catholic members into parliament. Until they had got the Catholics among them in that House, fighting the battles of the constitution, as in our wars they had so bravely fought the battles of the country, he should never be satisfied. Feeling so strongly, he should be guilty of great baseness were he not to declare it. During a part of his life he had considered it his duty, under existing circumstances, to oppose the claims of the Catholics. But those circumstances no longer existing, he was bound to make an earnest and a solemn appeal to the House in their support. Until the subject should be disposed of, the legislature would never enjoy repose, nor should we appear in the eyes of Europe and the world as we ought to do—an empire, consolidating its varied population into one great mass, actuated by the same interests, and directing its energies to the same objects.

Mr Peel opposed the motion in an elaborate speech. He was convinced that no scheme could be devised at once agreeable to the Catholics and affording security to the Protestants. It was with the deepest regret he confessed himself not included in the number of those who saw any prospect of

settling the question. He might have adopted his opinions on the subject at first, without much examination, and in case of doubt, he might think the presumption was in favour of the existing order of things ; but from the situation which he had for some time held in the Irish government, he should have considered himself culpable in no slight degree, had he not bestowed much attention to the examination of a question in which Ireland was so deeply concerned ; and had he seen reason to change his opinion, he hoped he should have had manliness enough to avow that change. But he avowed that he had not changed them. He did not wish to revive animosities ; neither did he wish to impute any doctrines to the Catholics which they were willing to disclaim ; but he would ask, what would be the operation of the Catholic doctrines, in a country situated like Ireland, and supposing the Catholics actuated by the same motives as other men, and by the principles of their religion ? He did not for a moment impute to the aristocracy of Ireland either disloyalty or disaffection ; but if they were sincere professors of the Roman Catholic faith, if they possessed the feelings and passions that actuated other men, they must be naturally desirous to see that religion re-established in the empire. It would be recollected, also, that the reformation in Ireland was not produced as in England, by the growing hatred of the people to the artifices and machinations of the priests ; and this circumstance formed an additional reason for refusing the boon now demanded. It was no answer to these objections to reply, that only a few Catholics would have seats in parliament, and that their efforts on that account need not be dreaded. Let them be admitted if it were just and politic, but not because their influence would be trifling or insignificant. It was

contended on the other side that the measure was necessary for the purpose of removing anomalies ; but if a bill like that of 1813 were passed, the inconsistencies and anomalies would be rendered more numerous instead of being diminished. He denied the assertion contained in the bill of 1813, that it was possible to communicate to Catholics the same interest in maintaining the constitution ; nature forbade it : they must always have a distinct interest, directly opposite to the Protestant religion inviolably established at the Revolution. The oath which Catholics were to take on entering the House, denying the interference of the Pope, it had been truly observed, was more like a bill of indictment against them for their previous conduct, or a sort of confession of early crimes. If it were fit that they should be admitted at all within the walls, how could it be shewn that such an oath ought to be administered ? The principle of the bill was religious and political equality ; yet in carrying this principle into effect, it excluded Catholics from the offices of lord lieutenant and lord chancellor ; so that the measure directly contradicted the principle on which it was founded. One argument, not hitherto adverted to, appeared extremely strong ; England, a Protestant state, was firmly united to Scotland, where the Presbyterian religion was the religion of the country. Could it be shewn that happiness had not been promoted by the union, notwithstanding this discordance ; and what was to interfere with the same harmony between Protestants and Catholics ? He apologized to the House for detaining it at so much length ; but before he resumed his seat, he entreated those who were disposed to favour the motion to pause before they took the first step towards an alteration so radical and important. It was remarked by Hume, that when the spirit of religion

united with the spirit of party, it produced effects less correspondent to their known causes than were to be noticed under any other circumstances. This, which was observable in the reign of James and his successors, while it constituted an apology for such statesmen as had adopted a particular line of conduct, from which the happy consequence they had reasonably expected did not result, at the same time cast a grievous responsibility upon those who, presiding over a long settled form of government, under which, by the blessing of God, internal happiness and external glory were enjoyed, were disposed to interfere and to make innovations in matters of such difficulty and delicacy as those where religion and policy were involved. The presumption was, therefore, against every projected alteration, and in favour of the established order of things, which he earnestly hoped the House would preserve unwarped by the visionary schemes of theoretical politicians.

Mr Canning admitted the question was very delicate ; but after much reflection, he was convinced that what was now proposed could be safely granted. He was anxious for a committee, as it would tend to satisfy the Catholics, and shew them that there was a disposition to grant them every reasonable concession.

Mr Grattan endeavoured to answer the objections that had been made against the motion. He insisted that the Catholics, by the common law, were entitled to a full equality of privileges, of which parliament could not justly deprive them for a mere sentiment of the mind, unless their doctrine affected some temporal concerns. As to these, they had the answers of the Catholic universities. It was no part of their doctrine, that the Pope had temporal power in Great Britain. It was no part of their doctrine that no faith was to be kept with Protestants.

It was no part of their doctrine that the Pope could absolve subjects from their allegiance. The laws against them were acts of power, were unjust, and ought to be repealed. The Pope had restored the jesuits and the inquisition ; but because he had restored the jesuits, would any one say that Lord Fingal should be attainted ? No one would propose it ; but instead of Lord Fingal, they would attain the whole Catholic population. No man was entitled to punish bodies for the crimes of individuals. They had been reminded too of the cruelties of the Irish Catholics some hundred years ago ; but they should have stated the transactions of Ireland since she had become a nation—for the last forty years. They should not say—"here such a town was burnt—here so many Englishmen were murdered ;"—but, "here did Englishmen and Irishmen fight in one cause—here did a Catholic regiment stand—here did Catholics fall defending the British empire." If this were done we should love one another. And, instead of this, should we attain the children for the crimes of the fathers ? Should we go back to the times Ireland was oppressed, and when she retaliated ? The Protestants had taken the land of the Catholics, and they would take their liberties—they had taken their tithes, and would take their privileges. This was a policy which would not last—they might depend it would not last. An intercourse was arising between the church of Rome and the church of Ireland, and the population were to be let loose by the state, to take part with the clergy. A clamour might be raised ; but no cry would long continue to go against the privileges of the people and the interests of the state. When he saw Britain at the head of Europe, mediating between nations, and swaying the balance of the world, he owned it had astonished him to see her de-

scend from that elevation to mix in the disputes of schoolmen and wranglings of theologians.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 245 against 221, forming the narrow majority of 24.

On the 17th May, the same subject was brought by the Earl of Donoughmore under the notice of the House of Lords, the debate on which occasion may be considered as a continuation of that in the Commons. His lordship observed, that he had presented a petition from the general body of the Irish Catholics, one from the nobility and others, and one from the prelates and clergy. When their lordships had the whole body of the Irish Catholics, ecclesiastical and lay, peer and peasant, all joining in one petition that their claims might be considered, and relief given from those disabilities to which they were subjected, he stood there the representative, though an inadequate one, of the whole body of his Catholic countrymen, claiming on their behalf that they should at length be admitted to the freedom of the constitution, and the rights and privileges of British subjects. He complained of the efforts which had been made to inflame the public mind against the Catholics, by speeches, pamphlets, tracts, even by prints and pictures. Some of these were enough to make the hair of any liberal man stand on end, and seemed calculated to excite afresh the riots of 1780. The Chancellor himself had declared that all who supported the Catholic claims, were advocates for measures that would subvert the constitution; and yet he sat in the cabinet, and advised his sovereign, along with persons who were aiming a blow at its vitals; (the Chancellor, however, interposed, acknowledging his decided opinion, but denying any intolerant feelings on the subject.) Lord Donoughmore observed, that three secu-

rities had been mentioned; first, the veto; second, domestic nomination; third, the payment of the Catholic clergy by government; the last of which he had never heard of till within these few days. As to the veto, the Catholics objected to it; and he would have opposed it as a member of the legislature, even though they had been willing to concede it. If the veto were adopted, the care of the Catholic church might devolve upon some one better acquainted with making speeches in parliament than with the Catholic ecclesiastical polity. The care of the Catholic church, he was very apprehensive, would then devolve upon some second or third clerk in the Castle-yard in Dublin. He did not wish to see the Catholic clergy so managed. He knew from experience that they were the best magistrates—the best conservators of the peace—the best instruments for ensuring the due administration of justice. He was far from being desirous that their minds should be turned away from the discharge of their most valuable and important duties, by the introduction of intrigues and cabals among them. He saw no occasion for proposing to pay the Catholic clergy; they wanted no other remuneration than the voluntary allowance made to them. What then, it might be asked, did he mean to propose? In the first place, he meant to propose, that the nomination of the Catholic bishops should be purely national and domestic; and his next step would be to connect the Catholics with the Protestant state, by admitting them to every situation under a Protestant sovereign, except such situations as were connected with the administration, government, or patronage, of the established church. The Protestant church being thus left to the sole management of Protestants, he did not see why Protestants should refuse to leave to the

Catholics the sole management of the Catholic church. A strange objection had been made against granting the claims of the Catholics, because they formed the majority of the population; but surely this was rather a reason why their petition should be attended to, and every effort made to conciliate them. It was also made a ground of charge against them, that the clergy had an uncontrolled influence over the minds and opinions of the Catholic people. He most sincerely wished that this charge had been true. It was not true, however, and he was sorry for it. The clergy, as he had before observed, were the best magistrates, and the best support of the public peace. Whatever influence they had was employed for that purpose; and no duties were performed in a better manner than theirs. It was strange to hear Catholics charged with the offences committed by Orangemen against them, and decided always in favour of the latter by partial juries. On a late acquittal of this kind, a judge had said, "Thank God, gentlemen, it is your verdict and not mine." Objections were also raised because the Pope had opposed the circulation of the Scriptures without a commentary. Yet the expediency of Bible societies was a subject of controversy in this country; and there were two Right Reverend Prelates in this house, who had expressed the same opinion with the Pope, that the Bible ought not to be read without a comment. He concluded with moving that their lordships should resolve into a committee, to consider the petitions of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

The Bishop of Landaff conceived that this was a question, not of religious liberty only, but of political power. It was of little consequence, with a view to religious liberty, to inquire whether the decisions of the Council of Trent agreed with the

articles, or whether the doctrine of transubstantiation were true or false. Let the Pope answer for refusing to the laity the free use of the Bible. These were questions with which, in a political point of view, their lordships had nothing to do; and it might well be said, if the Catholics held no other opinions, why should they be excluded from the highest offices in the state? It was difficult, however, to fix the limits between civil and religious opinions. The allegiance of a Roman Catholic could never equal that of a member of the established church, who acknowledged the king as its head; or even of a Protestant dissenter, who acknowledged at least no foreign head, nor any one which had not a common interest with the state. In fact, there were many doubts among the Catholics as to the nature of their civil and religious obligations; and to whom could they apply for a solution, but to that very power which was irreconcilably hostile to their own government. Very different was the case of the Protestant dissenters in France; they owed no allegiance but to the government of their country. He solemnly conjured their lordships not to agree to the admission of foreign influence into the political concerns of this state.

The Bishop of Norwich contended, that the Roman Catholics had given the most unequivocal proofs of their civil capacity. Their claims, he thought, could now only be rejected because of their attachment to the innocent religious opinions of their ancestors. He called them innocent, though with Protestants they must be regarded as erroneous. As to the Catholic clergy, he agreed to what had been so eloquently and justly said in their praise by the noble earl. Ireland was much indebted to them for the tranquillity it enjoyed, and they were unwearied in the performance of their religious du-

ties; ever ready to administer consolation to their flocks by night or by day, they encountered the greatest difficulties. Of these pious and indefatigable men, it might be justly said, that,

“With frames of adamant, and souls of fire,
No dangers daunt them, and no labours tire.”

Religious liberty formed one of the most important principles of the British constitution; and the exclusion of the Catholics could not be maintained on any just ground. On this great question the writings of Mr Locke, one of the greatest reasoners any country ever produced, had induced him to change his early sentiments. It was as impolitic as it was uncharitable, to foster a spirit of jealousy with respect to the religious opinions of others.

The Bishop of Ossory vehemently opposed any alteration in the present law. He insisted that it was impossible to depend on any concessions the Catholics might make; that they had no fixed principles, and what they said to-day, they would unsay to-morrow. The Irish Catholics themselves had even avowed, that without the sin of schism, they could not abandon their allegiance to the Pope. In all countries the Catholic religion and its professors were the same.

The Earl of Harrowby disapproved the violence of the last speech, though he considered the principles entertained by the Bishop of Norwich as rash and dangerous. The statement made by the Bishop of Landaff, appeared to him the most candid; at the same time, after the most deliberate consideration, he thought the concessions proposed might safely, and with great advantage, be made to the Catholics. The impolicy of the exclusion of Catholics from the naval and mili-

tary services had been so often proved, that it need scarcely now be repeated; was it prudent to make enemies of those who had fought and bled for their country, by shutting them from the reward while they were exposed to the hazard; or was it a wise system, as applied to the bar, from whence the greatest dangers to a state might arise, to give those who were called to it an incentive to discontent? If the opponents of the Catholic claims declared that Catholics should never be allowed to open their mouths for the purpose of speaking, the argument was intelligible; but they were permitted to gain influence, fame, and fortune, and then they were told, “Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.” They were not to be allowed to ascend the bench, lest the due administration of justice should be impeded by their notions upon some abstract points, though subject to the censure of an enlightened bar, and tribunal of a public almost as enlightened. Just so much privilege was allowed them as to make them dangerous, while they were excluded from every thing that could attach them to their country and to the state. The House ought not to forget that this question was progressive, and that it was impossible for things to remain in their present state. Was it expedient, he would ask, that this discussion should be renewed year after year? And if it was not, were their lordships sure that the ground upon which they stood was so secure as to extinguish all apprehension of danger? To his judgment it certainly appeared, that an unaccountable and unreasonable division of sentiment between two parts of the same empire, situated on different sides of the Channel, never could be conducive to the well-being or security of the state. He did not think it at all necessary, in his view of the subject, to enter

into any discussion, either of the veto, or the plan of domestic nomination. It was for parliament to determine that question; and if it should adopt the measure, to lay down the necessary conditions. It would then be for the Catholics to say whether they would accept the arrangement so provided, or not; and if they should refuse, parliament would have the satisfaction of having performed its duty.

The Earl of Liverpool highly complimented the last speech, but could not think, that in going into a committee, the House stood pledged to no specific measure. The object now was, not to redress any partial grievances, or make any partial concessions; it was not merely to introduce some new modifications into the act of 1793. The professed purpose was to place the Irish Roman Catholics in every respect (some provisions with respect to the church alone excepted) on a footing of equal privileges with Protestant subjects. This, he apprehended, was the real ground of the question. If the motion contemplated nothing but some farther indulgences, or as complete a toleration as was compatible with the existence of a Protestant government, the argument for a committee would be unanswerable, nor should he be disposed to object to it; but the fact was, it was all or nothing that was asked for. He attached no importance to the offers either of the veto, or of domestic nomination. He believed that no men could be more respectable than the Catholic prelates; and if there had been any exceptions to this remark, they had not proceeded from Irish nomination, but were to be traced to a very different cause. It was not about the form of the nomination that he entertained any scruples; the source of his objections and apprehension was, that, however named, they were necessarily subject to foreign influence, the pas-

tors of the Romish Church, and bound to pay obedience to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. At the period of the Revolution, the connection between the state and the church as such was solemnly recognized; it was a connection which pervaded all our institutions, and characterized every part of our system. It was then settled, that the king himself must communicate with the Church of England. The same rule was applied, although since not unwisely relaxed, to the army and navy. The two Houses of Parliament were on some occasions parties to the performance of its rites and worship; and the judges of the land, if not by positive law, yet by immemorial custom, never opened their commissions without repairing to the established church. The result of equal and generous concession must be to leave no difference between any description of dissenters, and the Established Church in any respect beyond endowment. Parliament must immediately cease to be a Protestant Parliament. He could not be supposed to mean, that the majority of members would be no longer Protestants, but the Catholics, whatever their numbers, would constitute an integral part of the legislature, which must thus cease to be exclusively Protestant. This would at once effect an entire change in the system of the constitution, and must dissolve that intimate alliance between the church and state, which had been established at the Revolution. The proposed measure had been represented as one calculated to heal all past dissensions, to sooth and allay all animosities, and to create what had been termed a moral union throughout every portion of the empire. If he could really believe that these consequences would follow from its adoption, he should be extremely reluctant to withhold his support from it; but because he did not believe so, and

thought it would produce an opposite effect, he felt his objections to it fortified and invincible. This was the result of the best founded consideration he had been able to give the subject; he admitted that it was a case of difficulty—much of the policy that had been pursued in that country he regretted; but they were under the necessity of providing for circumstances as they actually existed. They must take things as they found them. At such a period as the present, he conceived our best security would be found in supporting and keeping together the church and state as established at the Revolution. All the indulgence, and all the liberality, that was consistent with this fundamental principle, he should feel happy to support; but he could not help regarding the design of bringing all religions to a level, as tending to unhinge the minds of all classes of the people; and, by unsettling opinions, to render society liable to receive every accidental prejudice or impression; thus impairing the ancient foundations of a constitution under which we had long enjoyed happiness and security.

Lord Grenville, having on many former occasions endeavoured with his utmost energy to press his eager wishes to have this mighty boon conferred on England and Ireland, did not think it needful now to proceed into the same wide and comprehensive view of the question. The noble prelate (Norwich) who spoke third in the debate—a man with whom it was his pride to have lived from their childhood in the most intimate friendship, and of whose friendship there was no man but should be proud, had justly described it as a question—not of an abstract and polemical character—not a subtle and metaphysical speculation—still less a question of a religious and theological nature; but a question arising out of the varying and mixed mass of hu-

man circumstances, and on which statesmen and legislators in such capacities had to decide. It was, indeed, from the legislature, the evils that at present claimed the consideration of their lordships sprung—a legislature that had on so many other great topics of public policy so wisely provided, but whose system of intolerant and heartless restriction, for the continuance of a century, had left upon record enactments that would have degraded the deliberations of the most barbarous men in the most barbarous nations. In endeavouring, therefore, to discuss the great interests involved in such a question, he would not descend into trifling disquisitions on abstract points—they were too narrow—too little for legislative decision, compared with the great and gigantic considerations that were at issue. Such metaphysical and nice distinctions might suit the recluse in the closet, but could bear little on the motives of those who were called to legislate on the actual condition of a country. It was for them to consider all that experience had established, and wisdom could anticipate, in the removal of those evils that in their operation went to weaken the public security, and diminish the nation's prosperity. This he would say, that if there was any one measure calculated, above all others, to impart satisfaction and harmony to Ireland—if there was one still more likely to guard against the mischiefs which a long train of untoward events and of a mistaken policy had generated, it was that measure which has been represented as tending to shake the security of church and state. There were few brighter names in the page of history, than our illustrious deliverer William the Third:—there never existed a man to whom mankind were under more sincere obligations: but if there was one greater and more super-eminent quality in that great and su-

pereminent character, it was, that he was the first statesman that acted on the principles of universal toleration, and to that great cause were directed and devoted the energies of his whole life. It was hard, indeed, therefore, that when they had to consider one of the most bigotted, one of the most persecuting, and one of the most intolerant systems that ever disgraced any country; an attempt should be made to date its origin from his reign, and to fix it as a blot upon his great and illustrious character. There was one circumstance in the history of the Catholic question, which deserved to be considered. From the first concession in 1777, down to 1782, and from thence down to 1792, they had all been made under circumstances of greater or less political distress and difficulty. And though no one would venture to say it was an unwise or unfit policy, when we were entangled in a civil war with America, or when we were menaced with a foreign war with France, to endeavour by conciliation and union to strengthen our resources at home, yet it might be suspected, (most unjustly, he readily admitted,) that those concessions were not the result of legislative wisdom—not the offspring of justice and liberality—not the consequences of an enlarged and comprehensive policy, which embraced the general welfare of the whole Empire—but a benefit extorted from us under the influence of fear and apprehension. The same objections, it could not be denied, were applicable, at all the various periods when the question of Catholic emancipation had been agitated. But now, they had at last arrived at a condition, when they lost their force; they had now reached that state of security and peace, when it could not even be insinuated, that whatever boon might be granted, was extorted from our fears. We had now the enviable opportunity of con-

vincing the Irish Catholics, that as they had yielded their resources with an unsparing hand, and had shed their blood for us, during a time of great peril and exertion, so it was now our wish to promote their union and prosperity. We might now convince them, that our disposition to alleviate their grievances did not rise merely with our difficulties, and sink with the return of our security. And he could not but regard it as a blessed occasion, which the current of human events had placed within our reach, when we were enabled to confer a lasting benefit upon those who could not misinterpret our motives.

The motion was briefly opposed by Earl Bathurst, and supported by Earl Grey. The debate was closed by the Lord Chancellor, who contended that the measure now proposed was utterly irreconcilable with the principles of the British constitution. He would pass over the time of Henry VIII., when the king's supremacy was established; he would pass over the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, when the supremacy of the church was again established; but let their lordships remember, that at the Revolution, if ever a legislative measure was adopted to secure to the utmost the Protestant Establishment, it was at that time. Much had been argued from the writings of Locke; but he would venture to say, that no man in the world had been so decidedly hostile to the claims of the Catholics. That eminent writer had positively declared, that, according to the Romish creed, faith was not to be kept with heretics; that they pronounced all who are not of their own communion to be heretics; and that they claimed the power of excommunicating kings; he, therefore, thought that they ought not to be admitted into power, since they delivered themselves over to another prince. No man living could read the

Bill of Rights without seeing that the civil and religious liberties of this country were to support each other. The preamble of that bill expressly stated, that the late King James had endeavoured to subvert the Protestant religion, and therefore certain persons had sent for King William,—for what? Not merely to secure their civil liberties, but also their religion. They tendered the crown to him, as a crown to be worn by a Protestant, and by a Protestant only; and it was positively declared, that in case the crown should devolve on a person professing the Roman Catholic religion, he should be considered as *ipso facto* dead, and the crown should devolve on the next Protestant heir. It was utterly impossible that any man could read the Bill of Rights, without understanding that Popery was inconsistent with the principles of our constitution. With respect to himself, he had long entertained an opinion utterly inconsistent with the principles on which this question had been debated this night. He must say, that according to his reason and apprehension, it went to the destruction of all the safeguards of the constitution. The Roman Catholic religion was decidedly hostile to the principles of a free government. The most eminent writers, Milton, Locke, Temple, Somers, and King William himself, had recorded this opinion; and James the Second was deprived of his crown because he had attempted to introduce that religion into the state. What, then, should we now overturn all that our ancestors had done? What would the nation say to this? What would be the feelings of the Protestant part of our people? As he understood the constitution, it was his bounden duty to give his dissent to this motion. It was hostile to the liberties of the country, both civil and religious; and went to the destruction of every security for which

our ancestors had so gloriously struggled.

A division being now called for, the original motion in favour of the Catholics was negatived by a majority of 142 to 90. Thus closed the proceedings for the present year, though it was still understood that the Catholic advocates were to bring it forward, session after session, till their object should be accomplished.

On the 20th May, Sir Francis Lurdett introduced the subject of parliamentary reform. He felt it to be a painful duty which he had undertaken in bringing the present question before parliament. Formerly it was enough to state that corruption existed, in order to insure a remedy; now corruption was openly defended. He felt it peculiarly awkward to complain before those very persons who were the objects of complaint, and to apply for redress to those very persons who were the authors of the grievance. He felt it most awkward to call upon those who must be supposed to be the corrupt, to redress corruption: but the general voice of the nation was so manifestly and so strongly for this measure, that it claimed their utmost regard. When motions were formerly made upon this subject, it had been said, Where are the petitions? Now they had petitions laid before them with more than one million of signatures. Whether, therefore, the complaint of those petitions was well or ill founded, whether redress can or cannot be given, the House was bound to institute some inquiry into grievances so generally felt and so generally complained of. The prayer of those petitions was said to be wild and visionary: they were represented as praying for what was never sanctioned by the laws, and never recognized by the practice of this country. They were charged with having invented novel grievances, and demanded novel reme-

dies. This charge of novelty had been extended to the proposition of annual parliaments; yet it was clear, that these had been the law and the practice of the country, from the earliest times,—they had been established under William the Conqueror, who swore to call a parliament twice every year. It was of no consequence that he was a perjured monarch; this was the law and the practice of England down to the reign of Henry III.; when, though various abuses were committed, still parliaments were always annual. The same under the Edwards; and, in the reign of Edward III., laws expressly enact, that parliament should be called every year. It might be said, this did not necessarily imply an annual election; but this was certainly the case in the reign of Edward III. when there was an instance of five new elections in one year. Henry VIII., to effect his tyrannical designs, extended the period to five years, and first endeavoured to influence elections. This evil was not remedied till the reign of Queen Mary. The people of this country were at this time, so far as life and liberty were concerned, less secure than under the bloody Queen Mary, as she was called. She, proclaiming that the people had been deprived of their just rights, and of the great security for their liberty, had recourse to short parliaments. Her parliament did not continue for one year; it was dissolved at the end of nine months. Sir Francis highly panegyricized the reign of Elizabeth, but admitted that her parliaments were too long. This was continued in the reign of James; but the people had then no reason to be jealous of parliament, and felt themselves safe in its hands. If Charles had possessed a large revenue, and a standing army, there could have been no question moved now as to the reform of parliament. A struggle ensued, when par-

liament gained the ascendancy, and it was thought just, that a body which had acted so meritoriously, should have its duration protracted. Afterwards, it was thought gain to the public, that one great man should protect the liberty and ensure the security of the nation. Yet Oliver Cromwell was a parliamentary reformer, (*a laugh*,) and proposed a plan of reform, so just, so fair, and suitable, that even Lord Clarendon said it deserved to have proceeded from a better—a more warrantable was his lordship's expression—from a more warrantable quarter. But when Cromwell found that he must either lose his place, which to him would be to become a victim to the gallows, or support by the sword what he had acquired by the sword, he naturally preferred the latter alternative. The nation hailed the restoration of Charles, from whom, however, they met an ungrateful return. That monarch first deliberately attempted to corrupt his parliament; but having failed, he dissolved it. Among the abuses of James II., none had been more flagrant than his attempt to corrupt elections; and the main reason urged by William for coming into England, was to procure a full, and free, and fair parliament. We were therefore entitled to a freely elected parliament; but how could this consist with members of the House of Commons being appointed by individuals. He would state the substance of a petition presented in 1793, relative to a reform in parliament. The petition, after mentioning several other grievances and inconveniences resulting from the state of the representation, and requiring redress, stated, that 84 individuals “do, by their own immediate authority, send 157 members to the House of Commons; and that this the petitioners were ready to prove at the bar of the House, if the fact

were disputed, and to name the members and the patrons." The honourable baronet asked, if the nominees of such individuals could be supposed to be a free representation of the people? And yet, perhaps, members so returned constituted nearly three-fourths of those who now heard him. The petition went on to state, "that in addition to 157 members so returned, 150 more, making in all 307, are returned by the recommendation of 70 powerful individuals added to the 84 before mentioned, and making the number of patrons altogether 154, who return a decided majority of the House." One hundred and fifty four individuals thus claimed and exercised the right of disposing, by their agents, of the lives, liberties, and property, of the millions of inhabitants who composed the subjects of this kingdom. Different writers, according to their taste, their education, or their peculiar bias, had pointed out the advantages, and supported the excellence of different species of government. The republican, the aristocratical, and the monarchical form of administration had all had their panegyrist; but no author that ever he heard of had praised an oligarchy. The oligarchy of which he was speaking, was an oligarchy of borough-mongers, whose interests were at variance with those of the rest of the nation; who corruptly usurped powers that did not belong to them, and trampled upon the rights of the people at their pleasure; in short, it was the most odious, the most degrading, and the most galling of all oligarchies. That a hundred and fifty patrons of the representation should exist, that they should exist against all law, that they should exist against the resolutions of the House of Commons itself, which resolutions were passed at the commencement of every session, and might be regarded as the law of parliament, or at least a declaration to the country, that such

was the law, appeared monstrous and unaccountable. Montesquieu, who had devoted twenty years of his life to the study of governments, had given it as his opinion, that the liberties of England would perish like those of the ancient republics, when her parliament became corrupt. But corruption was supposed now to be harmless; it was even defended as a necessary part of the existing system, rather than denounced as tending to the ruin of the Constitution. It had been argued by a right honourable gentleman, (Mr Canning,) that government could not go on without it. A House of Commons might be very virtuous as legislators, whose individual private conduct was most corrupt; and, on the other hand, a parliament might be corrupt which was entirely composed of saints. When he therefore spoke of the corruption of the members of the legislature, he meant no implied reflection on their private conduct; he believed, that in the common intercourse of life, they might be all upright in their principles, and honest in their transactions; but when their interests were opposed to their duty, in a parliamentary sense, he could not but call the House corrupt. He would not trouble them with entering into any abstruse discussion, or offering any specific opinion. He had shewn that the great evil was nominee-ship to seats, and he hoped that it would be possible to induce the House to enter into inquiry. The gentlemen all over the country, who saw their property fast leaving them, who had been accustomed formerly to defend the liberties of their fellow-citizens, but the majority of whom unhappily now thought only of supporting government, and of giving it strength, while they should be adding to its honesty—who saw this once happy nation the seat of industry, and abounding in capital and credit, changed into a taxed, oppressed, overbur-

dened; and beggared people—would, he thought, now see sufficient reasons for inquiring into the cause of the evil, and applying the proper remedy. (*Hear.*) It was said that our constitution was a glorious constitution. Yes, it was so in the books; it was so in the works of our political writers; it was so in Montesquieu, and in the descriptions which our old lawyers and statesmen had given of it; but, practically speaking, there was not more wretchedness, more tampering with liberty, or more corruption in any part of Europe, than prevailed under our boasted Constitution. It was not a jealousy of which he now complained, it was an open hostility to popular rights, a want of all common feeling with the country at large, and a cheaply won character of magnanimity, in affecting to despise what was called the clamour of the people. Believing, as he did, that there was no danger to be apprehended except by the government continuing to do wrong, and still more to alienate instead of regaining the affections of the people, by restoring to them their undoubted rights, he should conclude by moving, “That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the country; and to report their observations to the House.”

Mr Brand warmly seconded the motion, generally concurring in the views of the honourable baronet.

Sir J. Nicholl was determined to oppose every innovation in the constitution. He saw no plan held forth, which was consistent in its nature, or promised to remedy the evils complained of. He admitted the pressure sustained by the country in consequence of wars, but contended that this was not likely to have been prevented by a more popular form of government. Both in the American war, and in the last, ministers had been completely supported by public opinion,

He would now advert to the petitions on the table, on the subject of reform, and which petitions were said to express the popular sentiment. There was no man who knew him, who did not know how much he valued the inestimable right of petitioning. It was, therefore, with great grief and pain that he observed the mode adopted to procure the petitions in question. They were obtained by holding out delusions to the people, by telling them that the distress which they endured, was to be ascribed to a defective representation of the people. It was not surprising that those who laboured under distress, should lend a willing ear to persons who suggested a remedy for the evil which they were suffering; but it was impossible that opinions so obtained could have much weight with parliament. Even if the House were to risk the best blessings of the country, and to sacrifice the public welfare, to gratify the caprice and sooth the insolence—not of the people, (for they had a right to command,) but of those who affected to advocate their cause, they would not content the wise part of the community, and they would not silence the clamours of the disaffected. Mr Pitt, indeed, had been at one time the votary of parliamentary reform, but he had not been ashamed to retract his opinions on the subject, and to acknowledge that he had been led away by an enthusiastic, but mistaken zeal. There was another circumstance which deserved the serious attention of the House—the difference of the character of the advocates for reform at the present and at former periods. In 1782, the cause of parliamentary reform was supported by many persons of the highest rank. In 1793, a society was formed, of which, however he might differ from it in opinion, it was but justice to say that it consisted of persons of great political character and moral respectability. The object which

this society—the Friends of the People—had in view, was nothing more than parliamentary reform ; and it disavowed and shook off all connection with other co-existing societies, whose views were supposed to be not quite so constitutional. But the management of the measure had since fallen into other hands. He, in no degree, meant to allude to its management in that House, for he had no wish to intimate any thing personally disrespectful to the honourable baronet, but to its management out of doors. The fact being notorious, he might, without impropriety, allude to it, that the great conductor, missionary, and apostle of parliamentary reform was out of doors. It was also well known, that during the existence of the Society of the Friends of the People, a secession of the leading members took place, because the individual to whom he alluded was suffered to continue in the Society. (“No, no,” *from the Opposition Benches*.) He believed, notwithstanding this denial, that such had been the case ; and that afterwards, on that individual’s expressly avowing a correspondence with the jacobins of Paris, he was excluded from the Society ; the letter proposing that exclusion having been signed by the chairman, at that time the member for Hertfordshire, the deputy-chairman, now a noble duke, and the honourable member for Carlisle. Was it probable that the individual in question entertained different political opinions at the present moment ? And yet he had been the framer of most of the petitions for reform on the table, and had been the subject of great panegyric in that House. If he might collect the object of the petitioners for reform from the petitions on the table, it seemed to extend to a complete remodelling of the legislature. Was this necessary ? Had not measures been gradually adopting for the last two centuries, to limit the

power of the crown, and to maintain the just rights and liberties of the people ? In the time of the Stuarts, the Habeas Corpus Act had been passed ; that great bulwark of the liberty of the people against the oppression of the crown in its ordinary operation, and in its occasional suspension, that great means of enabling the crown to protect the liberty of the people, by guarding their persons and property. This had been followed by the Toleration Act, acts for securing the liberty of the press, and other measures of similar import. It had been said, and on respectable authority, that the present state of the representation was an adequate protection against the power, but not against the influence, of the crown. The fact was, however, that it was unnecessary to go further back than the present reign, to shew that the influence of the crown had been considerably diminished. To render the judges independent of the crown was the first act of his present Majesty. The passing of the Grenville Act was another measure calculated to lessen the influence of the crown ; as were also the exclusion of contractors from official situations, and the prohibition of revenue officers from voting at elections. The fact was, that not above half the number of persons connected with government sat in that House at that moment, as compared with the last century ; the whole not now amounting to 50 members. He admitted that the patronage of the crown had been much increased by the augmentation of the public income and expenditure ; but would a change in the form of representation alter that patronage, or any thing connected with it ? No individual, or body of individuals, could feel a just cause for complaint, without having the means of laying that complaint on the table of the House. Did a minister, or a magistrate, unduly exercise the power

entrusted to him, his conduct became the immediate subject of parliamentary discussion. Nay, this was carried so far, that respectable persons were deterred from undertaking duties, lest they might be falsely betrayed into something which would subject them to the scrutiny of parliamentary investigation. He therefore decidedly opposed the motion of the honourable baronet.

Lord Cochrane could add nothing to the admirable speech of Sir Francis Burdett; but he could not refrain from a few observations on what had fallen from the last speaker. Sir J. Nicholl had entered into a long detail of the advantages of the constitution, and the blessings enjoyed under it; but he entirely forgot to mention that that constitution was destroyed, and now no longer existed. (*Cries of hear, hear, and order.*) He had a right to say that the constitution no longer existed while the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. There was now a general call for reform, and it was the knowledge the people had of the influence which prevailed within that House that had produced that call. If the call was not obeyed, the mass of corruption would destroy itself, for the maggots it engendered would eat it up. (*A laugh.*) They (the members) were the maggots of the constitution. (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) They were the locusts that devoured it, and caused all the evils that were complained of. Was it not notorious that every thing wicked found its way to that House? Were they not familiar with instances of fraud, bribery, and perjury? (*Hear, hear, order.*) The manner in which that House was composed, was the cause of all the distress of the country. If any body came with a round sum of money in his hand to a borough, was he not sure of being returned? He was willing to believe, that some of the right honourable gentlemen op-

posite were good moral men, but what did that signify? No good could be expected from them, or any others, if means were not taken to purify the system: unless this were done, the nation was ruined, the sun of the country was set.

Mr Curwen conceived that parliamentary reform was the only security for the introduction of economy in the public expenditure. It was true that an individual had been expelled from the society of Friends of the People; but that individual was not Major Cartwright.

Mr Ward conceived the question to have now assumed a more serious appearance than formerly; so that, unless steadily resisted, it might be ultimately carried. The petitions for reform were numerously signed, but they had been obtained from the people, in many instances, by gross misrepresentation. What kind of parliament and government did these radical reformers propose to give us? They say the King is to retain all his prerogatives, and the Lords their privileges; nothing was to be altered but the House of Commons. The splendid statue of gold was to have earthen feet, which might be broken at will. Every thing, then, was to be right; there would be no taxes, no tyranny, no orators, no heroes, no Pitts, and no Nelsons. It was pretended that a House of Commons formed by radical reformers could exist with a hereditary monarchy and nobility. So long, indeed, as the King and Lords went along with the popular voice, they would be endured by their inferior masters, but the first popular bill which might be rejected would be the signal for the downfall of the monarchy. He quoted a late work of Jeremy Bentham, author of many excellent writings, an able man, and a radical reformer. To shew the notions of radical reformers, he might

merely quote some of the titles which Mr Bentham gave to his chapters, such as "Honourable House incorrigible—Moderate reform inadequate." In describing the classes of persons ~~win~~ Mr Bentham thinks, must be against reform, he says, "It must be the work of the Tories to make that portion of the public money spent in waste and corruption as large as possible, (*hear, hear, from the Opposition,*) and of the Whigs likewise." (*Loud laughter.*) Mr Bentham had a language of his own; but, to use a favourite term of the author, it "approximated" to ordinary language, and therefore the House could understand him. He says, public welfare "under moderate reform would be minimized, under radical reform would be maximized." Moderate reform would only be the sharp edge of the wedge, which, once insinuated, would serve to split the oak. What was called the borough system he regarded as an essential part of the constitution; and he would as soon part with the representation for Yorkshire as with that of Old Sarum. In looking at the effects of popularity, it should be recollected that Mr Fox was obliged to be returned for the northern boroughs of Scotland, for the Ultima Thule. The case of Mr Windham might be noticed, and that of a living nobleman, for whom he had a high respect (Earl Grey). Such circumstances went a great way to vindicate the existing system. In what was called a reformed parliament, only two classes would get admittance—either those who had great local influence, or those who contrived to please the people. No country existed in the world wherein talents of all sorts, and particularly public talents, could rise so easily, and by such honourable means, as in England.

Sir Samuel Romilly was no friend to annual parliaments and universal

suffrage, but conceived that some kind of reform was eagerly called for, and entertained no dread of any serious injury arising from it to the constitution.

Mr Lamb admitted ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~imperfections~~ ^{imperfections} had crept into the constitution; he felt in favour of communicating the right of voting to copy-holders, and of remedying the abuses with regard to out-voters, but could not consent to a committee for the general purpose of parliamentary reform. He could not imagine that the petitions contained the sense of the people, when he considered the manner in which they were obtained, the pilgrimages that had been undertaken by zealous devotees to the shrine of popular applause. He trusted the question would not soon be again brought under the notice of parliament.

Mr Tierney said the proposition to-night he had felt to be a very moderate proposition, and to that proposition no counter-proposition had been produced from any party. The only good argument he had heard this evening had been that things were very well as they were, and so let well alone—an argument truly fit for, and well adapted to the side of the House from whence it came. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) So did also the observation from an honourable gentleman, that Old Sarum, in his opinion, was just as good a representation as any other. The boroughs were ~~principally~~ ^{principally} in the hands of pettifogging attornies, who sought out a person fit to represent the borough, and inquired not about his talents, but who his banker was. Instead of looking out for promising young men, likely to be serviceable to their country, they looked out, for their own sakes, for phthisicky decrepit old men, who were likely soon to die, and occasion a fresh election. (*Hear, and laughter on all sides.*)

He certainly thought a grand radical change too dangerous an experiment, yet still something might be done in the practical way. Copyholders, as well as freeholders, should elect the members. The monied interest was now too strong for the country gentleman residing near a Borough, and he was excluded by some mushroom adventurer, who had got a good contract with government, or made a lucky hit in the stocks. The worst was, the expence now of the large towns, and even counties, made them close boroughs to all who could not afford to make the electors a present

of 20 or 30,000*l.* every election. Yet after all that could be said in extenuation of the present system, was it not monstrous that the county members formed but a minority to the residue? He had studied reform under the auspices of Mr Pitt, who, after all, had established the Irish representation upon a liberal system. He saw no objection to a committee, though he confessed he had little hope of the motion being carried.

Lord Milton spoke against the motion, which being put to the vote, was negatived by a majority of 265 to 77.

CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS PARLIAMENTARY TRANSACTIONS.

Mr Abbot resigns the office of Speaker.—Created Lord Colchester, with a pension.—Mr Sutton elected.—Debate on Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter.—Mr Wilberforce's Motion relative to the Slave Trade.—Mr Lyttleton on the Lottery.—Mr Bennett on the Report of the Police Committee.—The Academic Society.—Mr Brougham's Motion on the State of the Nation.—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE important place of Speaker of the House of Commons had long been filled, with high distinction, by Mr Abbot. During the present session, however, the health of that gentleman became too precarious to admit of the regular attendance necessary for the discharge of his high functions. He determined, therefore, very properly, to resign his situation.

On Friday, May 30, Mr Dyson, the deputy clerk, stated, that he had received a letter from the Speaker, which, with the leave of the House, he would read. He then read the following:

"Palace-yard, May 30, 1817.

"SIR—It with the sincerest concern and regret that I feel myself obliged to request, that you will inform the House of Commons, at their meeting this day, of my inability, from continued illness, to attend any longer upon their service. After holding the high office to which I have been raised by their favour in five successive parliaments, it is impossible that I should resign so honourable and dis-

tinguished a situation, without feeling the deepest gratitude for the constant kindness with which they have been pleased to accept and assist my humble endeavours to discharge its various and arduous duties. It was my earnest wish and hope to have continued longer in the service of the House, if such were their pleasure. But the interruption of public business which has been already occasioned by my state of health, and the apprehension of the same cause recurring, which might again expose the House to the like inconvenience, have made me deem it necessary that I should retire at this time; and have left me ~~no~~ further duty to perform than to return my heartfelt acknowledgments to the House for all the favours they have bestowed upon me, and to express my fervent wishes for the perpetual maintenance and preservation of its rights, its privileges, and its independence.—I am, Sir, always most truly yours,

"CHAS. ABBOT.

"To Jeremiah Dyson, Esq.
Deputy Clerk, House of Commons."

Castlereagh then rose and said, that after the communication which the House had just heard, combined with the recollection of his uniform conduct, there could be, he apprehended, no difference of opinion as to the great merits of the Speaker, or as to the propriety of accepting his resignation. From the able, dignified, and conciliatory manner in which he had discharged the arduous duties of his office, at once reflecting the high credit upon his character, and affording the utmost satisfaction to the House, all who heard him must regret the resignation of that highly respected and universally esteemed individual. The loss, indeed, of such an officer, he felt, no doubt in common with the House, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, adequately to supply. The noble lord concluded with proposing an adjournment until Monday, when probably he would be authorised to make a communication to the House, which would mark the estimation in which the Speaker was held by the illustrious personage at the head of government, and which would enable the House to proceed at once to the election of another Speaker.

The motion of adjournment was agreed to.

On Monday, June 2, the House proceeded to the choice of a Speaker in the place of Mr Abbot, now Lord Colchester. After an amicable contest between the friends of Mr Manners Sutton and Mr Charles Wynne, the choice fell upon the former by a majority of 160; the numbers being for Mr Sutton 312, and for Mr Wynne 152.

On Tuesday, June 3, Mr Sutton, the new Speaker, took his seat in the chair, after having received the royal approbation in the House of Peers.

Lord Castlereagh brought down the following message :—

“The Prince Regent, acting in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, thinks it right to inform the House of Commons, that having taken into his consideration the eminent and distinguished services of the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, during the long and eventful period in which he had filled the situation of Speaker of that House, has conferred upon him the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Colchester of Colchester, in the county of Essex; and the Prince Regent recommends to the House of Commons to enable him to make such provision for Charles Lord Colchester, and for the heir male of his body who may next succeed to the title, as shall, under all the circumstances, be judged just and reasonable.”

It was argued by Mr Wynne and others, that this ought to have originated in the House, where his labours could be best appreciated. It was at last agreed to by Lord Castlereagh, to postpone the consideration of the message till Thursday.

On Thursday, June 5, Lord Castlereagh, after some prefatory encomiums, moved the thanks of the House to Baron Colchester, for the zeal and ability with which he had discharged the duties of his station in parliament.

Lord William Russel rose with extreme reluctance to oppose this vote. No man could be more sensible of the general merits of the late Speaker; but he could not forget the memorable speech made by him at the bar of the House of Lords on the failure of the Catholic question; nor the motion of a noble friend of his (Lord Morpeth) on that subject. On that occasion 117 members of that House had voted their censure on the Speaker; and the public would not be able to understand the reason why the House now unanimously applauded him. It was also a bad precedent, to see that Speaker

who was the first to make the crown a party to the proceedings of that House, the first also to be made directly a peer on his removal from that chair.

The motion was then agreed to, with a very few dissenting voices.

Lord Castlereagh then moved an address to the Regent, that he would be pleased to grant some signal mark of favour to Lord Colchester; and that whatever expence should be incurred, that House would make good the same.

Mr Tierney had heard that it was intended to grant 4000*l.* a-year to Lord Colchester, and 2000*l.* a-year to his heir male. He had since heard that was wrong, and that 3000*l.* a-year was to be granted to his heir. He wished to know if that was correct.

Mr Vansittart had no objection to state that 4000*l.* a-year was intended to be proposed to Lord Colchester, and 3000*l.* a-year to his heir male.

On Friday, June 6, the Speaker acquainted the House, that he had received a letter from Lord Colchester, in acknowledgment of the letter communicating to him the resolution by which the thanks of that House had been voted him.

Lord Castlereagh stated at the bar the answer of the Prince Regent to the address respecting the late Speaker, which recommended to the House to enable his Royal Highness to bestow an adequate provision.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that it be referred to a committee of the whole House on Monday next.

On Monday, the House resolved itself into a committee, on the answer to the Prince Regent's message.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after briefly adverting to a pension of 3000*l.* granted Mr Speaker Onslow, proposed, for his great labour and

anxiety, that Lord Colchester should enjoy a pension of 4000*l.* for his own life, and 3000*l.* for a successor, to commence from the 1st of April last.

Mr H. Sumner moved that the first sum should be 5000*l.*; and Mr Lambton moved that it be limited to 3000*l.* Both these amendments were negatived, and the original motion agreed to.

The following circular letter had been addressed by Lord Sidmouth to the lords lieutenants of counties, dated 27th March 1817.

“MY LORD—As it is of the greatest importance at present to prevent, as far as possible, the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings, of which for some time past great numbers have been sold and distributed throughout the country; I have thought it my duty to consult the law servants of the crown, whether an individual found selling, or in any way publishing such pamphlets and writings, might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace, under a warrant issued for the purpose, to answer for his conduct. The law officers, having accordingly taken this matter into their serious consideration, have notified to me their opinion, that a justice of peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath with the publication of libels of the nature in question, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge.”

“Under these circumstances, I beg to call your lordship's attention very particularly to this subject; and I have to request, that if your lordship should not propose to attend in person at the next general quarter sessions of the peace to be holden in and for the county under your lordship's charge, you would make known to the chairman of such sessions the substance of this communication, in order that he may recommend to the several magistrates

to act hereupon, in all cases where any person shall be found offending against the law in the manner above mentioned.

I beg leave to add, that persons sending by letters and other publications in the manner above alluded to, should be considered as coming under the provisions of the hawkers and pedlars' act, and be dealt with accordingly, unless they shew that they are furnished with a licence, as required by the said act.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

"SIDMOUTH."

To this letter were subjoined opinions to the above effect, signed by the Attorney and Solicitor General, W. Garrow and S. Shepherd.

Lord Grey on the 12th May brought this subject before the House of Lords. His lordship, after reading the letter and the opinion of the judges, observed that at present he meant only to move for the case upon which the circular letter had been founded; which, if granted, might be the foundation of future proceedings. The question was, whether any justice of the peace may be called upon by any common informer, to decide at once what is or what is not a libel, and upon his sole judgment and authority commit or hold to bail the person accused. His lordship then referred to the opinions of Hale, Hawkins, Camden, and other eminent lawyers, in order to shew, that no justice of the peace could possess any such power. After bringing together an amount of evidence which he contended was quite irresistible, he strongly censured the conduct of the Secretary of State, in issuing this circular. Such a direction to the magistrates, not being a general exhortation to vigilance and care, but a specific instruction as to the manner in which they were to interpret the law, would have been a high offence against the constitution, even if that law had been

clear and indisputable. He hesitated not, therefore, to describe the measure as most unconstitutional and dangerous.

Lord Ellenborough contended, that the course followed by Lord Sidmouth was strictly regular, and endeavoured to shew that it was supported by the very authorities which had been quoted against it by Lord Grey. He conceived that such a power was indispensable for the security of the country, and that if it did not already exist, it ought to be communicated without delay.

Lord Erskine expressed the highest respect for the legal knowledge of Lord Ellenborough; but did not conceive that the doctrine now advanced by him could be borne out by the practice in cases of libel. During the French Revolution, a time when much danger was apprehended from seditious practices in this country, every part of it was inundated by libels. Whatever evidence was brought forward during that period, at the Old Bailey, upon the subject of those libels, referred to such as were actually published. There were libels tried there at that time, collected from all parts of the country; and in no one case was a person held to bail after an arrest by a justice of the peace. The Society for the Suppression of Vice never proceeded against any person arrested and held to bail by a justice of the peace for the publication of a blasphemous libel. The question now was, how the common law stood upon the subject. The noble lord read a passage from Lord Hale, to prove that a justice of the peace could not hold to bail for every offence within the cognizance of a session. They were here upon the plain law of the land. If the Secretary of State considered the case so clear, what necessity was there for taking the opinions of the law officers of the crown? Surely the miserable crea-

tures who went about hawking these seditious or blasphemous papers could not be looked upon as guilty of libels, and held to bail by every magistrate who may think proper to arrest them. This was never the case, even during the French Revolution. The judges themselves, without a jury, had not power to decide as to what was and what was not a libel, and yet that power was now given to every magistrate, without proof—without judge or jury. His lordship afterwards said, “The press had better be thrown into the fire, than the power of committal be given to every justice of the peace.”

The Lord Chancellor objected to the production of the opinions of the judges, which would, he thought, be in several respects a bad precedent. He was clearly of opinion that the whole proceeding was legal, and defended it by the authorities of Mr Northey, Lord Hale, Lord Hardwicke, Sir John Willes, Arthur Hill, Sir Dudley Rider, and Lord Mansfield. He contended that the quotations from Hale and Hawkins by no means warranted the inference drawn from them. Blackstone he considered as a laborious and useful compiler, but by no means very high authority. He was now in the decline of life, and he declared, that he should feel deep regret in his retirement, if he could think that the measures which he had deemed it his duty to advise or support had trenchanted upon the just liberties of the country; but, on the contrary, he believed sincerely that they had been essential to the preservation of the constitution.

Lord Holland spoke strongly in favour of the motion, contending that the House ought to be guided by the legislature, not by the opinion of any Attorney or Solicitor General. He contended, that the only legal mode of proceeding against libel was by in-

dictment. The conduct pursued by the noble viscount was most destructive to the harmony, and fatal to the safety of the country.

Lord Sidmouth should think himself inexcusable if he had attempted to strengthen the arguments already adduced by the highest authorities by any observations of his own. When he had the satisfaction of hearing it proclaimed in that House, that the measure which he had thought it his duty to adopt was conformable to the opinion of the highest legal authority in the country, (the Lord Chancellor, and of the Lord Chief Justice of the kingdom—when he found that it was conformable to the opinions of the greatest text writers on the law, and also to the recorded practice of all the most eminent law servants of the crown, both before and after they had attained the highest judicial situations—he felt it would be presumptuous in him to attempt to add any weight to this mass of dead and living authorities; but though he did not think it necessary to detain their lordships with any remarks on this point of discussion, yet there was another point on which he should think it a matter of great self-reproach, if he could not vindicate himself to their lordships. It seemed that he stood before their lordships charged with having used his best endeavours to stop the progress of blasphemy and sedition. To that charge he pleaded guilty; and while he lived he should be proud to have such a charge brought against him. He knew that efforts unparalleled had been made to carry into every village and cottage in the manufacturing districts the poison of these seditious and blasphemous doctrines. He had himself seen the effects of these pernicious doctrines on some of these misguided men; and had heard from some of them, while under examination, the free confession that it was the

influence of this poison that had taken them away from their regular duties; that up to the time of their being assailed with those publications, they had been industrious and well-affected members of society; but that themselves, and hundreds of their unfortunate neighbours, had been corrupted by the insidious principles disseminated by these itinerant lawkers of sedition and blasphemy. Never was there a period, till the present, when blasphemy was so completely enlisted in the service of sedition. A greater number of persons could read now than at any former period; they were better informed; they were collected more in large bodies, especially in manufacturing towns; there was also, he was sorry to say, more ale-houses. Besides, these publications were very cheap, almost gratuitous; and the seditious and blasphemous dealers were itinerant, in order to disseminate their mischievous wares more widely. Such being the case, the magistrates became alarmed, and applied to him (Lord S.) for instructions. It was said that the proceedings ought to be by indictment; but this could not be, till the next quarter-sessions; and by that time these wandering venders might have removed to another quarter of the country.

Earl Grey declared that every thing he had heard only tended to confirm him in his original opinion. He called for law, and they gave him authority; he called for deliberate discussion, and they gave him bare assertions.—The motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 75 to 19.

On the 25th of June, the same subject was brought before the Commons by Sir Samuel Romilly, who contended that no more dangerous power was ever assumed by any servant of the crown. By the command of any magistrate, a person might be held to

bail, or sent to prison, on the oath of an informer. No newspaper, in any part of the country, could criticise the conduct of ministers, or render itself obnoxious to some busy magistrate, without the danger of exposing its author to imprisonment and expence, without trial. The tyranny of the reign of Charles II. could not be greater than this.—The motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 157 to 49.

On the 9th of July, Mr Wilberforce brought forward a motion on the subject of the slave trade. He described the manner and extent in which this horrible traffic was still persisted in. The Hon. Gentleman said, he was afraid that even a great many American subjects, and much American property, had been embarked in the slave trade. It had also been greatly carried on in the colonies on the coast near Goree, since they have been restored to the French. There was reason to believe that in one Dutch colony, the slave trade had been favoured by one individual very greatly. As to Sweden and Denmark, no complaint could be made. But Portugal, notwithstanding our favours, had carried on this infamous traffic to a great extent. All, however, sunk in this scale compared with the devastations of Spain, whose conduct in encouraging so infamous a traffic, he spoke of in the most glowing terms of indignation. In places where schools had been established, and efforts made to induce the chieftains to supply their wants by peaceful industry and legitimate commerce, the Spaniards laboured to persuade them to return to their old habits of selling their subjects, and making war upon their neighbours. The Spanish ships were crowded beyond all precedent. In one instance it had been stated, that of 540 negroes embarked, 340 had died. By a paper

obtained by the Cortes, it appeared that there had been imported into the Havannah in eleven years, from 1799 to 1811, about 110,000, or 10,000 per year, and in the three last years the importation had been much greater. The Spanish and Portuguese flags formed also a covert for the illicit traders of other nations. Mr Wilberforce concluded with moving an address to the Prince Regent, praying that his Royal Highness would still endeavour to obtain the total abolition of this traffic.

Lord Castlereagh stated, that since the treaty of Paris, we had been in negotiation with Spain and Portugal for the abolition of this trade; but he felt it difficult at present to enter into any statement of the progress of these negotiations. He hoped, that by the next meeting of Parliament he would be able to submit to it the result of these negotiations. He could not say that this result would be complete; but as far as it should go, he hoped it would be satisfactory.

A number of members delivered their sentiments, all in unison with the motion, which was then put and carried.

On the following day, Lord Grenville made a motion to the same effect in the House of Peers; when he received from Lord Liverpool a similar assurance, that government would use every effort in their power for the suppression of this odious traffic.

On the 18th of March, Mr Lyttleton rose to bring forward a motion for the abolition of lotteries. The Hon. Gentleman contended, that this mode of raising money was improvident, and the expence of collecting it was greater than that of collecting any other tax of equal revenue. The estimated amount annually was 550,000l.; for this year he would take it at 500,000l. only. He went over the items in re-

spect of charge, the price of the tickets, &c., and was of opinion that, calculating all these sums, the people actually paid 840,000l. in order to bring into the Treasury a sum of about 570,000l. The Hon. Gentleman then referred to the scheme of the present lottery, which he pointed out as founded on fallacious views. Instead of 220,000l. in prizes, the real value would only be 108,000l. Mr L. contended that the preamble of the Little Go Act would equally apply to the Great Go Lottery. The Lord Mayor had expressed satisfaction that he was about to bring forward the subject, for he knew the evil was increasing, and required correction; the Corporation of London, too, justified the opinion which the respectable Chief Magistrate had given, for they had petitioned the House to abolish lotteries. Another evil of lotteries was, the great patronage which it created, by providing more than 30 offices, most of them sinecures. He then concluded by moving a set of resolutions, that by the establishment of State Lotteries, a system of gambling had been promoted, which ultimately tended to diminish the resources of the country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer trusted the House would weigh most seriously before it gave up any part of the revenue of the country, at a time so precarious as the present. With respect to the system of lotteries being unlawful and immoral, unless all games of chance were held to be so, he could not see how lotteries could be so considered; and he believed the severest moralist had never carried his speculations so far. A man might find (if he were determined on it) a great many ways to ruin himself without having recourse to the lottery. Every precaution had been taken by the government to diminish the temptations

to gambling and insurances in the lottery, by raising the price of tickets to prevent the lower orders from embarking in the lotteries. Every endeavour had been used to abolish Little Goes; and, indeed, every species of gambling connected with the lotteries. The late Mr Percival had considerably reduced the number of persons in the lottery department; and it would not be advisable to reduce the commissioners of

lottery any farther. The honourable gentleman seemed to have a very strange idea of lotteries, for he gave it as his opinion, that if the contractors could sell a single ticket, they would be gainers by the contract. On the contrary, the contractors for lotteries had several times lost by that speculation. As to the scruples of the city of London with respect to lotteries, they had only seized the city lately; for it is not many years ago that the city got an Act of Parliament for a lottery of its own, of which the principal prize was a house valued at 20,000*l.*, and he had been told that house was sold with difficulty for 7,000*l.*

Sir S. Romilly thought the facts which had formerly been laid before them, must shew sufficiently to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was high time to follow the example of the city of London, and abandon lotteries altogether. He agreed that this was not a time to give up any considerable part of our revenue; but it was not a time also for us to give up ~~any part~~ of the morals of the people. The revenue was, nevertheless, injured by the number of persons who were reduced to parochial relief by the evil of gambling in the lotteries. So frequent were lotteries now, that to use the words of a contractor, "the public was not recovered from one lottery before another was drawn." If the right honourable gentleman had attended to the report of a former

Committee, he would have seen, that at the time of the drawing of the lotteries, the trades that supplied the necessities of life were nearly at a stand; and the only trade that flourished was the pawnbroker. He read several lottery advertisements, shewing the allurements held out to industrious bodies, to induce them to embark in the destructive gambling system of the lotteries. These lottery people selected the most honest and industrious persons to spread their poison among them. There seemed to him a most utter incongruity, how the right honourable gentleman could one day preside at a Bible Society, and the next at a meeting of lottery contractors. If the right honourable gentleman could go into the work-houses, prisons, and mad-houses, to see the persons now distressed and agonized by the proved consequences of the lottery, he did not believe that he could still persevere in them; much less would he cast a sneer at the city of London for having recently given up lotteries.

Mr J. Ward thought we could not at present spare 5 or 600,000*l.* a-year, without occasioning more evils than those which arose from the lotteries. At the same time, the lottery system was a shameful system, liable to destroy all industry, forethought, and morality. He thought that the abolition of lotteries was a boon due to the English nation, as soon as we had a return of prosperous times.

Lord A. Hamilton and Mr B. Moreland spoke in support of the motion. The House then divided—For the original motion, 26—Against it, 72—Majority, 46.—Adjourned.

On the 8th of July, Mr Bennet brought up a report from the Police Committee. The honourable member, in moving that the report should lie on the table, said, the Committee had

thought it right to divide this report into two classes, one of which particularly related to parliamentary rewards, and the other to the punishment of juvenile offenders. The Committee considered that the rewards at present existing, usually known by the name of blood-money, were inducements to perjury; and minor rewards had frequently the same effect.—He could particularly state to the House one instance of perjury committed for the sake of reward; this was in the conviction of paupers. It appeared in evidence before the Committee, that in one parish a person had been detected giving money to poor persons in the street, for the very purpose afterwards of taking them to a police-office, informing against them as paupers, and getting the reward of 10s. upon each conviction. The honourable gentleman then adverted to the great increase of juvenile crimes within the last four years, and stated, that in 1813, the number of boys committed to prison under 13 years of age was 62; in 1814, the number amounted to 98; in 1815, it was 88; and in 1816, the number increased to 146. Another subject to which the Committee had paid their particular attention, was, that of transportation, and the expence which that system entailed on the public. Since 1812, the number of persons transported amounted to no less than 4659, of this number 226 were transported for 14 years, 1716 for seven years, and the rest for life. The expence attending the hulks and Botany Bay was most enormous, and had increased of late years to a most alarming degree. Taking the average of the last 15 years, it would be found to amount to no less a sum than 225,580*l.* annually. This was a sum beyond any former precedent, a burthen upon the public, from which they derived no adequate advantage. The Committee consider-

ed this as a subject demanding the most serious attention of parliament, at as early a period as possible.

On the 28th of April, petitions were presented to the two Houses by the Academical Society, formed in London for the investigation of philosophical, literary, historical, and, above all, political subjects. Five of the members had applied to the quarter sessions for a licence, under the act for restraining seditious assemblies. There were present the Lord Mayor, Sir John Perring, Aldermen Smith and Domville. The two former declared their readiness to grant the licence, but the two latter refused, unless on condition of omitting politics; which, as these formed the favourite topic, was positively refused. It was then propounded, that the questions for debate should be furnished beforehand, to the magistrates, subject to their approval. This was positively rejected. The Mayor then, as the votes on the two sides were equal, did not think it in his power to grant the licence. This subject was brought under the view of the House of Lords, by Lord Darnley, who observed, that no one of their lordships could have imagined, that a case like that which he was about to notice would have been brought under the provisions of the seditious meetings bill. His lordship referred to the steps taken by the magistrates, and the refusal to grant to the Academical Society a licence, which has given rise to the present proceeding, which was to ascertain whether the proper interpretation had been put on that bill; and he thought this subject involved a most important question connected with the rights and privileges of the people of Great Britain. He hoped that he should receive an answer from the noble Secretary for the Home Department, which would satisfy the House that the magistrates

alluded to had no authority for the conduct they had pursued, and he trusted that such expedients would not be allowed in future, and that such a construction of the act would not be sustained.

Lord Sidmouth replied, that he was utterly ignorant of the circumstances of the case alluded to; but all he could say was, that there was no clause in the act in question which could justify such an interpretation as had been mentioned. It certainly never was the intention of the framers of the bill to put a stop to all political discussion.

A similar assurance was given in the House of Commons by Mr Bathurst.

The last proceedings in parliament, consisted in Mr Brougham's general motion on the state of the nation. The honourable gentleman took an extended review of the conduct of ministry, and of all their recent proceedings, parliamentary, financial, commercial, and diplomatic; all of which he inveighed, against in the strongest terms. Lord Castlereagh defended the conduct of ministry, and insisted, that if the honourable gentleman entertained such an opinion of them as he had now expressed, he ought long before to have moved their impeachment. Sir F. Burdett and Mr Bennett spoke against ministry; the Attorney-General, Mr H. Addington, and Mr Canning, in its favour. As the debate consisted merely in a general review of former matters, all parties could have ~~been~~ ^{been} to say but what had been already said. Mr Brougham, whose object had merely been to express his opinion, and display his oratory, did not attempt to divide the House, but allowed the motion to be negatived without a division.

On the 12th of July, the Prince Regent closed the Session with the following speech:

VOL. X. PART 1.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ I cannot close this session of parliament, without renewing my expressions of deep regret at the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.

“ The diligence with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention at the commencement of the session, demands my warmest acknowledgments; and I have no doubt that the favourable change which is happily taking place in our internal situation, is to be mainly ascribed to the salutary measures which you have adopted for preserving the public tranquillity, and to your steady adherence to those principles by which the constitution, resources, and credit of the country have been hitherto preserved and maintained.

“ Notwithstanding the arts and industry which have been too successfully exerted in some parts of the country to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, and to stimulate them to acts of violence and insurrection, I have had the satisfaction of receiving the most decisive proofs of the loyalty and public spirit of the great body of the people; and the patience with which they have sustained the most severe temporary distress cannot be too highly commended.

“ I am fully sensible of the confidence which you have manifested towards me, by the extraordinary powers which you have placed in my hands; the necessity which has called for them is to me matter of deep regret; and you may rely on my making a temperate but effectual use of them, for the protection and security of his Majesty's loyal subjects.”

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I thank you for the supplies which

you have granted to me, and for the laborious investigation which, at my recommendation, you have made into the state of the income and expenditure of the country.

“It has given me sincere pleasure to find that you have been enabled to provide for every branch of the public service without any addition to the burthens of the people.

“The state of public credit affords a decisive proof of the wisdom and expediency, under all the present circumstances, of those financial arrangements which you have adopted.

“I have every reason to believe that the deficiency in the revenue is, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the unfavourable state of the last season; and I look forward with sanguine expectations to its gradual improvement.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“The measures which were in progress at the commencement of the session, for the issue of a new silver coinage, have been carried into execution in a manner which has given universal satisfaction; and, to complete the system which has been sanctioned by parliament, a gold coinage of a new denomination has been provided for the convenience of the public.

“I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to preserve the general tranquillity.

“The prospect of an abundant harvest throughout a considerable part of the continent is in the highest degree satisfactory.—This happy dispensation of Providence cannot fail to mitigate, if not wholly to remove, that pressure under which so many of the nations of Europe have been suffering in the course of the last year; and I trust that we may look forward in consequence to an improvement in the commercial relations of this and all other countries.

“I cannot allow you to separate without recommending to you, that upon your return to your several counties, you should use your utmost endeavours to defeat all attempts to corrupt and mislead the lower classes of the community; and that you should lose no opportunity of inculcating amongst them that spirit of concord and obedience to the laws, which is not less essential to their happiness as individuals, than it is indispensable to the general welfare and prosperity of the kingdom.”

CHAPTER X.

SCOTLAND.

General View of the Political State of Scotland—The Scottish Bar—Ascendency of the Whigs—State Trials—Debates in Parliament on the subject—Burgh Reform—Montrose—Aberdeen—Dundee—Ferment in the Nation—Meetings at Edinburgh—Attempts to reduce the Charter of that City.

THE present year may justly be considered as forming a memorable era in the annals of Scotland, less from any prominent events that occurred, than from the great change which was wrought, or at least disclosed, in its political mind. This change, unless in a few of its detached symptoms, may probably have escaped the notice of our southern readers; and to them, therefore, it may not be unacceptable to receive the observations of those who could mark on the spot the steps of this revolution, and the secret causes by which it was prepared.

For a very long period preceding, the current of public opinion had been observed, in Scotland, to run very strongly in favour of prerogative. The French Revolution, indeed, excited a somewhat brisk ebullition, the elements of which, however, were rather active than widely diffused; but when it subsided, the principles of loyalty, and of acquiescence in the established order of things, seemed to derive only new strength from the efforts necessary to suppress their opposites. A

strong influence in this direction was doubtless produced by the energy, address, and popular manners of the late Lord Melville. The national pride was flattered by seeing a Scotchman hold so high a place in the public councils; his attention to its interests was unremitting; and there remained always in his whole character and deportment something so decidedly Scotch, that this people never ceased fully to consider him as a Scotchman. In short, during this whole period, the great mass of the landed proprietors, all that high nobility whose fortunes enabled them to emulate regal pomp, even the bulk of the middling and trading classes, stood firmly arrayed on the side of administration. The party of opposition was supported rather by a few clever and zealous detached individuals, than by any regular or established body. Yet, amid this smooth outward appearance, the seeds of an active democracy were secretly ripening. The revolutionary spirit, during its prevalence, had acted powerfully on the youthful votaries of

learning, of whom the University of Edinburgh was then rearing many, destined to act a distinguished part in the intellectual professions and literary history of their country. Talent is naturally democratic, spurning at all distinctions not founded on itself. At the private debating societies, into which the students of the Scottish universities form themselves, political discussion became a prominent feature; and it was reported, that the most bold and perilous questions were frequently agitated. The alarm hence felt by the votaries of established order gave rise to a species of proscription, which barred in some degree the first efforts of these young men to bring themselves into notice. The indignation thus inspired failed not, even after their first fervour had been tempered by maturer judgment, to fix them strongly in an opposite interest. In Scotland, abilities, unsupported by great wealth, can with difficulty obtain a public field for their display. Talent, however, must always find its level; and its possessors were not long of discovering a theatre where they could act a conspicuous part, in the eye of their country, and even of the world.

Edinburgh, though it possesses much of the brilliant and polished society, wants many of the usual accompaniments, of a metropolitan city. It is neither the residence of a court, nor the resort of the high nobility, nor the theatre of any grand political deliberations. In the absence of these, the lead is taken by the inferior gentry, and more particularly by the intellectual professions. Among these last, the most brilliant class, beyond comparison, is that of the practitioners at the bar, or, as they are here called, *Advocates*. This class, be it observed, follow a very different train of life from the lawyers of the English metropolis; who, shut up in their inns in al-

most monastic seclusion, poring over the pandects and the digests, and immersed in the routine of daily practice, are in a great degree estranged from the circles both of literary and fashionable life. In Edinburgh, on the contrary, the title of *Advocate* is an introduction equally into the gay as into the busy world; it is assumed even as an ornament by young men of fortune, who never mean to engage in practice. In regard to intellectual culture, the Advocate of the old school was not accustomed to travel much beyond the record. His week was spent in close attendance on the Parliament-house, while the Saturday, and other occasional intervals of relaxation, were devoted to loud mirth and ample potations. To indulge a taste, or employ time, in any of the branches of literature or science, was considered a dangerous species of idleness, and as disqualifying him for his main occupation. The young practitioners, nursed in the school we have just described, introduced an entirely different train of ideas. The belles lettres, poetry, history, and antiquities, were now studied with the same zeal as the Institutes and Decisions, and came to be considered almost as essential to their credit and place in society. Such a train of pursuit, among a number of young men of splendid and highly cultivated talents, soon placed this body at the head of the literature of Scotland. Their wits, indeed, must be greatly sharpened by constant collision. Every morning their whole number repairs to what is called the Outer House, a magnificent hall, not rivalling indeed the forensic dimensions of Westminster-hall, but serving for more dignified uses. This hall forms a vast coffee-house, in which all things connected with business, literature, and the world, are daily debated. Especial regard is, indeed, had to whatever conduces to the production of mirth;

but this does not supersede many grave and serious discussions. Great benefit must also accrue from the extensive observation of human nature, and the affairs of life, which is afforded upon the continually varying theatre of civil and criminal proceedings. This body have thus completely given the tone to Scottish literature. They have infused into it a very different character from that which rendered it illustrious in the former age. The tone was then given by the presbyterian church of Scotland, and produced a grave and highly respectable literature, which busied itself little with ephemeral topics, but was chiefly employed upon immutable truths, and the permanent interests of society. The literature of the present day is gay, busy, alive to the present scene;—periodical criticism, popular political discussion, and the painting of manners, form its ruling themes. The knowledge of the world, the gaiety, and the business-like style, conspicuous in its productions, have rendered them the most extensively popular of any in the present, or perhaps any former age.

We have already hinted at the causes which directed towards the popular side a large proportion of the rising Scottish talent. From other causes connected with the observations now stated, the great mass of it directed itself to the bar. This profession, from the ample share of government patronage included within its limits, might have seemed calculated to turn the views of some into a new channel. Principle, however, and the pride of independence, was more powerful than interest: and the emoluments of a highly employed advocate are such as to render a seat on the bench eligible only in the decline of life. Meantime, the very circumstance of the great proportional number of the Scottish judges causes a continual drain upon the loyal part of the bar; and the

transference of an adherent from the habits of an active and zealous lawyer, to the tranquil and routine life of a judge, is very disadvantageous to the interests of administration. From one cause or another, so it happened, that at the period now under consideration, all the most eminent and illustrious characters at the bar stood in direct opposition to the ruling powers. It would be difficult, amid all the shifting scenes which Scottish society has presented, to select a more brilliant groupe. We need only mention *Clerk*, the son of an illustrious father, whom he surpassed, at least as to public life; whose age, long established practice, and thorough legal knowledge, placed him at the head of his party, and of the bar. This gentleman belonged, indeed, rather to the old school, being more distinguished for deep law and forcible pleading, than for general knowledge. Some eccentricities of manner, and effusions of humorous spleen, by the repetition of which society was amused, aided in rendering him a conspicuous personage in the city. *Cranston* presented a quite different personage, marked by a deportment eminently correct, polished, and dignified—the model of a lawyer and a gentleman; and, in short, one of the most accomplished characters of which any bar can boast. Here, by the way, we cannot help remarking how slowly these high qualities are recognized, when not rendered piquant by some admixture of weakness and eccentricity. Mr Cranston remained long without any employment whatever; insomuch, that at one time he quitted the bar in despair, and for several years employed his splendid talents in marshalling a troop of dragoons. *Jeffrey*, whose fame in letters admits only of *one* rival, is also the most popular speaker in the Scottish courts; involving his auditors in a thread of lively, delicate, rapid, and

varied illustration, till they are entangled, and cannot escape. In every criminal trial, and, since the introduction of the Jury Court, in every jury trial, his presence is considered indispensable; and these being the only law proceedings which excite a popular interest, Mr Jeffrey makes thus, in the eye of the public, the most conspicuous figure at the Scottish bar. Opposite to him is usually stationed *Cockburn*, producing similar effects by a quite opposite strain of oratory—plain, homely, downright, full of clear and forcible reality. This gentleman had given the most unequivocal proof of sincerity, when, the nephew of Lord Melville, he sacrificed in the cause of Whiggism the highest legal honours which government had to bestow, and which would have courted his acceptance. Space would fail us to commemorate *Moncrieff*, the son of one of the most eminent clergymen in the Scottish church, and himself already rivalling the vigour and legal knowledge of Clerk;—*Murray*, prompt, shewy, eloquent;—and others who might have been worthy of mention: All these, however, had remained for some time in a tolerably quiescent state, and opposed only a tranquil and passive resistance to the measures of administration; but the time was now come, when all their hostile energies were to be roused into action.

It is worthy of remark, that the separation so total, which we have observed to take place in England between the Whig and the popular parties, never could be said to have extended to Edinburgh. The Whig chiefs there continued always to espouse the side and cause of the people, so far as they could so with any sort of propriety. Ample scope was afforded, when the distress, and consequent discontent, prevalent throughout

the kingdom, began to be felt in full force in the western manufacturing districts. The elements now began to ferment, which afterwards burst forth in such rash and violent attempts to subvert the established authorities. Information being received of desperate designs in agitation, a considerable number of arrests took place in Glasgow, and some other towns in the counties of Ayr and Dunbarton. After due precognitions, a certain number were selected to stand trial for seditious practices, and to deter others, by their punishment, from following this pernicious example. The Whig phalanx deemed it now their part to come forward and tender their voluntary aid to all who might stand indicted for political offences. As the hour of trial approached, the whole body appeared ostentatiously drawn up in battle-array, and presenting a front that seemed sufficient to intimidate the boldest prosecutor. In disturbed times, the most important person in Scotland, and on whom the tranquillity of the kingdom mainly depends, is the Lord Advocate. The circumstances which we have mentioned as so materially affecting the loyalty of the whole body, rendered it difficult to find an individual possessed of those high qualities which the exigency required. *Maconochie*, son to an able and distinguished judge, was considered a young man of talent; but he had little experience, and could not be expected to muster law sufficient to contend with all the first authorities at the bar. He was reckoned, moreover, precipitate, and liable to act without that caution and circumspection, so requisite in the presence of the mighty host that stood arrayed against him. The first prosecution, however, that of *M'Laren* and *Baird*,* was in so far successful; though high admiration

* See Appendix, p. 24.

was still commanded by the talents of the Whig advocates who conducted the defence. The case of Neil Douglas had not so fortunate an issue.* But the grand display of strength was made in attacking the indictments raised against Edgar and Mackinlay, particularly the latter. The Whig phalanx, applying the whole power of their ingenuity and legal knowledge to sift these to the bottom, found out forms and expressions which they succeeded in representing as irregular; and the crown officers were obliged to give up two of the indictments against Mackinlay, and to raise a third. This raising of three successive indictments for the same offence, gave occasion to loud complaints, and the subject was even introduced before the House of Commons. Lord A. Hamilton said the suspension of the habeas corpus had been productive of one of the most vexatious prosecutions which had ever come before a court of justice. The case he alluded to had occurred in Scotland. The person who was concerned had been indicted once, and the indictment had been withdrawn; he had been indicted a second time, and the indictment had been a second time withdrawn; and he understood it was intended to indict him a third time.

Mr Brougham was surprised that his Majesty's ministers had given no answer to his noble friend; no answer to an allegation, that a man had been put three times on his defence. (*Hear, hear.*) He knew, that by the Scotch law, most unhappily for Scotland, a party might be tried a thousand times for the same offence, if the law officers of the crown thought it advisable. The House had been informed, that the first indictment against this unfortunate man, charged with high treason, had been quashed by the court; there had been one trial, one deten-

tion in prison, one solitary confinement, one period of painful suspense; then came a second charge, a second imprisonment, a second period of suspense, a second judgment, and a second indictment quashed. The crown officers, not satisfied with this, were now preparing a third torture for this unfortunate man. It was impossible to say what would now be the decision of the court, but no lawyer who read the indictment could have any doubts as to its inefficacy. If the prosecutors failed on this occasion, would they commence a fourth time?

Mr Finlay felt disgusted and disappointed, as did the whole Scotch nation, that an individual should be confined to a solitary prison, and tried over and over again, merely because the Lord Advocate was unable to draw an indictment. He complained that the legal affairs of that country were placed in such hands, that it was impossible such circumstances should not frequently recur. An indictment had been three times quashed, and might, perhaps, meet with the same fate a fourth time. Was it to be endured that his Majesty's ministers should allow the law to be in the hands of a person who could not draw an indictment? while the consequence might be, that, after all, the man would escape, whether innocent or guilty? The law of Scotland was right enough in itself—it allowed an indictment to be repeatedly amended in point of form and before trial; but who ever heard of an indictment being preferred three times for the same offence, after the case had been argued? On these grounds, he thought the thanks of the honourable gentlemen were due to the noble lord who had brought the subject before the notice of the House.

Ministers declared that they could

not be expected to answer every question started as to events that took place at the distance of four hundred miles. They felt the highest confidence in the Lord Advocate, and were convinced, if there was any defect, it was in the law itself. In a few days, however, the Lord Advocate himself appeared in the House, and entered into a full justification of his conduct. He observed, that by the law of Scotland, sixty days may elapse after a party is indicted, before he is tried. The prisoner, Mackinlay, was charged with treason and felony; and, therefore, if separate indictments were framed, the prisoner might have been delayed above a hundred days; but he (the Lord Advocate) had joined the two offences in one indictment, for the ease and advantage of the prisoner. So far from the friends of the parties being refused admission to the prison, the greatest facilities were afforded, and the Lord Advocate himself, though pressed with business, attended to their situation minutely. They were placed in a particular prison, because it was the most healthy in Edinburgh, and the district prison was extremely unwholesome. It was not the law of Scotland, that an individual could be tried a thousand times for the same crime; but the public prosecutor can abandon an indictment before trial. The indictment is laid before the court before trial, and the judges first consider the law, and whether the facts bear out the indictment; at that period the court may, if they think fit, refuse to grant the motion for the prisoner's trial. A prisoner, therefore, could not be brought to trial twice. The administration of justice in Scotland had been falsely arraigned, and that during a trial. As to oppression, he could not have been guilty of it, unless the court had been in a conspi-

racy with him. So far from two indictments having been quashed, not one was quashed. He had never delayed bringing prisoners to trial.— Within a week after the prisoner had been committed, he attended to the settling of the indictment. It was at first drawn up, &c. a charge of felony. He thought it fair that every thing should be put on the record, to give the prisoner a fair notice; and this was done. There were long debates on this addition to the indictment; and in consequence of this, though not of any thing that fell from the court, a new indictment was framed; and so far from any complaint being made on the score of delay, the prisoner asked 15 days more. The court then desired to consider whether the felony were merged in the treason, (for the English law of treason was not well understood there,) and subsequently suggested an alteration in the form of the indictment; and no objection was made to the relevancy of this latter altered indictment.

Little was said in answer to these observations; the Lord Advocate returned to Scotland, and the trial proceeded. It then, however, appeared that the principal witness, who was in the interest of the pannel, had contrived to inveigle the law officers into something like a promise of reward, in case of his testimony being favourable to the prosecution. The witness, on being brought to the bar, disclosed all the circumstances of this transaction; in consequence of which, his testimony was rejected, and the prisoner acquitted.*

The public interest excited by these proceedings, and the splendid displays of talent on the popular side, threw a lustre on a cause, which seemed to absorb within itself all the ability of the most intellectual body in Scotland.

Other symptoms were not wanting of a considerable change in the sentiments of the great body of the people. The Scottish newspapers had hitherto been conducted in a plain and unpretending style; nothing was expected from them beyond a simple record of facts, interspersed with occasional panegyrics on the existing administration. The present year was marked by the commencement of a journal devoted solely to discussion, and in which the highest doctrines of Whiggism, not untinged with democracy, were daringly and ably supported. An extensive circulation proved its adaptation to the public taste; nor were there wanting provincial papers which struck a still bolder note, rivaling the most licentious effusions of the London press. The flame, however, might have insensibly evaporated, had not a question occurred, by which it was concentrated into one focus: this was *Burgh Reform*.

It appears not a little remarkable, that, among a people so prompt both with the pen and the sword—whose nobles claimed a peculiar independence, and almost equality with the monarch, and were so forward to rise in arms to avenge real or supposed wrongs, the system of political institution should have been so much less liberal than in England. The establishment of the Lords of Articles, and the whole constitution of the Scottish parliament, was such as to afford to the sovereign an almost unlimited power in the enactment of laws. To these rude barons, the residence of the metropolis, and the forms of legislative assemblies, were peculiarly irksome; and they willingly acquiesced in arrangements, by which all public measures were previously prepared, and waited only their formal sanction. Even the rude independent power of which they boasted, rendered them, probably, little studious of constitu-

tional liberty. Whatever wrongs they might sustain from the legislature, their own good sword was always ready to afford them redress. They, therefore, quietly permitted the sovereign to make almost such laws as he pleased, only reserving to themselves the liberty of obeying them or not, as they might find convenient. This delusive facility in passing laws, and peril in executing them, was probably one main cause of the disasters with which the fate of the Stuarts was so deeply chequered.

The chief monument now remaining in Scotland, of the legislative despotism which was combined with so fierce a practical independence, appears in the construction of her burgh polity. In the infant state of trade and the arts, the insignificance of the towns secured them, probably, from any interference, and they were allowed to govern themselves by magistrates of their own appointment. As they grew into importance, the disorders to which the exercise of liberty is more or less liable, afforded a pretence for the act of 1469, establishing the system of self-election, in which the old magistrates chose the new ones, and the council continues still “another and the same.” This system, in whole or in the greater part, has ever since continued to be that of all the burghs of Scotland. There might not be room strongly to object to a certain degree of permanence in the municipal councils of a city. In the freest republics, it has been found advantageous to have some senate, something fixed, which might prevent public measures from varying with every breath of popular opinion. But whenever this permanent or self-elected body forms, as in all the Scottish burghs, the majority of the council, the natural combination which takes place between its members enables them to absorb the whole administra-

tion, and throws out the representative members, even when pretty numerous. A species of oligarchy is thus formed, not founded on any natural or substantial basis, nor likely to feel always a common interest with the rest of the citizens. Even in the few representative members admitted into the councils, the appointment was subjected to a capricious and tyrannical restriction. The trade was required to draw up a list or *lect*, which was delivered to the old council, who struck out one-half of the names; in which mutilated state it was delivered to these worthy persons, to make their election out of. Thus the members of a trade could not chuse as its *deacon* the person who held the first, or even the second or third place in their esteem.

These defects in the burgh system of Scotland had long been viewed with affliction by those who undertook to advocate her national rights. So early as 1783 and 1784, delegates from all the burgesses of Scotland met at Edinburgh, with the view of obtaining sets on a more liberal and rational plan. The lead was taken by Mr Fletcher, a most respectable advocate, round whom rallied all the Whigs of Scotland, not forming then so imposing a body as they do now. Laudably studious, however, rather of gaining the object in view, than of gratifying party animosities, they used all their efforts to have the subject brought under the consideration of parliament, by a member supposed to possess the confidence of ministry. The independent spirit and zealous patriotism of Mr Dempster of Dunnichen seemed to point him out as the individual from whom most was to be hoped. From Mr Dempster, however, they met with an unexpected repulse; that gentleman declaring his obligations to the Scottish town councils to be so great, that he could not honourably become

an instrument in their overthrow.— Lord Melville was next applied to, but frankly declared that he would not support, but oppose, any change in the Scottish burgh constitution. They were constrained, therefore, to have recourse to the opposition members, by whom they were received with open arms. Mr Sheridan espoused their cause with peculiar zeal; and though the affair was delayed from year to year by difficulties of form, and protracted investigations, yet in the year 1793, they obtained a report, which seemed to promise the happiest success. At that critical moment, the French revolutionary excesses rose to their utmost height, and created in the minds of all sober men a panic dread of every shade of reform. It became evident, therefore, to the most zealous advocates of the measure, that this was not a time when it was possible to attempt carrying it through. The proposition, therefore, was entirely withdrawn, and seemed to have sunk into total oblivion, when a single circumstance, acting upon the inflammable spirit of the nation, caused the zeal for reform to burst forth with tenfold energy.

The burghs of Scotland, in the limited and undisturbed sphere within which they had carried on their elections, were apt to slide into a somewhat lax observance of those forms which had been demanded by the original set. Montrose appears to have taken a most extraordinary latitude; the election in that burgh having, for two successive years, been made, without any authority, by ballot. The last election thus made was appealed against by several members of the former council; and though it was alleged, that they, having acquiesced in the measure at the time, had no title now to complain, the Court of Session declared the course of proceeding illegal, and the present magistrates to

have no title to the places which they held. This sentence being acquiesced in, the town was left without a magistracy, the place of which was supplied by an interim arrangement with the sheriff-substitute. In such a crisis, the Scottish burghs were, by their constitution, placed in a very peculiar situation. The magistrates not being chosen by any permanent body of electors, but by the old council, which, after naming them, had ceased to exist, there remained now, when their career was so abruptly brought to its term, no means of supplying their place. The burgh was therefore in a species of extinct state, and could renew its action only by an authority emanating from the same source, the sovereign power, whence its privileges were at first derived. In this crisis, the magistrates, the burgesses, and the principal inhabitants, acted with an entire unanimity. They joined in a petition to the crown for a new set, and for the renewal of the broken chain of magistracy by a poll election. Such a proposition was likely to be received with jealousy by the executive power, in whose eyes all change, especially on the popular side, is naturally suspicious. Being considered, however, as a detached measure, not as the first wave of a mighty stream of innovation, there appeared no sufficient reason for not gratifying the wishes of so respectable a body. The petition, therefore, being favourably reported on by the Lord Advocate, was granted, and a warrant of the Privy Council issued accordingly. This new set, after all, presented a very small portion of that freedom of election which has been boasted of by the votaries of reform. The council consists of nineteen; while, at the end of the year, ten are chosen by the burgesses and guild brethren, who,

with two appointed by the nineteen, constitute the *new council*. The old and the new council together then elect the new magistrates.* It is evident, then, the whole electing body consisting of thirty-one, that the representative number of ten will form only a very small minority. The old council, mustering twenty-one, remain absolute masters of the election, and can perpetuate their power as completely as in any other of the closest burghs. The real advantage gained by the popular side was in the poll election, when being superior in number, they introduced their chiefs into the magistracy, and could then view with indifference or with pleasure a system which secured the permanence of any party that was once established. By the public in general, no defect was perceived in this constitution. It was viewed with universal admiration and envy, and soon excited in other burghs a desire to obtain similar immunities. Meantime, events of an almost unprecedented nature were occurring elsewhere, which seemed to remove every doubt as to the necessity of a radical change. The burgh of Aberdeen was reduced to the necessity of declaring itself bankrupt to a vast extent; and the magistrates, retiring from office in despair, emitted an address to their successors, in which they stated their decided opinion, that "the present mode of election of the Town Council, and management of the town's affairs, are radically defective and improvident, tending to give to any individual or party who may be so inclined, an excessive and unnatural preponderance; and to foster and encourage a system of secrecy and concealment, under which the most upright and best intentioned magistrates may not be able to acquire that thorough knowledge of the situation of the

burgh, which is requisite to the due administration of its affairs." They added, that "some change ought to be effected in the manner of electing the council, and an effectual controul given to the citizens over the expenditure of the town's office-bearers." This remarkable declaration, elicited by a catastrophe so signal, produced a strong sensation, and was heightened by what took place at Dundee, where discontents had been long fermenting. Provost Kiddoch, who for forty years had been at the head of this, the closest burgh, perhaps, in Scotland, publicly declared his conviction of the expediency of applying for a new set, as a measure likely to promote the most important interests of the city. The ferment in men's minds was now universal. The mighty series of recent political changes, the splendid succession of British triumphs, the revolutions which had changed the aspect of Europe, were entirely forgotten; nothing was talked of but burgh reform. At Glasgow, Ayr, Paisley, Inverness, Dumfries, Perth, even in the secondary burghs of Musselburgh, Annan, Forres, Inverkeithing, and many others, meetings were held and measures taken, for attaining this general object of desire. The proceedings in the capital, however, by the zeal with which they were carried on, and the great theatre on which they were acted, soon engrossed the almost exclusive attention of Scottish burgh politicians.

Edinburgh is not on the closest model of Scottish burghs. Of its council of thirty-three, fourteen are elected by the trades; a privilege not granted by the Act 1469, but obtained at some period now too distant to be ascertained. Of these fourteen representatives, or *deacons*, eight are extraordinary, whose votes are called for only on certain occasions. Even this

limited extent of election is fettered by the council striking off three from the list of six, presented to it by the trades. As soon as the cause of Scottish burgh reform seemed to wear a prosperous aspect, all the patriotic spirits of this great metropolis were at work. The phalanx at the bar would gladly have volunteered their services on such an occasion; but the etiquette of rank, fastidiously adhered to in this profession, absolutely forbids an advocate from engaging in any trade, or even mercantile employment, by virtue of which admission could be procured into the municipal bodies. But there was another class, in relation to whom no such bar existed. These were the Writers to the Signet, a body who carry on nearly the same business as the English attornies, but occupy here a much more conspicuous place in society. Carrying on all the proceedings before the courts of law, and having nearly all the great estates in Scotland under their management, they possess a greater mass of wealth than the practitioners at the bar; and though they do not display the same literary talent, and varied information; yet knowledge of the world, and habits of steady application, qualify them for the conduct even of difficult affairs. Although the general tendency of this body was decidedly ministerial, yet several of its most eminent and leading members had gone zealously into the opposite interest. This body, in their proper character, had no place in the councils of the city; but there was nothing in their situation which was supposed inconsistent with their engaging, really or formally, in employments which gave them a place either in the guildry, or in some one or other of the incorporated trades. Several were thus enabled actively to co-operate with this part of their fellow-citizens, and had the advantage of rallying

round their party all that numerous body, who were bent upon a reform in the constitution of the burgh.

Although the trades burgesses of Edinburgh possessed, within certain limits, the power of electing representatives or *deacons*, the merchant burgesses, though a superior class, enjoyed no such privilege. The members of the council taken out of their body, were created by an entire and exclusive system of self-election. Impelled by these considerations, a meeting was called of the Merchant Company, and a set of resolutions were moved. Referring to the example of Montrose, these resolutions pledged them to exertion in obtaining for the burgesses of Edinburgh an influence in the administration of their own affairs, and an improvement in the set of the city. The member who made the motion attempted to gild the pill by declaring "it was not the men he arraigned, it was the system itself that ought to be condemned; a system which one would think had been devised for the purpose of crushing virtuous exertion, and fostering corruption. The wonder was, not that corruption and malversation should have been found in the government of the burghs, but that there had been so much of a counteracting principle in the personal character of the magistrates to resist the influence of corruption." These softenings did not prevent the magistrates, with all their connections and supporters, from vehemently opposing the motion; notwithstanding which it was carried by a majority of two to one, there being 176 for, and 87 against it.

While all descriptions of men were drawing forth their lost rights from the dust of antiquity, the guild brethren of Edinburgh deemed it expedient for them to come forward. The existence of a mercantile guild in Edinburgh was attested by a charter of James VI., by the title of guild bro-

ther attached to that of burgess, with the payment of a corresponding entry money, and by the annual appointment of a dean. Yet the functions of the body had so entirely ceased, that its corporate existence was even alleged to have expired. The demands now made, and which, no doubt, appear sufficiently reasonable, were, the power to meet as an incorporation, the controul of their own funds, and the election of their own dean. At the meeting held for this purpose, Mr Gibson, an eminent Writer to the Signet, took a prominent part, and inveighed against the whole system by which the town was governed. To him there appeared nothing on earth more perfectly absurd. It was an anomaly without parallel in the history of any burgh or country. For a long time the magistrates had borrowed immense sums of money—no one knew how much; expended it—nobody knew how. Their whole management was enveloped in mystery—all their deeds were deeds of darkness. The affairs of the town had for a long time been managed by a self-elected *junta*; and he understood that its debts were at present above half a million. For the payment of this immense debt, he had learned from the first legal authority, that the property of the burgesses of Edinburgh was liable; and were they to be told, that under such circumstances they had no right to inquire into the conduct of those who could thus impose such burdens upon the community? As none of the magistrates, or their friends, chose to sanction the meeting by their presence, the motion was carried *nem con.*

Notwithstanding the strong sensation excited by these proceedings, it was very evident, that they must evaporate in mere speech and discourse, unless something were done to bring the affair to a closer issue. In considering the course now to be instituted,

the precedent of Montrose naturally suggested itself. No such manifest flaw could indeed be discovered ; but all the processes, by which the present magistrates had been brought into office, were sifted with the most eager diligence, in hopes of discovering some blemish, which might suffice to annihilate the political existence of themselves and of their set. At length this eager scrutiny was crowned with some share of success. It was found that one or two of the last elected magistrates had no domicile in the burgh ; that one had been absent when he ought to have been present, and that one had voted after his functions had legally ceased. Before, however, any legal proceedings could follow upon these premises, it was necessary that a complaint should originate from some members of the council itself ; which, constituted as that body was, seemed to present a serious difficulty. In this emergency, however, there started up two patriotic deacons, Laurie and Henderson, who, under the high legal advice of which they had the full command, drew up a petition and complaint, founded on the above facts. The complaint was drawn up in a high tone, being directed against Kincaid Mackenzie, *pretended* Provost ; James Smith, &c., *pretended* Baillies ; Alexander Henderson, *pretended* dean of guild, &c. ; and the whole candidly signed, John Laurie, *pretended* deacon. The Supreme Court, on this petition being presented, shewed their readiness to do justice to all, by ordering the complainers to have access to such books and documents belonging to the town as could throw light upon the subject.

Inconsidering these measures, which, so far as circumstances admitted, were made general over Scotland, it seems impossible not to be struck with some discrepancy between their character and that of the persons by whom they

were employed. Admitting an extension of the right of suffrage to be a legitimate Whig object, we might yet expect to find Whig ends promoted by Whig means. But how can this appellation be applied to a system by which all the burghs of Scotland were to be disfranchised, and their renewal, and future constitution submitted to the absolute disposal of the crown ? The dangers, in fact, of this system, which were sufficiently obvious, were not of a mere possible or theoretical nature. This was the very system successfully employed during the era most perilous to English liberty, for subverting her constitution, and rendering parliament a mere tool of the crown ; the system, in opposing which Russell and Sydney had blessed Charles II., at the close of his reign, when he gave himself up entirely to arbitrary counsels, raised against London, and the other corporations, prosecutions exactly similar to those which modern patriots have raised against Edinburgh. He succeeded, and judges, removable at will, even declared the metropolis to have forfeited its charter. A new constitution was quickly bestowed ; in virtue of which the crown had an unlimited *veto*, that is, the sole sway, in the election of the Lord Mayor, who in his turn appointed and displaced all the inferior magistrates. Rapin, the candid Whig, observes here, that though in case of flagrant offences, the corporation might lose its charter ; yet, in all cases of minor importance, the court had been satisfied with imposing a fine. “ This,” says he, “ is the practice where justice and the maintenance of the laws and customs of the kingdom are only intended. But, in the present instance, the king’s intention was not to maintain justice and the laws, but to take occasion from the breach of some articles of the charter, to seize the liberties of London into his hands. It

may be affirmed," adds he, "there was no readier or more effectual way to invade at once the liberties of the nation." Still stronger language is used by Hume, the Tory historian, ever prompt to palliate the sins of the Stuarts. He mentions with approbation the arguments urged, "that a corporation as such was incapable of all crime or offence, and that none were answerable for any iniquity, but the persons themselves who committed it ;" that corporate bodies framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be annihilated for the temporary faults of their members. For these reasons," he says, "the judges who condemned the city are inexcusable ;" and afterwards, "this last iniquity, which laid the whole constitution at the mercy of the king." Such were the precedents on which the reforming party were now proceeding. We are clearly of opinion, that a renewed application to parliament was the only channel by which they ought to have look-

ed, or rationally could look, for an extension of popular privileges.

The present year thus closed, amid the most sanguine hopes of the votaries of reform, whose career of success had been hitherto uninterrupted. Yet there were not wanting circumstances which, to an attentive observer, augured a less favourable turn of affairs. The Crown, upon which they unaccountably rested their hopes, though it might have been inadvertently led into an extension of the privileges of a single burgh, was likely to take the alarm, when it found the whole of Scotland in motion, and an entire change demanded in her representative system. Supposing the Whigs to have attained their favourite object of laying all the Scottish burghs at the feet of the crown, there was slender ground for expecting that this power would be employed in the establishment of Whig ascendancy. The measures, however, to which these considerations prompted, did not take place till the following year.

CHAPTER XI.

ROYAL FAMILY.

*The Princess Charlotte—Her Illness—and Death—Grief of the Nation.—
The King—Queen—Princess of Wales.*

THIS chapter will be almost exclusively occupied by an event of the most gloomy character, which filled the nation with the deepest mourning. The young princess, the only heir in a direct line to the British crown, formed naturally an object of deep interest and solicitude to the British nation. Their welfare was deeply involved in the personal character which she might display ; while the stability of the kingdom might materially depend upon the matrimonial connection into which she should enter. From the first she was a favourite of the nation ; she was reported to display on all occasions a generous and affectionate disposition ; and there was something in her whole demeanour frank, open, and English, which recalled the idea of Elizabeth, and inspired the hopes of a reign equally glorious and popular. The public, indeed, could not at once appreciate those marks of spirit and energy, which occasionally impelled her beyond that tranquil and passive sphere usually assigned to her sex in that high station. Some disappointment was at first

felt, in consequence of her determination to exercise, with regard to an union for life, the natural right of her sex, which the heir of a crown is usually supposed to forfeit. In a political point of view, the connection with the Prince of Orange appeared natural and eligible ; and nothing was observed in his personal character and qualities, to render him an object of reasonable aversion. When, however, the actual choice was at last announced, it was acquiesced in with entire and general satisfaction. It is now admitted, even in a political point of view, to be more expedient than the rejected one, since its object could have no interest, and no ambition, that was not purely British. The result entirely justified the princess's discernment, and fulfilled all the most favourable omens which could be drawn from the circumstances under which the union took place. It appeared equally effectual in promoting the domestic felicity of this illustrious individual, and in preparing her for the high place to which she was destined. It was un-

derstood, that the gentle influence of the husband had sensibly improved her excellent qualities; that it had pruned the exuberances of youthful spirit; and that it had led her into a train of study and reflection, eminently tending to qualify her to be the future Queen of Great Britain. Thus every thing inspired the nation with the highest hopes, and nothing appeared wanting to their satisfaction, except the prospect of an heir to perpetuate this illustrious line. Alas! their wishes seemed on the eve of being gratified, when this hoped for moment led to a result the most deplorable, and which buried in the dust all the hopes which they had been so fondly cherishing.

On the night of the 3d of November, the Princess first felt symptoms of illness, which were soon pronounced to be those of approaching childbirth. Messengers were immediately dispatched for Sir Richard Croft, the most eminent accoucheur in London, and for Dr Baillie, who was supposed to rank first as a general physician. The great officers of state, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, required by law as witness to the birth of an heir to the crown, were also speedily in attendance. During the whole of the following day, the labour proceeded slowly, but, it was supposed, favourably. In the course of the following night, as the wished for period was still delayed, Dr Sims was sent for, to be ready to aid Sir Richard Croft with his advice. The greater part of the next day was spent in the same manner; but towards evening the symptoms afforded the promise of a speedy termination; and at half-past nine the Princess was delivered of a male child, but still born. Though much exhausted, she appeared otherwise composed and well; and the happiest presages were entertained of her recovery. But in a few hours a dreadful reverse took

place; she became restless and uneasy, and was seized with violent convulsions, which proved speedily fatal. The minor details, as well as the description of the funeral, will be found in the Chronicle, (App. p. 174—8.)

Those who had supposed that the sufferings and discontents of the nation had rooted out, or even sensibly weakened, the former attachment to the race of its kings, were completely undeceived at this sad crisis. Never, during any era of the most devoted loyalty, could stronger emotions be excited and testified. The public grief was universal, deep-felt, and absorbed for a long time every other sentiment. It was not the first time that the nation had seen their favourites consigned to an early tomb; but never had so many affecting circumstances been united as in this sad catastrophe: the present, accordingly, was beyond all former mourning. Even now, after their tears have flowed and are dry, her memory is still cherished with the most sacred regard. Happier, perhaps, in this one respect, than if she had lived to reign over a race so turbulent, restless, and full of umbrage; when, if her vigorous will had once come into collision with theirs, she might have enjoyed afterwards only a stormy and precarious favour.

The grief of the multitude has a strong tendency to be converted into rage; and in this instance an object was sought, on whom their indignation might be vented. The sufferers were the medical attendants, who were loudly denounced as having omitted remedial measures, which might have saved the illustrious victim. It was even stated as the opinion of many medical men, that so prolonged an illness ought to have been abridged by artificial delivery. Our own knowledge of the obstetrical art is much too limited to allow us to hazard even the most guarded opinion upon such a sub-

ject. Persons apparently candid have supposed, that such a peculiar pressure of anxiety and responsibility, might paralyze in some degree those exertions which the occasion demanded, and might produce timidity in the adoption of those bold and decisive measures, which would not have been scrupled in an ordinary case. It is certain that Sir Richard's practice was extensively diminished; and the above suspicions seemed to derive new strength from the tragical event of his soon after committing suicide. It may be questioned whether the mental agitation which led to this fatal act was produced by reflection on his own conduct, or merely by the public odium, of which he found himself the object.

Nothing material occurred during this year, relative to the rest of the royal family.

The King remained in that state of tranquil non-existence, which rendered him to the nation as though he were not. That he still lived, they were only reminded by the title of Regent applied to the actual administrator of sovereign power, and by a month-

ly report of the physicians, which announced that he did not suffer, but that his disorder continued unabated.

The Queen, during this year, was exposed to several attacks of serious, and, in one instance, alarming illness, the forerunners, probably, of that which was destined at no distant period to prove fatal. This state of her Majesty's health afforded probably the reason of that absence from the illness of the Princess Charlotte, which created at the time a good deal of animadversion.

The Princess of Wales, having completed her tour in Barbary and the Levant, resided during this year at the Lake of Como, Milan, Munich, and other parts of the north of Italy, and south of Germany. During this period, several of the events took place which afterwards became the subject of those ample discussions, into which we shall not now enter. Her Royal Highness is said to have received with deep agitation the tidings of the death of her illustrious daughter, and to have several times fainted away.

CHAPTER XII.

FRANCE.

Situation of France.—Army of Occupation partly removed.—Proceedings of the Chambers relative to the Law of Election—to Personal Liberty—to the Press.—The Budget —Disturbances occasioned by the Tragedy of Germanicus.—Plot against the Princes.—Commutations in the Provinces.—Improved State of France.

FRANCE, at the commencement of the present year, presented still, to the rest of Europe, a subject of anxious contemplation. The neighbouring states timidly viewed this country as the crater of that mighty volcano, which had poured forth such wide desolation, and the ashes of which, yet warm, seemed every moment to threaten a new explosion. Those, on the other hand, who contemplated on a great scale the diffusion of liberty, and the improvement of society, viewed not without deep interest this effort to establish a representative government in the greatest and most central state of continental Europe. Amid the present enforced tranquillity, the elements of misrule were not eradicated. The waves of many successive revolutions continued to heave, and, on any rapid movement of the political machine, were liable to burst. The remembrance of mortal wrongs rankled in many hearts; every passion, every party, was in extremes. The royalist demanded nothing less than the restoration of monarchy, in all its ple-

nitude; while a pure republic, or at least the constitution of 1791, was the call of their opponents. There was, besides, a secret and desperate band, who detested the Bourbon as opposed to the Napoleon dynasty, and would have restored, at every cost, the absolute power and military ascendancy of the latter. These, however, rested their hopes of success upon plot and insurrection, and ventured not to shew themselves in the national assemblies, where open collision took place between the extremes of the royalist and popular parties.

Amid these conflicting elements, the king continued still to steer a prudent and moderate course. He opposed himself, above all, to the extreme violence of his own adherents, which, had it prevailed, would have tended, above any thing else, to shake the stability of the monarchy. This conduct was the more meritorious, since it was understood that the high royalists had gained over to their side the princes, Dukes d'Angouleme and Berry. The steady adherence, how-

ever, of the king to this course, and the understanding that he had secured for it a majority in the new Chamber of Deputies, inspired a confidence unfelt before, in the permanence of the existing French government. This feeling was amply attested by the facilities experienced in negotiating the large loan of 800,000,000 francs, (twelve millions sterling.) The greater part of this sum was understood to consist of British capital, particularly from the great houses of Baring and Hope. In reply to some strictures made by the British Opposition upon this subject, ministers declared that they had taken no concern in the transaction, and had interposed no pledge or security on the part of the British government. They had merely allowed to British capitalists the natural right of employing their funds in the manner which they themselves might judge most advantageous. Another high proof of confidence was afforded to the French government by the monarchs of Europe. By the last treaty they had established a right to maintain the army of occupation in France for the period of five years. An expectation was, however, held out, that it might be withdrawn at the end of three years, provided the situation of the country should appear to admit of such a step. Although only two years had yet elapsed, it was determined to withdraw 30,000 men, forming one-fifth of the army of occupation, 6000 of whom belonged to Britain. An unexpected journey of the Duke of Wellington to London caused at first some alarm, which was soon dispelled, when it proved to be for the purpose of concerting this arrangement.

The first object which occupied the attention of the Chamber of Deputies, was the important and fundamental one of the law of election. All the interest was attached to two questions,

the first of which related to the qualification of property required in the electors. This was fixed, in the law proposed by government, as it had been in the charter, at the payment of 300 francs, or twelve pounds, of direct taxes. This rate is certainly high; though it may be observed, that taxes of this description form a very large proportion of the French imposts; the land tax alone amounting to between eleven and twelve millions. The liberals, however, made an effort to reduce the qualification considerably lower. They represented the injustice of excluding all the poorer classes, a great part of whom they represented as forming the most virtuous and respectable part of the community. M. Cuvier, the king's commissioner, endeavoured to ridicule these extravagant panegyrics. "If it be true," said he, "that every virtue has taken refuge among those who pay from twenty-five to fifty francs, we may congratulate ourselves on the possession of so many virtuous men. We may bless that subdivision of property, which has so greatly multiplied merit. But let us beware of corrupting these virtuous men, by exposing them to temptation. To give them a share in the elections would be involving them in fatal discords." This article passed finally without a division. The great stand was made by the high royalists on the second question, whether election should take place by one or two stages. The law proposed that *all* the qualified electors of a district should meet in the electoral college, and directly concur in the appointment of a member. The other party moved, that they should merely elect the electors, for whom a very high qualification was to be fixed, which would confine the privilege of direct nomination to persons of considerable fortune. The question was debated with the greatest vehemence; and the ministers supported with the utmost

vigour the popular side. M. Ravez was absent from indisposition; but the oratory of Cuvier and Laine was greatly admired. The latter displayed an improvisatory eloquence rare in the French assemblies, and made a deep impression by the promptitude with which he replied to objections made on the spot. According to the French journals, he combated his antagonists "word by word, foot by foot." When the question came to be put, the superiority of votes was for some time disputed, but after a careful scrutiny, it was found that 118 were in favour of the law, and 106 against it; so that the utmost efforts of the king and the liberals united carried it by a majority only of 12. The whole law finally passed by a majority of 132 against 100.

On the subject of the bill for imposing restraints on individual liberty, similar to those imposed in England by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, ministers took a different course. They judged it necessary to propose a continuance of these restraints till the 1st January, 1818, intimating, however, an expectation, that this would be the last time they would have occasion to propose such an extension. M. de Serre presented an elaborate statement, drawn up by a committee, of the circumstances in the state of France which rendered it at present necessary. "In spite," it was said, "of the powerful example of the monarch and his family, religion only slowly resumes her empire. Revolutionary opinions have to a certain degree lost their hold of public opinion, but the influence of sound opinions is not yet fully confirmed. The prevotal courts, which took their rise from temporary circumstances, are not so effective as was expected. Extraordinary tribunals are not liked in France. Justice has lost her dignity. The army, now reorganized, is faithful, but not nu-

merous, and extreme vigilance must be employed to exclude men who might attempt to mislead it. Economy and policy have induced the necessity of various reforms in all the branches of public service. Numerous individuals are unemployed, and consequently discontented. This discontent, and the preference unavoidably given to some above others, revived those inflamed passions, which, during the war, found scope abroad, or were kept down at home by an iron sceptre." In fine, it was observed, that there were two grievous circumstances which rendered the situation of France complicated and embarrassed to an afflicting degree. These were the occupation of her territory by the armies of the allies, and the late bad harvest, combined with the stagnation of industry and commerce. These causes weakened government, while they furnished new strength to hostile factions. It appeared necessary, therefore, to the committee, that "government should have a police, armed with great authority. The suspension of a constitutional right was always an evil, yet, under the present circumstances, it would prevent greater evils." A warm debate ensued, in the course of which it was stated by the ministers, that the number of persons detained by the police under the act amounted to 319; while the number in exile, and under *surveillance*, were 1380. The law passed by a majority of 44.

In regard to the liberty of the press, the ministers admitted some mitigation of former severity, though they were far from allowing that full liberty which is enjoyed in England. Printed works, with the exception of journals and small pamphlets, might be published without previous censorship, but were liable to seizure under certain circumstances. The subject of the journals was referred to a com-

mittee, the report of which was presented by M. Ravez, who observed—“The committee could have wished that the journals should have enjoyed all the liberty which other works of literature are now to enjoy; but after long consideration, they were convinced, that our political situation made it prudent to leave them still, during 1817, under the immediate superintendence of the government. The journals had been compared sometimes to a kind of popular magistracy, sometimes to a public tribunal, sometimes to a school for forming the taste, opinions, and manners. Viewed in any of these lights, it was impossible that the king, considered as the first magistrate, the director of public instruction, could divest himself of all authority over them. But, laying aside all such metaphorical views, he thought it necessary to advert to the mischiefs caused by the licence of the journals during the revolution; and now, when the late storms which had disturbed the country had scarcely subsided, when so many inflammable passions might still be lighted up, it would be dangerous to allow them to be still the uncontrolled vehicles of private enmities, particularly while a part of France was occupied by foreign armies, and so many of our fortresses in the hands of foreigners.” In the course of the debate, the minister evidently intimated, that the court were not yet inclined to bring down the royal power in France to the same level as in Great Britain. France, he said, would never become accustomed to a government, where the king was a mere abstraction in the hands of his ministers. The ministers must obey in their turn, or retire. The king alone could be supposed to have no wish but the good of his subjects. The laws relative to newspapers and to works seized, were carried by a large majority.

The Revenue committee now submitted to the Chamber a general view of the financial state of the nation. The expenditure, which, in the preceding year, had amounted to 1,088 millions, (L.45,345,000 sterling,) was by various reductions diminished for 1817 to the extent of 29 millions, so that it would amount only to 1,062 millions. As the revenues, however, did not exceed 758 millions, there remained a deficiency to the large amount of 314 millions, (L.13,000,000 sterling.) This was proposed to be provided for by a loan, the terms of which were already negotiated, and which was to be raised upon annuities, the present payment of which would entail upon the public an annual charge of 30,000,000 francs, (L.1,250,000.) The greatest abuse appeared to consist in the pensions, which had been granted in the most profuse manner, and often without any proper authority; and they now absorbed one-sixth of the ordinary revenue; while their increase threatened the entire ruin of public credit. It was therefore recommended, that the military pensions should be reduced to 20,000,000 francs; that pensions of every kind should be paid only at the royal treasury; that none should be entered on the list, except by virtue of an ordinance; that they should not be granted beyond the maximum fixed by the law; and that no person should hold two pensions, or one pension along with the emoluments of an office. Among the expences which do not enter into a British budget were two millions (L.96,000,) for the Chamber of Peers; 800,000, reduced to 680,000, (L.27,000,) for the Chamber of Deputies; the police 1,200,000, reduced to 1,000,000, (L.41,750.) The judicial expenditure amounted to the large sum of 18 millions of francs, (L.750,000.) The marine was pro-

posed to be reduced from fifty to forty-four millions; and, in the war department, a reduction of sixteen millions to be effected. The most ample branch of revenue was the land-tax, amounting to 260 millions of francs, (nearly eleven millions sterling.) Next to this were the contributions on houses and windows. The duties on wines and oils were also considerable, though a wish was expressed to reduce the amount on the inferior descriptions. The produce of the duties on registry, stamps, posts, and lotteries, were to be applied to the extinction of the public debt. The sinking fund amounted now to the annual sum of 140 millions, (nearly 5 millions sterling,) and it was proposed to aid its operation by the sale of 150,000 hectares of the state woods, reserving a revenue of four millions of francs for the clergy. This last article excited loud opposition on the part of the ultra-royalists. According to them, this measure would involve an entire subversion of the rights of the crown, and, above all, of the clergy. "I demand," said M. Bonald, "the preservation to religion of the property that remains to it—neither more nor less. I do not desire to enrich the priesthood, who have been reproached with their opulence—a good jest for those who possess millions." He concluded: "The deputies of the session of 1815 had the honour to save the property of the communes and of religion—a greater glory is reserved for you; you will save those of religion and loyalty. I vote against any alienation of any part of the public domains." Camille Jourdain replied with equal warmth in favour of the measure. He insisted, that the initiatory arrangement of assigning four millions to the clergy, satisfied every just claim from that body; that the Pope even had sanctioned the alienation, and that it was

now a formal law of the state. He then declared: "All the scruples manifested in favour of the property of the clergy, when they are well analysed, resolve themselves into civil and religious anarchy." (*Loud cries to order from the opposite party.*) The speaker proceeded to answer the objections of other speakers. "One of the opponents has sought to move your pity for the forests; he has made a pathetic oration. The oak that made Tancred hear the plaintive accents of Clorinda did not breathe more sighs than M. Piet has done. But when bankruptcy threatens us, the first counsel of the imagination, even the most poetic, is to try to pay our debts." In the Chamber of Peers, the debate was chiefly carried on by the Abbé de Montesquieu in favour of the bill, and M. de Chateaubriand against it. The former endeavoured to retort the severe personal strictures against him, contained in the work entitled, "Monarchy according to the Charter." His observation on the danger which monarchy incurred from "a man of the desert, who had suddenly appeared, with all the experience of solitude," was considered by the Parisians as a happy stroke of satire. The budget was finally carried by a majority of 44. The reduction of the expenditure of the marine from 50 to 44 millions was opposed by ministers, who wished to fix it at 48 millions. The question, however, was carried against them, and in favour of the report, by a majority of 108 to 89.

The session of both Chambers was closed on the 26th of March, *sine die*.

Although the deliberations of this session had been satisfactory to the nation, and to the friends of France, violent political elements continued still secretly to ferment. After the interest excited by the proceedings of the Chambers had ceased, another field seems to have been sought for

their display. An event which, at another time and place, would have excited no sensation whatever, caused these elements to explode, and afforded to many fierce spirits that opportunity of conflict which they eagerly courted.

Arnaud, a man of letters, and a dramatic writer, had, before the revolution, enjoyed a small place about the person of the present king. During the revolution he was understood to have embraced its principles, but without violence, and he continued to be more known in a literary than political capacity. In the former character, he procured the patronage of Buonaparte, and obtained a high place in the University of Paris. On the first restoration of the Bourbons, this place was suppressed; but he obtained in compensation for it a considerable pension. This, however, did not afford him satisfaction, and, on the return of Buonaparte, he displayed an enthusiastic zeal in his cause, which caused him in 1815 to be included in the list of *exiles*. He withdrew into Belgium, where he employed himself in literary composition, and partly, as was alleged, in composing some of the numerous anti-royalist pamphlets with which Paris was inundated. However, he produced a tragedy, called *Germanicus*, which was judged to possess considerable merit, and to be superior to any of his former dramatic efforts. The managers of the *Theatre Français* were therefore induced to submit it to be licensed for representation. A considerable suspense prevailed in the ministerial councils, and the question as to the expediency of this permission was a subject of eager debate in society. At length it was determined to allow the representation. According to some, M. Decazes was inclined thus to mortify the princes, who shewed an undisguised enmity towards himself, and all who bore any

leaning towards liberal principles; but it seems more probable that government were merely willing to give ~~this~~ ^{him} mark of their liberality, and confidence in the nation. The king himself was said to have read and admired ~~the~~ ^{the} piece, and, partly influenced, perhaps, by former recollections, to have been willing to extend this favour to the author. It seems, indeed, scarcely possible, that, knowing the ordeal through which the piece was to pass, the author should have purposely introduced any political application; but this consideration weighed little with a public, predetermined to consider Germanicus as Napoleon, and Tiberius as Louis. A general ferment prevailed in Paris, and, on the evening of representation, every thing announced, not so much the first appearance of a tragedy, as the approach of a great political event. The entrance was besieged by a crowd five or six times what the theatre could contain; the carriage of an ultra-royalist actress was with difficulty allowed to pass, and prognostics of tumult were afforded, by a number of stout canes, under the title of *batons à la Germanicus*, being exposed for sale. The doors being opened, the crowd rushed in with the utmost fury. Part of the pit was already occupied on one side by officers of the guards, who put themselves forward as the champions of ultra-royalism, and on the other by a band of unemployed half-pay officers, devoted to the name and cause of Napoleon. The representation, however, proceeded with wonderful tranquillity, it being only observed that the friends of the piece expressed their admiration rather by screams and convulsions, than by the usual temperate plaudits. At length came the anxiously expected crisis. It is customary, in the French theatre, at the end of a successful piece, ~~to~~ ^{to} call for the name of the author; and the announcement, amid thunders of applause, of a

proscribed name, appeared to the enemies of the present government as a ~~signal~~ triumph. Talma advanced to pronounce the name, when an officer of the guards, who was seated in the pit, uttered a loud hiss, and drew his sabre. He was immediately attacked by several of the opposite party; and the pit was instantly converted into a field of battle, where nothing could be seen but canes in the air, playing furiously on each other. After a short conflict, the Buonapartists remained masters of the pit; but their triumph was not of long duration. A band of gendarmerie, prepared for the occasion, rushed in from the stage, and with pointed bayonets soon succeeded in overawing the malcontents. Talma then, by direction of the Dukes de Belluno and Aumont, announced that the author wished to be anonymous; which aided in restoring quiet, though a voice exclaimed, "The news then must have come by telegraph." The audience at last separated in tranquillity; but Paris, on the following day, continued still in a state of violent fermentation. A number of challenges were given, arising out of the scuffle of the preceding night. In the forenoon, five or six hundred officers of the guards repaired to the garden of the Tuilleries, the usual promenade of the Buonapartists, where, making the air resound with cries the most insulting to that party, they evidently courted a contest. Before, however, the affair had come to any *voies de fait*, some of the superior officers ran out and prevailed upon them to retire; otherwise fresh outrages must have taken place beneath the very walls of the palace. The repetition of the piece was prohibited, which, though it at first excited discontent, prevented the recurrence of similar commotions; and the violent tumult excited by this trivial circumstance gradually subsided.

The royal guards, having been organized for the security of the throne, and of counteracting the influence of a great military system supposed hostile to it, had of course been studiously composed of the most zealous loyalists. They had chosen, however, to manifest their zeal in a manner so turbulent, as by no means accorded with the views of government. Yet the restraints put upon their violent proceedings, excited indignation in these proud spirits; a number of the officers resigned, and an entire company was broken for insubordination. At length, from this supposed focus of loyalty, there issued a conspiracy of the most daring and treasonable character. It was directed against the princes, whose union with the ultra-royalist party, and the general violence of their political conduct, had rendered them very unpopular. It appears that the plot was confined to the privates of one regiment, and that they even failed in their attempt to gain over some half-pay officers of the ex-Imperial Guard. The ringleaders, Desbans and Chayouse, were tried and condemned to death, which they met with an enthusiastic fortitude that might have adorned a better cause. Chayoux, on being informed that he was struck off from the legion of honour, and being required to deliver up the insignia of the order, tore off the ribbon and cross, and swallowed them; while Desbans, after permission obtained, gave the word "fire" to the soldiers who were to execute the sentence.

After this alarm had ceased, others were excited in consequence of the disturbed state of some of the provinces. The scantiness of the late harvest, with the stagnation of all the branches of industry, gave rise to sufferings, which made the minds of the people easily roused into discontent. At St Jean Pied de Port, on the Spanish border, some persons, during the

night, removed all symbols of loyalty from the interior of the church and the top of the steeple, and substituted in their place the *tricolor* emblems. They were arrested, however, and the affair proceeded no farther. Partial armed assemblages took place in different parts of the country, particularly in the neighbourhood of Lyons. In this focus of disturbance, a plot with extensive ramifications had been formed, and commenced with the assassination of general officers of the legion of the Yonne. The attempt, however, was baffled, and fifty of the conspirators arrested. The troops generally remained steady, and the disturbances were, in every instance, promptly suppressed. As the approach of a favourable season caused a reduction in the necessaries of life, a general return of tranquillity took place.

Notwithstanding these partial disturbances, the general confidence in the stability of the French government was not shaken. The facility with which they had been suppressed,

and the steadiness of the troops, served rather to make a display of its strength. The king continued openly attached to the moderate or constitutional party. The introduction of St Cyr into the ministry, the favour ~~shown~~ to Davoust, and the friendly intercourse maintained with the Duke of Orleans, seemed even to mark an increase of this disposition. Government could announce, that they had succeeded in negotiating a fresh loan of three millions, and that a treaty was on foot for the reduction of another fifth of the army of occupation. The elections, in which it was observed that the crown did not materially interfere, terminated generally in favour of the moderate royalists; and, before the end of the year, affairs wore generally a favourable and prosperous aspect.

The Chambers met in the beginning of November; but, in order to give a connected view of the session, we shall delay till the succeeding volume entering upon any part of their proceedings.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REST OF EUROPE.

On the present Political State of Europe.—Spain.—Insurrections in Valencia.—Catalonia.—Disturbances at Cadiz.—Finance.—Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Conspiracy in Portugal.—Wirtemberg.—Discussions between the King and the States.—Prussia.—Petition of the Germans.—Sweden.—Conspiracy against the King.—Naples.—Turkey.

THE kingdoms of Europe, during the present year, enjoyed, generally speaking, an apparent outward tranquillity. The seeds, however, of future commotion and revolution, were silently taking root. It is to the conduct of their rulers, we suspect, that the growth of these brooding discontents may be greatly ascribed. Considering the advanced state of knowledge in the middle states of Europe, and the examples of freedom in their immediate vicinity, it appears probable, that no throne can there rest on a stable foundation, which does not connect itself with some well-arranged representative system. We ought not to be too rigid in our demands from kings. The desire of power is the strongest passion in the mind of man, and sovereign power the highest object of his ambition. To expect that a monarch should spontaneously surrender a large portion of his prerogative, is requiring perhaps too much from human frailty; and a people must generally calculate upon having to work out by their own efforts any essential addition to the sum

of public liberty. The princes of Europe, however, stood now in a peculiar situation with respect to their people. When trodden under foot by the iron sceptre of France, they had called upon them for unheard of efforts, adding a solemn pledge, that a free, and even liberal constitution, would follow success. The people obeyed the call, and, at the price of its own blood, which flowed in torrents, replaced them on their throne. Deep guilt was therefore incurred, in the forfeiture of a pledge so solemnly given, and so dearly paid for. The only thing which seems to have been urged in their defence, is founded on the allegation that these countries contained some rash and desperate spirits, who looked much farther than to the establishment of a limited monarchy. That, in every country where men habitually reason on political subjects, some such speculators will exist, can readily be believed; but in the formation of a new system, ample means surely existed of providing against their ascendancy. The sovereign, from whom every thing was, in

the first instance, to emanate, could easily impose such qualifications of property and intelligence, as would have secured the predominance of a class, who could have no view or interest separate from the preservation of public order. If, according to the views now given, the irresistible tide of human affairs must ultimately lead to the establishment of representative governments, it cannot be stopped by any temporary success of a despotic confederacy. It will be a short-sighted and fatal policy, which seeks to secure the throne by an entire and unqualified adherence to the system of absolute power. The enforced outward tranquillity which this may for a time secure, will be the prelude to a violent and destructive tempest. The longer the stream is pent up, with the more force will it overflow its banks, and sweep all before it. The sovereign who thus refuses to grant to his subjects a single privilege till he feels the sword at his breast, will at last be made to experience, not a moderate and rational change, but a violent and total revolution, which will leave him only the name of king.

Among all the examples of obligations of a sovereign to his people, none equalled that due from Ferdinand of *Spain*, to a nation which had done and suffered in his cause such unheard of things. Never monarch ascended the throne under more grateful auspices. The Spanish nation, though circumstances had prevented any stipulation for a representative system, had certainly earned their right to it in the fullest manner. We do not say that Ferdinand was bound to recognize the Cortes exactly as it stood: that body, having formed itself and the constitution in the absence of the king, and to a great extent of the aristocracy, had shewn to the rights of those bodies less regard than was due to them, and than was probably compatible with

the actual state of society and political feeling in Spain. When, therefore, the king published a proclamation, dissolving the Cortes, and promising one differently constituted, the acquiescence of the nation was complete and universal. Ferdinand had thus the opportunity, by granting a moderately free constitution, to satisfy all the rational classes of his subjects, and establish his throne on the firmest basis. Bad omens, however, soon arose, when he was seen throwing into the depth of dungeons the wisest statesmen of Spain, and the men who had fought and bled in his cause: nor was it long of appearing evident, that all idea of assembling *any* cortes was altogether illusory. The Spaniards had then just ground for discontent, and for considering the ties which bound them to their monarch as loosened. It became even, somewhat hastily, a subject of reproach, that they should pay this tranquil and unqualified submission to a monarch so unworthy to rule. The smothered flame, however, manifested its existence by violent occasional eruptions, among which none were more remarkable than those that occurred at the commencement of the present year.

Valencia was the first scene of commotion. The people had been disgusted by the haughty conduct of Elio, the governor; and their discontents were heightened by the imposition of a duty on charcoal, the proceeds of which went to maintain in pomp a mean favourite of the king. On the evening of the 15th of January, these dispositions suddenly ripened into tumult. As the governor was passing along the street, he was attacked by a band of 70 or 80, partly soldiers and partly private individuals, and with difficulty escaped into the fortress with a few attendants. A general rising of the people immediately followed; and the military, declaring partly for, and partly against them, a fierce conflict en-

sued, with considerable bloodshed. The people at first remained masters of the fields which they maintained for two days; but, on the 18th, reinforcements poured in, which enabled Elio to crush all resistance. He used his triumph with a relentless severity, which left deep and mortal traces in the minds of the Valencians. A great number were arrested, and the general was only prevented, by the interference of the tribunals, from putting to death many of them on the spot. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the use of arms to all except the troops and officers of government, and promising a reward of a thousand reals to any one who should give information about those concerned in the conspiracy. The leading agents being punished by death or exile, no further attempt at insurrection took place. The violent agitation of the popular mind, however, was attested by a single circumstance. The informer against Rechar, who had suffered during the preceding year for political offences, was killed by an unknown hand, and his head was found suspended in the public square, with the following inscription: "Debt paid to the hero Rechar, and his companions, sacrificed through my barbarous denunciation."

Although this rising had entirely failed, it gave a strong impulse to the discontent already fermenting in every part of the kingdom. The jealous tyranny of the government was also redoubled; and numerous arrests took place, both in the capital and in the provinces. It was in Catalonia, however, a province always distinguished by its spirit of liberty, that the chief attempt at revolt took place. General Lacy, one of the officers who had been most distinguished in the war of independence, resolved now upon a daring attempt to deliver his country from the tyranny under which it groaned. He obtained, as an associate, Milans, who, though

less known, had also served with distinction in the same career. They hoped to gain over the army of Catalonia, and to seize the fortresses of that province, which are the strongest in Spain. Their design was, in the first instance, to assemble the cortes, and ultimately, it was said, to form Spain into an Iberian republic. This last rash and violent design does not seem very suitable, either to the character of the individuals, or to the disposition always shewn by the nation. It may be suspected, therefore, that the government, through whom all our information is derived, propagated this assertion, with the view of rendering the cause odious. The conspirators seem to have had at one time a fair promise of success. An extensive understanding was formed among the officers of the army of Catalonia, and it has even been asserted that forty-one battalions were expected to join at the first signal. One unguarded moment baffled all this train of contrivance. An emissary of General Lacy attempted to gain over an officer, who had the command at one of the gates of Barcelona. This officer, instead of assenting, caused him to be immediately apprehended, when there were found upon him papers and proclamations, which revealed the whole secret of the conspiracy. Lacy, with eighteen officers of distinction, were instantly put under arrest. Milans made his escape, and collected a body of troops, with which he hovered for some time in the neighbouring mountains, though without being able to effect any important object. The Spanish government paused for some time, before proceeding to extremities against Lacy. So much was he beloved by the army and people, that his execution, it was feared, would have been the signal of insurrection. At length, it was determined to convey him to the island of Majorca, where he would be removed at least from under the eye of the

people. There, after a fruitless attempt to escape, he was condemned to military execution. He is said to have displayed the utmost fortitude, and to have given himself to the troops the order to fire. "All that I regret," said he, "is to die by the hands of my ancient brethren in arms. It was in the field of honour, and while combating the enemies of Spain, that a warrior like me ought to have finished his career."

During the same period, commotions, though not on so great a scale, were felt in other parts of Spain. At St Jago in Galicia, a conspiracy took place, the particulars of which never fully transpired; and which was suppressed, like that of Barcelona, by the arrest and punishment of the ringleaders. At Cadiz, the discontent of the troops was fomented by the reluctance to proceed on the revolting service in South America, for which they were destined. On the 25th March, two regiments, having received orders to embark, broke into open mutiny, declaring, that they would not act as butchers to the Cadiz monopolists. The rest of the army, however, remaining steady, the mutineers, after a sharp conflict, were overcome, and compelled to go on board. The continuance of the same spirit was, however, proved, by a disastrous event which soon after took place. The great naval arsenal at Carraca, notwithstanding all the misfortunes of Spain, formed still one of the completest establishments of the kind in Europe, and afforded ample means for the equipment of the fleets sent into her transatlantic possessions. Some incendiaries succeeded in communicating the flames to it, so effectually, that it was found impossible to arrest their progress, and the whole was entirely consumed. The conflagration was so violent, that the Isla de Leon, though separated from Carraca by a channel

of considerable breadth, was entirely covered by the flames.

The disastrous failure of these designs seems to have discouraged any farther attempts at resistance; and Spain, for the present, resigned herself to her fate. The government, meantime, sought only to secure itself by drawing closer the cords of despotism. The "Apostolic Inquisition of error, depravity, and apostacy," published a long list of prohibited works. Among these, the *Henriade* of Voltaire was forbidden, even to those who had obtained special licences. Anathemas were also pronounced against Adele and Theodore; Benjamin Constant's "Principles of Policy, applicable to all Representative Governments;" and Lacroix's "Elements of the Rights of Nations." As prints and pictures were found to have been used for the purpose of throwing ridicule on the person of the sovereign, they were subjected, like books, to a previous censorship.

A financial statement was this year published by the Spanish government, which, though it does not exhibit a very lavish expenditure, compared to that of other great monarchies, acknowledges to a considerable extent of embarrassment. The following are the principal features:

	Dollars. <i>About 4s. each</i>
Expenditure of the Royal household.....	2,848,680
Ministry of State.....	750,000
Home Department.....	600,000
War Department.....	17,500,000
Navy Department.....	5,000,000
Finance Department.....	5,500,000
Charges for promoting Agriculture, Industry, &c.....	500,000
War Contingencies, and Incidental Charges.....	1,500,000
Arrears of Public Debt.....	2,500,000
	<hr/>
	35,698,680
Net Revenue.....	29,850,000
	<hr/>
	5,848,680

Or 1,461,000*l.* sterling. Such was the deficiency acknowledged by government; but rumour represented it as much more considerable. To meet it, a number of supernumerary officers were dismissed, and a general contribution was imposed upon every species of property. Ferdinand's necessities even drove him to a measure, which appeared very foreign to the superstitious habits in which he was immersed. The immense property of the clergy, which had hitherto remained untouched by any tax, was now called upon to contribute some share of the common burden. Admitting, however, that "God had committed to the clergy alone the charge of the church revenues," he took no steps without an express authority from the Pope. That pontiff was prudent enough to yield, and issued a bull, in which he states, that, considering the distress of the Spanish nation, and the enormous expences of the late war, he had been pleased to grant to his dearly beloved spiritual son Ferdinand an *indulto*, authorising him to receive, during six years, the extraordinary subsidy of 30,000,000 reals, (about £.300,000.) Hopes were expressed, that, at the end of that period, the reductions made, and the improvement of the revenue, would render this contribution no longer necessary. At present all concerned were enjoined to pay it, on penalty of the utmost indignation of God, and of the holy apostles St Peter and St Paul.

Some alarm of war took place during this year, in consequence of the invasion by Portugal of the territory of Monte Video. A Spanish force was consequently assembled on the frontier of Portugal, ready to act, in case her court should adhere to this proceeding. An appeal, however, being made to the five great powers of Europe, they were induced to interpose, and to insist upon Portugal with-

drawing her troops from the Spanish territories.

One laudable action of Ferdinand's government consisted in the decree for the abolition of the slave trade, published in December of the present year. The prohibition with respect to the coasts north of the Line was to take place immediately; as to those south of the Line, it was to take place on the 30th May, 1820. In the mean time, the number of slaves conveyed in any vessel, was limited to five for every two tons. The carrying on of the trade after the time prescribed, was punished with the forfeiture of the ship and cargo, and with the transportation for ten years to the Philippines, of the purchaser, captain, master, and pilot.

Amid the convulsions which shook the Spanish monarchy, *Portugal* did not remain altogether undisturbed.— Upon this subject we cannot forbear some reflections, which we should gladly have had cause to omit. Britain, for many years, had held in her hands the destiny of Portugal. Her arms, her commanders, and her subsidies, had formed the only prop of the existence of that monarchy. It cannot be doubted, then, that if she had stipulated, as the terms of her aid, the establishment of a constitutional system, founded upon rational and moderate principles, the king could not have refused. What private advice may have been given upon this subject, is not known; but we are not aware of any overt act, tending to such an object. The only apparent interference of British force consisted in the putting down of the popular junta, which was found established at its arrival, and re-establishing, in its stead, the plenitude of the royal authority. If Britain supported the establishment of absolute power, experience has shewn that she consulted ill the interests of her ally, who, in con-

sequence of declining to grant a constitution in time, has had one dictated to him, in which his interests, as well as inclination, have been very little consulted.

Besides the absence of political rights, the Portuguese complained of their country being held under the military occupation of a foreign power. After peace, indeed, the British army was withdrawn; but Marshal Beresford was still commander in chief of the Portuguese army, and many of its principal posts continued to be held by British officers. These considerations were ill brooked by Gomez Freire d'Andrade, a Portuguese officer of considerable talents, and highly popular in the army. At length he was impelled to the desperate design of a conspiracy for the subversion of the government. He gained, as an associate, Baron Eben, a foreign officer, who held a situation in the British staff, and several others of some distinction. The ramifications of the plot were widely extended throughout the kingdom, particularly in the great towns. An entire change in the reigning dynasty is said to have been contemplated; but it has been also asserted, and perhaps with truth, that their views were limited to the expulsion of the English, and establishment of a free constitution. The means to be employed, however, were violent. A captain in the 1st regiment undertook to dispatch Marshal Beresford. The members of the regency, the British generals in the Portuguese service, and several other obnoxious individuals, were destined to a similar fate. The plot appears to have escaped the supine security of the Portuguese regency; but it was traced by the vigilance of Marshal Beresford, who was soon acquainted with all its ramifications. He communicated it to the regency, but prevailed upon them

to delay any proceedings, till measures could be taken for its complete suppression in every part of the kingdom. At length, on the evening of the 25th May, a party was dispatched to apprehend Freire in his own house. They were denied admittance, on pretence of his being from home; but they forced the door, and found him seated in his library, surrounded by papers, and with a brace of pistols on the table. He did not attempt any resistance, and there were found in his possession some printing-presses, with a variety of printed proclamations, which fully disclosed his views. The information gained by intercepted letters led also to the apprehension of numerous accomplices in the provincial towns, particularly in Oporto. All the designs of the malcontents were so completely baffled, that not the smallest movement took place.—The ringleaders were immediately brought to trial, when Freire, and twelve others, were condemned and executed; the sentence of Eben was limited to banishment.

In *Germany*, the states were waiting, with an expectation not yet quite blunted, for the fulfilment of the promises made at the commencement of the war of liberty. It was in Wirtemberg alone that any constitutional movement took place. This state had always been pre-eminent above the rest of Germany, by the freedom of her political institutions. At a time when the feudal principles were generally sinking beneath the prerogative of the sovereign, the people of Wirtemberg made a vigorous stand, and, after a sharp civil war, concluded, in 1542, the treaty of Tübingen, which has ever since been considered as their bill of rights. Yet, in 1733, the people thought it necessary to apply for a guarantee of their constitution from the three great powers of Hanover,

Holstein, and Brandenburg, (England, Denmark, and Prussia.) It is usually at its peril, that a nation courts any interference in its internal affairs, especially from such powerful states; but, in the present instance, when Duke Charles, in 1764, exercised the most odious oppressions upon his people, and endeavoured to deprive them entirely of their liberties, the three high contracting parties appear to have fulfilled their engagements faithfully and liberally, and to have exerted their influence in favour of the oppressed Wirtembergers.

Mr Fox was accustomed to say, that there were only two constitutions in Europe, England and Wirtemberg. We can with difficulty, however, discover the qualities which can entitle the latter to be placed by the side of so high a model. The Assembly of the States* met only upon extraordinary occasions,—the accession of the Duke, the proposal by him of some new tax, or of some law of particular importance. They could not originate any new proceeding, but merely received the propositions and demands of the sovereign, which could, moreover, be stopped in their progress by a body, called the permanent deputation, of which we shall presently speak. It is remarkable, that the Wirtemberg states consisted only of two orders, Prelates and Commons, the Knights Imperial having seceded from the assembly at an early period. Upon the whole, however, the main instrument for keeping the sovereign power in check was the permanent deputation, a body of peculiar construction. They resided constantly at Stutgard, shared both the legislative and executive power, and, by a singular anomaly, had a secret chest, or treasure of their own, placed at their arbitrary disposal. Unfortunately, they were not

really a deputation, but rather formed upon the closest model of close boroughs. They were two in number, the lesser and the greater deputation. The lesser consisted of two prelates and six deputies, who were in the perpetual exercise of their functions; these elected their own successors, so that they might be considered as always substantially the same. When any legislative function was to be performed, the greater deputation was composed by the lesser adding to their body the equal number of two prelates and six deputies, chosen by themselves out of the general assembly. Thus this greater deputation was merely the lesser one swollen to a greater bulk, but retaining all its original qualities. Such as it was, however, this constitution appears to have given satisfaction to the people, and to have been found an useful barrier against royal encroachment.

In 1805, the period arrived when a complete change was to take place in this system. Buonaparte, that idol of our popular leaders, having obtained a complete ascendancy in Southern Germany, determined to cement it by aggrandizing, and thereby attaching to his interest, the hereditary sovereign of Wirtemberg. The Duke was created King, with a very considerable augmentation of territory.—The French conqueror, however, imposed here, as every where else, the grateful condition, that liberty should be placed, throughout his vassal states, on the same footing as he had placed it in France. On the 2d January, 1806, the newly made king issued a proclamation, announcing that he held his states, now, in *full sovereignty*; that popular assemblies, and all proceedings connected with them, were, under existing circumstances, unnecessary; and his loving subjects were,

therefore, directed carefully to abstain from them. Thus freed at once from the checks which had, hitherto, restrained his power, the late king, whose personal character never stood very high, is said to have been guilty of many outrages on the rights of his people; to have converted extensive tracts into forest; to have appropriated great part of the church property, and otherwise to have wounded the feelings and established usages of the nation. The vicinity, and overwhelming amount of the French military force, rendered all resistance hopeless, till its entire downfall, in 1814, restored Europe to its former condition. The king, fortunate in preserving his augmented territories by a seasonable junction with the allies, yielded without delay to circumstances, and called an assembly of the states. Their composition underwent some alterations, which do not appear to have been very inexpedient. The nobility were now allowed a place, and an income of 200 florins was required in the election of deputies to the towns. The independent formation of this assembly was attested by the stout resistance which it made to the constitution proposed by the King. It must be confessed that this project was conceived with a main view to the maintenance of the royal prerogative. The permanent deputations were annihilated; the assembly was to meet only once in three years, though it was to be annually represented four weeks by a deputation of twelve: all the former taxes were to continue independent of the sanction of the states, which was to be required only when any new ones were to be imposed. The conflict upon these points continued during the king's lifetime, the states being zealously supported by petitions from Stutgard, and the other towns. The king, in order to pacify the nation, abolished the forest laws, *corvees*,

and some of the most odious taxes; but he obstinately refused to consent to any general extension of popular privileges. At length, in February, 1817, a new king ascended the throne, and one who was generally supposed to entertain liberal views on the subject of government. This prince was not long of submitting a new constitution, the details of which we have not been able to ascertain; but it is admitted to have been considerably more favourable to the rights of the people. It was not, however, much better received; and the discussions between the crown and the states continued as warm as before. At length, on the 26th of May, the king laid before the states his final proposition, including a few further concessions, to which he demanded a definitive answer. The assembly, having come to a vote on the subject, rejected it by a majority of 64 to 42. In the former number were almost all the representatives of Old Wirtemberg, as it was called, or the original electoral dominions; while, in the latter, were almost all those of New Wirtemberg, or the territories acquired by the connection with France. The King hereupon dissolved the states, and published a proclamation, in which he asserted, that the project submitted by him had contained every thing necessary to confirm the individual and political liberty of the people of Wirtemberg, and that farther sacrifices would have caused the crown to lose its dignity, the government its strength, and the people the independence of their representatives.

Although we have scarcely the means of forming a very positive judgment upon these proceedings, there appear yet grounds for suspecting that the states were, on this occasion, a good deal actuated by obstinacy and prejudice. Their principle was an entire adherence to the old constitution, any alteration upon which they branded as

a visionary philosophical reverie. But since such a long breach had occurred in the constitution, why not take the opportunity of its renewed existence, to introduce such alterations as experience, and the improved science of legislation might suggest as expedient. Had the constitution proposed by the king not provided substantially for the liberty of the subject, is it probable that it would have been so unanimously agreed to by the deputies of New Wirtemberg, who could have no prepossession on either side? If the main object was to restore the permanent deputation, this surely afforded a very poor ground for such zealous contention. That such a body should ever have acted a useful part, is perhaps chiefly to be ascribed to a habitual and traditional moderation, which withheld them from making any use of their functions, which was not conducive to the public welfare. But now, when the chain was broken, and when public concerns were on a larger scale, what security was there, that they might not have used their extraordinary power to tyrannize both over prince and people. Several demands are mentioned as made by the states, the expediency of which appears to us very questionable. Such are, that the nobility should form one house with the commons, instead of sitting in a separate body; that none of the privy council should be present in the assembly, when it was complaining of grievances sustained from the monarch; and that no member of the states should be called in question for anything he might say or write upon any occasion.

The people of Stutgard, as well as the other towns of Old Wirtemberg, had zealously espoused the cause of the states, and they now shewed visible marks of discontent at their dissolution. A tumult took place on the 29th of May, in which the house of the minister Wangenheim was attacked, and

several outrages committed. The king, taking the finances into his own hand, published a plan for the year, in which economy seems to have been studied; yet the contributions were not levied without considerable opposition. The court seems to have used an unwarrantable severity against those members who had taken the lead in opposing its plans. Some were deprived of their places, others exiled, among which last was Baron Mussenbach, who published an elaborate protest against the royal project. The King meanwhile sent round his proposition to the towns and corporate bodies, intimating that, in case of obtaining the consent of the majority, it would still be adopted. The final result, however, does not come within the limits of the present year.

To whatever height political discussion had risen in Wirtemberg, it was in the north of Germany that the spirit of liberty, and the zeal for a representative government, was most eagerly felt. This region is distinguished to a degree second only, if second, to Scotland, by the general diffusion of knowledge among all classes. It is marked also in a degree quite supereminent by its numerous universities, by the multitude and zeal of its students, in all of whom the most ardent spirit of liberty glowed. Impelled by it, they had stood foremost in the ranks of battle against the foreign oppressor; and under the same influence, they were now most eager in claiming for Germany the possession of political rights. A certain number probably entertained visionary and purely speculative ideas on this subject; for Northern Germany is the region of airy speculation; but we do not apprehend, that these were diffused to such an extent, as to form any bar to the formation of a safe and useful representation. Among the states of Northern Germany, it was Prussia,

whose movements were chiefly regarded both as being the greatest and the most important, and the one whose lead was most likely to be generally followed. No monarch also had given so solemn and decisive a pledge of bestowing on his subjects a constitution, in reward of their exertions on restoring to him an independent throne. A considerable period indeed had now elapsed; and the monarch who deliberates is always likely to be more and more attracted towards the quarter on which his inclination will always lie. The court, however, continued distinctly to hold out the expectation, that a representative system was in preparation, and was only delayed by the difficulty of arranging its details. As a preliminary measure, early in the present year, a body was organized, called the Council of State, consisting of sixty individuals, supposed to be the most distinguished in the nation, including the ministers and princes of the blood. Their object was understood to be the formation, first, of a new plan of finance, and then of a representative constitution. General Gneisenau, a highly popular character, was appointed one of the presidents; and, upon the whole, the interest excited in the public by this assembly, and by its debates, obscurely as they were reported, was very considerable. It was complained indeed, that, while the national assemblies of Britain and France were open to the public, the deliberations, on which their fate depended, should be carried on in such mysterious silence. Rumours, however, soon arose of a want of understanding between this body and the crown; and it was at length positively stated, that the council had rejected the project of finance submitted to it, on the ground that it was beyond their competency, and could be judged of only by the representative assembly. This report was

officially contradicted; but when, soon after, the council of state was indefinitely adjourned, without any result having arisen from its deliberations, the existence of a want of harmony between it and the sovereign was sufficiently evident. Some time, however, before its separation, the king had detached from it a new commission, expressly destined to organise the representative arrangements. The following document is important, as it shews how fully this prince continued to recognize his obligations in this particular.

“I have, in the edict of the 22d May, 1815, respecting the formation of a national representation, appointed a commission to sit in Berlin, consisting of intelligent office-bearers of the state, and natives of the provinces, to occupy themselves with the organization of the provincial states, the national representation, and the drawing up of a constitutional document, according to the principles laid down in that edict, under the presidency of the Chancellor of State. The war, the complete establishment of our possession, and the organization of the administration, have hitherto prevented this edict from being carried into execution. As the council of state is now appointed, I will take the state office-bearers, destined to the said commission, from among its members, and consign to the council of state the fulfilment of my intentions.” The names of the members are then given, among which are Prince Radzivil, General Von Gneisenau, Von Rayme, Baron Von Humboldt, Count Von Bulow, Prince Von Wittgenstein, &c.

This commission continued to sit during the whole year; and towards the end of it, they sent commissioners to the different provinces to inquire into the ancient constitution of each. This measure, though plausible, involved a delay, which, in the present

stage of the affair, was very sickening, and threatened more and more to defeat the entire object. In general, towards the close of this year, the Germans began to feel deep despondence as to ever obtaining the national privileges so much desired. These sentiments appeared particularly conspicuous on an occasion, felt as more important in Germany than it would have been in any other country. On an invitation from Jena, the numerous universities of this country, not excepting the distant ones of Königsberg and Rostock, sent deputies to Eiscnach, to celebrate the centenary of Luther. The great power of this body, both in expressing and influencing public opinion, attached uncommon interest to the event, which excited alarm even in the court of Prussia. The recorded speeches certainly indicate political motives and feelings to have been predominant on the occasion. One speaker reminded the audience of "the oppression under which Germany had for so many years sighed; the victory which led to her liberation; the great day of Leipsic, on which the sun of freedom rose; the expectations which the German people were warranted in entertaining; how little the result had answered those expectations; that no prince had yet fulfilled the promises which he publicly made, except that prince in whose lands this festival was celebrated." Another exclaimed, "Youths of Germany, you are standing on consecrated ground. From this spot, Luther, the man of God, gave the word of eternal truth to the German people in the German language, and kindled the war, the bloody war, for freedom of mind and equality of rights. Wherever Luther's victorious voice resounded, there a new mental life arose. The spirit which impelled him, through him impelled the people during the

late centuries towards mental cultivation, liberation of thought, and equalization of rights, from what took place in the Netherlands to the free states of North America." It was finally understood, that this ceremony involved a pledge to support and extend, by every possible means, the political rights and union of their country. A number of supposed antipatriotic works, including particularly the German history of Kotzebue, were committed to the flames.

Similar sentiments, expressed in more moderate and judicious language, are to be found in the petition presented to the diet by M. Beck of Darmstadt, with the signatures of several thousand respectable Germans, which we shall here insert, as it appears to give a fair view of the state of the public mind in Germany.

HIGH FEDERAL ASSEMBLY,

"The right which every people, and the Germans more particularly, have, agreeably to their original constitution, the right of having a free voice for the expression of their free will, has been recently acknowledged to belong to all Germany by the 13th Article of the German Federal Act, and the execution of that article was promised by the high allies,—a promise which was guaranteed by the faith and truth of the nation, and the public honour.

"The truth, that no people advanced to the degree of cultivation on which the German people at present stand, can, without a representative constitution, resting on firmly established contract, attain either to durable prosperity, or to moral and political perfection and dignity, has been consecrated in the public opinion as a principle, the correctness of which is demonstra-

ble from reason and history, and which, in the said 13th article of the Federal Act, has been acknowledged and adopted as such for Germany, by the high founders of the German union.

“ But although two years have elapsed since that guarantee was given, which the German people received with such unsuspecting confidence, hardly any thing has yet taken place to carry into actual execution what has thus in principle been so solemnly promised; and from this procrastination and reservation from one end of Germany to the other, there has crept into the minds of all those who have at heart the welfare of their country, and who have a clear idea of its rights and its wants, a painful spirit of discontent, which threatens to undermine the confidence of the people in their governments.

“ This discontent, as it is founded on the withholding of an indubitable and acknowledged right, finds continual nourishment in the noblest feelings of humanity, and can only be tranquillized by the gratification of well-founded expectations and honest co-operation.

“ If this tranquillization, which the difficulties of the times *imperatively* demand, is not speedily afforded, it will give rise to the great evil, that powers which ought to concur in furthering the good of the commonwealth, will be consumed in rancorous discontent or useless strife, and the disregard of the most eager desire of a noble minded people must be attended, therefore, with the greatest danger for the true good of the country.

“ Hard and distressful times have lately, it is true, passed by in the utmost tranquillity; but not without adding evidently to the general discontent.

“ The quiet equanimity, and the hereditary respect for laws and usages,

the good nature of the German people, have still kept them within the bounds of order, and preserved them from having recourse to dangerous measures.

“ Still, however, such is the political situation of Germany in the east and west, that the first accident, the death of a foreign monarch, would kindle the combustible materials which are everywhere to be found, thereby disturb the artificial state of tranquillity, and render the delay, which hitherto might still admit of justification, an evil of a most destructive nature. What motives could then be urged to the people? How could they then be stimulated to active measures? What remaining love, and what inclination could be appealed to, to awake even an appearance of enthusiasm in them; and what promise could be held out to them which they would not reject with disdain? Could power and force then suffice to call forth what a magnanimous love of country can alone give?

“ As it has become the firm conviction of the undersigned, that the public mind in Germany ought not to continue in this unnatural state of excitation, they therefore believe themselves, as German citizens, called on by their conscience, and justified in presenting themselves respectfully before this illustrious assembly, the highest authority of Germany, with the request that you, agreeably to your high calling, will step in as mediators, for the purpose of advancing this first and most urgent demand of the times towards its final adjustment.

“ They therefore make to the high German Federal Assembly their respectful request:—

“ That it may please the high Federal Assembly, in conformity to the highest and most sacred promises, to effect the performance of the 13th ar-

ticle of the Federal act, and that in such a manner, that in all the lands of Germany the people shall be called to participate, as a contracting party, to the execution of the aforesaid article, and a true and worthy representation of the people, on principles of essential equality, be introduced throughout all Germany."

Similar commotions to those which took place elsewhere in favour of liberty, were excited in *Sweden* for the restoration of an ancient dynasty. Although Bernadotte was popular among the army and people, the nobility still felt an attachment to the race of its ancient kings, and indignation on account of many exclusive privileges of which they had been deprived. These discontents ripened into a plot, according to which Bernadotte and his son Prince Oscar were to be assassinated on the evening of the 13th March. The son of the deposed king, Gustavus Adolphus, was then to have been raised to the dignity of crown-prince. The conspiracy was discovered by an anonymous letter, and by the rashness of an officer, who, in a state of intoxication, exclaimed, "Long live King Gustavus Adolphus V." The king, on receiving the intelligence, immediately assembled the council of state, and the officers of the regiments stationed in and around Stockholm. He made a speech, representing his ascent to the throne by the free choice of the nation; the respectable footing on which he had placed the army, and the various benefits he had conferred on the nation. This speech was received with the loudest acclamations, and oaths of fidelity were renewed to himself and his son. Several arrests took place, and no interruption of the public tranquillity occurred. Bernadotte, after this alarm, diligently applied himself to strengthen his throne by gaining the affections of those on

whose support it depended. We cannot, however, say any thing in favour of the two principal means by which he endeavoured to effect this object. The first was to increase the pay and immunities of the army; the second, to humour the peasantry in a frantic zeal with which they were seized for sumptuary laws, and the exclusion of all foreign commodities. The most violent laws of this nature were passed, which do not appear to have had any effect, but to ruin the commercial interest, and check the progress of every species of industry. It does not appear, however, that the peasantry opened their eyes to the folly of their system, or that the prince employed any method of enlightening them on the subject.

During this year, the Austrian troops, which had occupied *Naples* with a view to the expulsion of Murat, evacuated that kingdom. Its territory remained undisturbed, unless by a disturbance which occurred in *Sicily* towards the close of the year, in consequence of the king having withdrawn the promised privileges from the *Sicilians*. The intended rising, however, being discovered before breaking out, was suppressed by the punishment of several of the ringleaders.

Some alarm was felt on the side of *Turkey*, that *Russia*, now left at leisure, would renew the war which she had concluded under some disadvantage, at the time of the French invasion. These apprehensions proved to be without foundation. They were renewed towards the close of the year, in consequence of *Czerni Georges*, the celebrated leader of the *Servian* insurrection, being put to death at *Semendria* by the Pacha of *Belgrade*. It appeared, however, that this chief was protected by *Russia*, only under the condition of not passing the *Danube*; but having, as is supposed,

some hid treasure in Semendria, he went thither in disguise, when, being betrayed, his head was struck off, and sent to Constantinople.

Some agitation was felt in Asia Minor, in consequence of the insur-

rection of a chief called Toutchi Ouglow, who had placed himself at the head of 15,000 men. He was completely defeated, however, by the Ottoman army, and his head sent to the capital.

CHAPTER XIV.

AMERICA.

Operations in the Caraccas—of Bolivar—of General Piar.—Battles fought with Morillo.—Naval force of the Patriots.—Successful Invasion of the Island of Margaritta by Morillo.—War in the Caraccas indecisive.—Landing of Mina at Soto la Marina.—Successes.—Opposed by Marshal Linan, who takes Fort Sombrero.—Siege of Los Remedios by the Royal Troops.—Mina taken and executed.—Los Remedios taken.—Independent Government of Buenos Ayres.—Successes of San Martin in Chili.—Amelia Island taken by M'Gregor.—Revolution in Pernambuco—Suppressed.

THE contest, which had for so many years raged in South America, was, during the year 1817, carried on with unintermitting fury, and with various success. At the same time, the accounts which we have received of those events, are so confused and contradictory, that they scarcely afford materials for a detailed or connected narrative. It was in the end of December 1816, that Bolivar, after being obliged to quit the Caraccas, again landed for the purpose of making a new effort for the emancipation of the country. He joined M'Gregor at Barcelona; and in the course of December and February following, several sanguinary battles appear to have taken place. The result was, as usual, variously represented. The action in December was said to be unfavourable to the patriots, who were in consequence pursued to Barcelona, where they were blockaded by the royal troops. In February, Bolivar was repulsed in an attack on the posts of the enemy at Cumana, and was forced to retreat to Barcelona, which was entered on the 10th by the royalists. They were here

attacked by Bolivar's army, and defeated, according to the accounts received, with the loss of 1000 men. This attack was renewed next day with equal success. In April we find an action took place between the republicans under General Piar, and the royalists, on the banks of one of the tributary streams of the Orinoco, which terminated in the defeat of the latter, with a considerable loss both of men and warlike stores. In the course of the summer, various actions were fought between the independent generals and Morillo, all of which are variously represented. From their consequences, however, we may judge that they were favourable to the patriot cause. Morillo, who retained possession of the towns on the coast, being informed that the army of General Paez approached Calabozo, ordered out a force consisting of 1500 men to oppose his progress. This detachment being overthrown, he collected all the troops which were stationed in the towns of La Guira, Caraccas, and Porto Cabello, and advanced for the purpose of attacking the independent

troops under General Paez. A battle took place, in which Morillo was said to have been routed with the loss of 600 men, and to have returned in great disorder to Valencia with the remainder of his army; while, according to Morillo's own account, he defeated the enemy, and took 500 prisoners. It is certain, however, that the events of the campaign turned out, in the course of the summer, decidedly in favour of the patriotic armies. The victory gained in April by General Piar on the Orinoco, was attended with important consequences. Having destroyed the royalist forces opposed to him, he was enabled to blockade the fortresses of Angostura and Guyana, which surrendered in the course of July and August. The capture of these important posts gave the independent troops the command of the course of the Orinoco, and of the whole interior country, and enabled them to communicate freely both with New Granada on the west, where the adherents of the cause of independence, though depressed by the successes of the royalists, were still ready to join in any new efforts for the emancipation of the country; and also with the troops under Paez in the province of Varinas, and on the Lower Apure, where the fortress of San Fernando had lately surrendered to their victorious arms. The royalist troops, after these successes of the patriots, were confined to the two towns of Barcelona and Caraccas, and to the country to the northward of the plains along the sea-coast, the cavalry attached to the independent army scouring the open country, and straitening the enemy's quarters on the coast. In the course of this year, the independent government had succeeded in establishing a naval force under the command of Admiral Brion, which was of the most essential service in assisting their military operations against

the fortresses on the Orinoco, and also in obstructing, in the same degree, the operations of the enemy. The royalist forces, after being defeated in April by General Piar in attempting to escape by the Orinoco, were intercepted by Brion's fleet, who captured fourteen of their largest vessels, containing both troops ~~and stores~~, and a large quantity of ~~warlike~~ stores.

Morillo, who retreated to Valencia after his action with Gen. Paez, in the vicinity of Calabozo, was there strengthened by considerable accessions to his force from the mother country; and it is stated that he received orders to attempt, without loss of time the reduction of the island of Margaritta. Thither he accordingly proceeded; and, having landed his troops, he commenced his operations for the reduction of the island. He appears, however, to have encountered a resistance from its brave inhabitants for which he was not prepared. Several bloody actions were fought, in which the inhabitants were decidedly victorious, and the Spanish general, finding all his efforts to reduce them ineffectual, was at length obliged to re-embark his troops, and he set sail on the 17th August for Cumana.

To this measure of abandoning his hopeless attempt on the island of Margaritta, Morillo was determined by the operations which were carrying on in the main land. Merino, one of the independent generals in Venezuela, hearing that the inhabitants of Margaritta were hard pressed by Morillo, determined to make a diversion in their favour. With this view, having collected a body of troops from different points, he resolved to make an attack on Cariaco. On the 30th August he entered the town, and found the enemy's force, to the amount of only 80 soldiers, barricaded in a church. The same night, at about eight o'clock, he

was attacked by the royalist troops. A desperate action took place, which was finally determined by the bayonet in favour of the patriotic troops. The successful general now laid close siege to the church, which was at length carried by storm, the besieged being mostly put to the sword. Another ~~action with the advanced guard of Mo-~~ ~~reno's second in command~~ took place on the 3d December, in which the royalists were routed, and having taken refuge in some houses, which they prepared to defend to the last extremity, they were attacked by Merino's band with determined intrepidity. In the course of these desperate encounters, however, Merino was wounded; this circumstance, joined to the want of ammunition, which now began to fail, ~~terminated~~ the battle. Merino employed himself in collecting his wounded, and, being in want of warlike stores, he was finally obliged, though victorious, to retreat to his former position at Cumanacoa. The royalist force engaged in these actions consisted of 900 men, of which 400 were said to be left on the field of battle. That of the patriots was estimated to 600, of which 150 were slain. •

No serious result followed from this action, and this colonial war, indeed, from its commencement, appears to have been marked by one uniform character. It presents a variety of successes and reverses, bloody, yet indecisive; wasting the strength, but continuing to feed the expectations of both parties. In the course of December, General Zaraza, who was marching to join Bolivar, was attacked by a superior force near Calaboso, 120 miles south of the city of Caraccas, and defeated. The independent troops fought with great valour, and as Bolivar was ~~ready~~ to take the field with his army, numerous, it is said, and well equipped, this disaster does not seem to have produced any lasting consequence. The

patriotic troops, at the end of the year 1817, maintained the ground they had gained during the war, occupying all the interior, and the open countries, while the royalists were confined to the coast towns. These advantages, however, they do not appear to hold by a very secure tenure, so long as the royalists, retaining possession of the sea-ports, continue to receive, through this channel, supplies of troops from the mother country, which enable them to protract the war, and to defy all the efforts of the independent generals to reduce them.

While the country of the Caraccas was in this manner agitated by this protracted and indecisive war, the same contest was carried on with various fortune throughout the other provinces of the Spanish empire. No where had the royal cause been more decidedly triumphant than in Mexico, all open resistance in the field having been put down, and the patriot force reduced to guerilla parties, which still continued to resist and to hold out a rallying point to the adherents of the independent cause. To encourage this patriotic spirit, General Mina, well known for his gallantry as a general and guerilla leader in the late contest of the mother country with France, landed on the 15th May, 1816, at Soto La Marina, a small point of Mexico, in the province of Cohahuila. His force, which he had collected chiefly in the United States, amounted to about 400 men. As soon as the Spanish authorities had certain information of his landing, General Arredondo, with 2000 troops and 17 pieces of artillery, was sent against him. Mina, threatened in this manner by an overwhelming force, threw up entrenchments at the town of Soto La Marina, and leaving about 100 troops, with orders to defend themselves to the last extremity, he resolved, by a secret and rapid march, to deceive General Arredondo, and to pe-

netrate into the interior, where he might be joined by such of the inhabitants as continued well affected to the independent cause. He commenced his march on the 24th May, and after suffering great hardships, he arrived at the town of El Valle de Maiz, about 100 miles south of Soto La Marina, after defeating a body of 400 cavalry, by which his advance was opposed. On the 19th he learnt that he was pursued by a battalion of European infantry, under the command of the royalist officer Arminan, and as his great object was to effect a junction with the patriotic troops in the interior, he resolved to decline a battle. With this view his troops were on their march by day-break. Being hotly pursued by the enemy, they were at length forced to a battle at the Hacienda de Peotillos, where, after an obstinate contest, the enemy was totally defeated, though superior in number in the proportion of four to one. Mina's little band, amounting to 172, had 56 killed and wounded in the action. On the 17th they arrived at the town of Pinas, which was fortified and defended by 300 troops. This important post was gallantly carried in a night-attack. On the 22d, Mina still advancing, effected a junction with some of the wandering guerilla parties of the patriots which were scouring the country, and on the 24th he entered the fort of Sombrero, in the intendency of Guanajuato, and about eighteen leagues north-west of the city of that name, of which the patriots, notwithstanding all their reverses, still retained possession. In the course of thirty days, he had thus marched about 220 leagues, harassed by the enemy, and frequently in want of provisions.

In the year 1816, and the beginning of 1817, when Mina landed in Mexico, it was calculated that the different revolutionary chiefs had under their command about 6000 troops, some of them

well equipped, and the cavalry the finest in the kingdom. If they had wisely concentrated this force, they might have made a formidable resistance to the royal authorities, and, with the assistance of the inhabitants, who were generally well affected to their cause, might, in the end, have succeeded in establishing the independence of the country. But their councils were distracted by jealousies and discord—there was no unity of action among them—and though partial successes were gained, they were attended with no general and permanent benefit to their cause. After taking possession of the fort of Sombrero, Mina received information of a movement in the direction of the fort by a body of 700 of the enemy under Castanon, a royalist general, who was a distinguished and cruel enemy of the independent cause. On the evening of the 28th, Mina's patriot band, amounting to about 300, marched out to meet their enemies, and next morning a decisive action took place about nine leagues from the town of San Felipe, in which Castanon's force was utterly routed and put to flight at the point of the bayonet, leaving 339 dead on the field, and 150 prisoners, besides 2 pieces of artillery and 500 muskets, and all the ammunition and baggage. This signal success spread far and wide the reputation of Mina's troops, and the fruit of the victory was the capture of the castle of the Marquis of Jaral, containing 140,000 dollars, which were put into the military chest, besides various other necessaries and comforts for the soldiers. After these advantages, Mina had an interview with the republican chiefs at Sombrero, when they appeared highly satisfied with his success, and assured him of their support. In the meantime intelligence was received of the fall of Soto La Marina, the fortress at which Mina had first landed, and where he had left a body of troops. It was besieged by the royalists, and

its defenders, being reduced to the last extremity, were forced to surrender on terms. These terms were, however, shamefully violated, and the unhappy prisoners were treated with every degree of cruelty and indignity by the perfidious royalists.

The successes of Mina gave great ~~alarm~~ to the viceroy of Mexico, and, as ~~his~~ effort, he mustered a force of between 3000 and 4000 men, which he sent to oppose the enemy under Don Pasqual Linan, a Spanish marshal. Mina, in the meantime, being misinformed as to the strength of the garrison of Leon, made an attack on that important place, in which he failed, with the loss of 100 killed and wounded, some of the latter Americans, who were immediately put to death. On the 30th July information was received that Linan's troops, amounting to 3541, with 10 pieces of artillery and 2 howitzers, were in the plain before the fort of Sombrero, which they prepared to besiege. The place, though not calculated either to sustain a formal siege or a vigorous assault, made a desperate resistance; in every attempt to storm, the enemy being repulsed with great loss. The besieged were reduced to the most dreadful extremities by the want of water and of provisions; to procure a supply of which, from Padre Jones, one of the patriotic guerilla leaders, Mina contrived privately to escape from the fort, leaving it under the command of Colonel Young, an American, whose daring intrepidity pointed him out for that perilous station. In all his attempts to relieve the garrison, Mina was unsuccessful; and though they still gallantly repulsed the enemy from the walls of the fortress, they were so reduced by famine and privations of every sort, that they prepared to abandon the fort, leaving the wounded behind them, and forcing their way through the enemy's lines. They executed this bold attempt during the night; but having

along with them the women and children, these soon took fright, and giving the alarm by their cries, the enemy opposed their progress, and at length the whole garrison dispersed, each making his escape as he best could, and many of them that were sick and helpless being massacred by the enemy's cavalry, even when begging for mercy on their knees. Next morning the enemy entered the deserted fort, and they celebrated their victory by the inhuman massacre of all the wounded and prisoners.

The capture of Fort Sombrero was a great blow to the patriot cause. Finding all his efforts vain to arrest this fatal catastrophe, Mina proceeded with an escort of 100 cavalry, to the foot of Los Remedios, which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. He found the commander, Padre Torres, engaged in adding, by every expedient, to the strength of the fort. It was agreed between these two commanders, that Torres should take the command of this stronghold of the independents, which was abundantly supplied with water, and every necessary, and that Mina, with a body of irregular cavalry, should scour the country, and interrupt as much as possible the communications of the besiegers. Mina found that the cavalry, which he received under his command, though extremely brave in a sudden and desultory attack, were totally deficient in steadiness or discipline.

The siege of Los Remedios commenced on the 31st of August, and the Spanish commander, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties of the ground, contrived, with extraordinary skill and trouble, to complete a line of attack, which straitened the garrison, and menaced their works on every side. No great progress, however, was made in the reduction of the fortress: the besiegers were repelled in all their attacks; and a sortie was undertaken by

the garrison, in which one of the besieging batteries was taken and destroyed. General Mina executed what was committed to him with his usual activity. He cut off the supplies of the besiegers, so that they laboured at times under great privations, and he continually threatened an attack on their works. He also succeeded in taking the town of San Luis de la Paz, but failed in his attempt on San Miguel el Grande, a town of considerable importance, 14 leagues north east of Guanaxuato. He also endeavoured to gain possession of the latter place by coup de main. But his followers, from some accidental panic, fell into confusion, and he was forced to retreat. After this failure he dismissed his troops for a time, and took refuge with his friend Don Marriano Herrera, at his castle, called El Venadito. Secret intelligence of the place where he was concealed being carried to the Spanish general, Don Orrantia, the house was, in the night, surrounded with troops. The small body of cavalry which he had stationed in the neighbourhood were attacked and dispersed, and, the gallant Mina, rushing out in the general alarm, without arms, was seized and made prisoner by a Spanish horseman, while he was endeavouring to rally his men. This took place on the 31st November. He was treated with every degree of indignity and harshness; and orders were received from the viceroy that he should be immediately shot. On the 11th November, he was conveyed to the fatal ground under a military escort; he advanced with a firm step, ordering the soldiers to take good aim. The accustomed signal was given, and he fell without a struggle.

The royalists, encouraged by the capture and death of Mina, pressed the siege of Los Remedios with new vigour. For four months the garrison held out against all their attacks; but at length, their ammunition fail-

ing, it was resolved to evacuate the fortress, and to fly unperceived through the enemy's lines. The night of the 1st January, 1818, was fixed on for the execution of this plan; but the movements of the garrison were unluckily discovered by the enemy, who, entering the fortress from the opposite side, and finding it evacuated, pursued the unhappy fugitives, attacking and indiscriminately massacring men and women. The garrison, among whom were many wounded, shared the same fate, being some of them shot, while others miserably perished in the flames of their houses, which the barbarous royalists set on fire. Active measures were now taken in every quarter by the royalists for the utter extinction of the patriot cause. Most of the leaders who commanded corps were attacked, and forced to fly to the mountains and fortresses for safety; while the royalist troops were dispersed in small bodies through the pueblas, or towns, for the purpose of keeping the disaffected in awe. The inhabitants, according to all accounts, suffered from them the extreme of oppression; and if a small force were landed, round which they could rally, they would readily unite in resistance to their oppressors, who, though they have succeeded for the present in overpowering all opposition, have, at the same time, excited such an inveterate and universal disaffection, that the people only wait for the first favourable occasion, to break forth into open insurrection, and to shake off the tyranny which oppresses them.

In other parts of Spanish America the revolution has gone on with uniform and increasing success. At Buenos Ayres the patriots not only succeeded in establishing an independent government, but, in the course of the year 1817, they dispatched a force westward to assist their fellow-countrymen in Chili, who were unable to resist the troops sent against them by

the viceroy of Peru, and were in consequence brought under the yoke of the mother country, from which they were at one time emancipated. This expedition, commanded by General San Martin, commenced its march early in January 1817, and arrived about the end of the month, in the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras. Here the force was assembled by its commander, in good order, and a combined movement was concerted in order to carry the four defiles of the Andes through which the road lay. A determined resistance was expected from the royal troops who defended the heights; but they were finally driven from all their positions on the Aconcagua by the bravery of the patriots; and General San Martin resolved to pursue his advantages with vigour. For this purpose he re-established the bridge over the Aconcagua, which had been broken down, in order to attack the enemy, at Chacabuco, before he had time to collect all his forces for the defence of this position. The two following days, namely, the 10th and 11th, were spent in reconnoitring, and it appeared plain, from the enemy's dispositions, that he was determined to maintain his ground. The plan of attack was accordingly arranged without loss of time. General Soler, with a body of infantry and 7 field-pieces, was directed to turn the right, while General O'Higgins was to attack in front. General Soler's movement was conducted with great skill and success. He ascended a craggy and impracticable mountain with such secrecy, that the royalist troops did not perceive him until he had attained a commanding height, which overlooked their position, and which they were therefore compelled to abandon. They had to retreat across a plain about four miles in extent, which movement their infantry were already executing, when they were attacked and broken by General O'Higgins

with great slaughter. General Soler at the same time rushed up the remaining heights, and carried them at the point of the bayonet; so that the enemy was defeated at all points, and his infantry nearly destroyed. The whole baggage and artillery, and considerable magazines of military stores, were the immediate fruits of this victory. The Spanish authorities in Chili were in dismay when they were apprised of the defeat of their troops, and of the rapid advance of General San Martin. The capital, Santiago, was abandoned by the governor, who flying with the miserable remnant of his troops to Valparaiso, was intercepted in his flight, and taken by a party of mounted grenadiers. General San Martin approached the capital by rapid marches, where he was received as a deliverer. The Spanish government was again put down, and a new system established, more consonant to the wishes as well as the interests of the people. In other parts of Chili, the same successes attended the republican arms, and every where the troops from Buenos Ayres were gladly received by the inhabitants, who rejoiced in their emancipation from the yoke of the mother country. In the course of the year 1817, a force was also dispatched into the interior by the government of Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of attacking the royalist troops stationed in the province of Tucuman: several actions took place in consequence, in which the republican troops appear to have been victorious, but as to the exact consequences of which, we have no certain information. It seems obvious, however, that the people in every quarter are eager for independence, and it is only by the influence of troops that the dominion of the mother country is any where preserved. The original tie which bound the colony to the parent state is entirely broken. The cause of independence has already ta-

ken deep root; and, according to the natural course of things, the whole of Spanish America seems destined, ere long, to enjoy all the privileges of independent states, for which they have so bravely fought.

On the 29th June, the island of Amelia was taken by Gregor M'Gregor, who landed with a small force, and advanced to the fort of Fernandina, which immediately surrendered. This island having become the resort of a piratical banditti, who, under pretence of attacking Spanish vessels, molested the trade of other nations, it was taken possession of on the 22d December by an American force, and has been ever since retained by the United States.

The spirit of reform and the desire of independence which had been so long gaining ground in the colonies of Spain, appears to have extended itself to other parts of South America. On the 7th April, a formidable revolution broke out in the province of Pernambuco, originating, it is said, partly in the universal discontent among the troops for want of pay, and partly in the irritation of the people from the rigorous conscriptions and excessive contributions which had been imposed upon them. The following accident called forth this lurking discontent. A colonel having, for some unknown cause, accused one of his officers on the parade, the latter, imagining that his meditated treason had been detected, drew his sword, and laid his superior officer dead at his feet. The alarm was immediately given to the other conspirators. The bells were rung, and the population of the place, as well as the troops, rose with one consent, subverting the constituted authorities, and seizing the shipping in the river. A congress was immediately called, and measures were taken for framing the plan of a new government.

The royal authorities at Rio Janeiro lost no time in taking the necessary measures for quelling this alarming commotion. An armament was fitted out, and sent against Pernambuco, and the troops being landed, were met by the insurgents, whom they defeated and dispersed. The town was in the mean time entered by the blockading squadron; the royal standard was again hoisted; and thus was this premature attempt at revolution entirely crushed. The leaders were afterwards apprehended, and being sent to Rio Janeiro, were there tried, and condemned to expiate their temerity on the scaffold, which sentence was, in respect to most of them, carried into immediate execution. Tranquillity was in consequence restored; the people were obliged to submit; though no inquiry was instituted into their alleged grievances, nor was any attempt made to reform the most notorious and admitted evils. The root of disaffection was thus suffered to remain in the soil, there to spread and to increase, and at some future and more convenient season, to spring up into new and dangerous commotions, which it might not be found so easy to check or to control.

The history of the United States for the year 1817, presents, as usual, the pleasing picture of domestic happiness and peace. The election of a president engaged for a time the public attention; and Mr Monroe was chosen to fill this high office, in room of Mr Maddison, who retired, having fulfilled the term fixed by law for the enjoyment of that office. He was formally inaugurated into that office on the 20th March, on an elevated portico erected in front of the capital at Washington, when he addressed those assembled at considerable length. He congratulated his fellow-citizens on the excellence of their government and institutions: he recommended the fortification of the coast, in the view of

their being again involved in foreign war—also the regulations of the army and navy, and some system for training the mass of the people to arms. With regard to commerce, he suggested the propriety of rendering the United States independent both of a market for their rude produce, and of a supply of manufactures. The construction of canals, roads, and bridges, he held out as one great source of improvement. He stated his resolution to enforce, with great exactness, the collection of the public money; and concluded with proposing the conduct of his predecessors in office as his pattern. In the course of the year, steps were taken to accomplish some of the objects recommended by the president. A survey of the waters of the Chesapeake was ordered, in order to select a convenient station for a naval depot. But no very efficient measures appear to have been adopted, in order to provide for the remote contingency of a future war. The Congress was opened by Mr Munroe on the 2d December. In the message which he sent to the legislature on this occasion, he congratulates his fellow-citizens on the improving and happy condition of the country—he informed them that the best understanding prevailed between Great Britain and the United States; and that, by an amicable arrangement, the armed force on the lakes in Canada had been dismantled, and only one or two vessels were to be allowed to navigate the lakes, armed with one gun; that a proposition for an arrangement, by which the commerce between the ports of Great Britain and those of the United States was to be placed on a footing of equality, had been declined by the former power. The president described the public revenue as extremely flourishing, the receipts into the treasury, for the year 1817, amounting to 24,500,000 dollars; while the expences, on the most

liberal scale, and after allowing 10 millions for a sinking fund, amounted only to 21,800,000 dollars, thus leaving an excess of 2,700,000 dollars, besides a balance in the treasury. The arrangements which had been adopted for extending the colonization of the interior, were dwelt upon with great satisfaction. The native title had been extinguished, by means of a fair purchase, within the state of Ohio, great part of Michigan, and the whole of Louisiana; thus affording ample scope for the increasing population of the country to expand, with undiminished energy, for a century to come; to carry on, without halting, the cultivation of the districts in the interior; and to advance in the work of improvement, until their course should be arrested by the vast barrier of the Pacific Ocean.

Those vast plans of colonization projected by the government of the United States, appear to be seconded by the spirit and enterprize of the people. Along the whole line of the American territory, the population of the country is gradually making a progress westward. Louisiana, which is but a recent acquisition, has been explored in all its parts, and settlements begin to be established throughout this extensive country. Along the banks of the Mississippi, cultivation already begins to make progress; and even in the remote country on the banks of the Missouri, several settlements have been begun. In the state of Georgia, extensive purchases were made from the Indian tribes, by which they agreed to evacuate the whole country eastward of the Mississippi, in exchange for some territory to the westward of that river; so that, as far as the Mississippi, to the west, the country is cleared of its original proprietors. It is the possession of this ample expanse of untouched and fertile territory, which

forms the distinguishing feature of the American community. It is in this view that the American people present so singular and imposing a spectacle. Year after year, they are narrowing the boundaries of the desert; crowds of adventurous emigrants continually resort to the verge of civilization, there to breathe the free air of that wild region, exempted from social restraints. Here they act in the double capacity of cultivator and huntsman, partly civilized and partly savage, until by the progress of improvement they are gradually surrounded with new settlers, and again brought within the pale of order and law. Tired of the dull routine of social life, they dispose of their lands to emigrants

of more settled habits, and again take their station on the verge of the desert,—there to bear the brunt of savage hostility; to hunt and to cultivate; and by their wild and ferocious habits, to clear the way, as successful pioneers, for the great mass of the American population. It is in this manner that the country gradually assumes the aspect of civilization. The woods and men are cleared away, too frequently by the same merciless process of destruction—the fields are cultivated—the dwellings of men usurp the place of the haunts of wild beasts; and thus, under the guidance of her wise and enlightened government, America advances, with an irresistible pace, to greatness and dominion.

CHAPTER XV

INDIA.

Pindaree War.—Origin of the Pindarees.—Defensive Plans adopted.—Insufficient.—Offensive War undertaken.—Advance of the British Armies.—War with the Peshwa.—His Defeat and Surrender.—War with the Rajah of Nagpoor.—Critical Position of the British.—Finally Repulse the Enemy.—Surrender of the Rajah.—Subsequent Battle and Defeat of his Army.—War terminated.—Advance of the British against the Pindarees.—War with Holkar.—His Defeat.—War concluded by a Treaty.—Destruction of the Pindarees.—Objects of the War.

THE year 1817 was productive of great events and important revolutions on the continent of India. The tranquillity of our extensive possessions in that country was seriously disturbed in various quarters, first, by the continued incursions of the Pindarees, a lawless combination of freebooters, who had been gradually growing formidable, both in numbers and discipline, since the year 1805; and, secondly, by the hostility of the native princes, who appear about this period to have entered into a general combination for the destruction of the British power. Those various emergencies were met by the Anglo-Indian government with corresponding energy, by prudence in counsel and vigour in action, and the formidable confederacy of hostile princes was completely discomfited; the sovereignty of the British in India was established on a more solid basis than ever; and the Pindaree hordes were not only chased with disgrace from the British territories, but, being pursued to their haunts, were cut off, root and branch, and the continent of India was

thus for ever, it is to be hoped, freed from this dreadful scourge. The transactions which terminated in these successful results will form the subject of the following narrative, which it will be proper to introduce by a short account of the origin and progress of the Pindarees.

From the constant wars and commotions which prevailed among the native powers in India, it necessarily happened that a great proportion of the population was trained to habits of disorder and military licence; and although the settlement which was effected in 1805, under the second administration of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, was sufficiently satisfactory, in as far as it respected the mutual relations of the different independent powers, it unfortunately had no tendency to check this great and growing evil. On the contrary, it was evident, that subsequent to the peace of 1805, the class addicted to these habits was fast increasing, and were improving in consistency and strength. They were regularly asso-

ciated into bands under recognised leaders, and indiscriminate plunder was their only object. Numbers of these freebooters were settled in the neighbourhood of Scindia and Holkar, and these princes, if they did not abet them, made no great efforts for their suppression. These military plunderers were known under the general denomination of Pindarees, and their force consisted of a species of light cavalry, which scoured the country, and defied all pursuit, by the celerity of their movements. Their uniform practice was to plunder and waste the towns and villages with the most unheard-of barbarity—neither age nor sex were spared; and the most shocking tortures were frequently inflicted, in order to force from the defenceless inhabitants a disclosure of their secret hoards. Before undertaking any important expedition, their horses were carefully trained to long marches and hard work; they were then shod, and a leader of tried courage being selected, the expedition set forward, consisting latterly of several thousands. Out of 1000 cavalry, 400 were well mounted; they were armed generally with a bamboo spear, from 12 to 18 feet long; but as fire-arms were indispensable in the attack of villages, every fifteenth man carried a match-lock. Of the remaining 600, about two-thirds were indifferently mounted and variously armed, and the remainder, consisting of slaves, attendants, and camp followers, were mounted on tattoos or wild ponies, and kept up with the main body as they best could. About the year 1814, these predatory bands consisted of about 40,000 horse, which were daily recruited by deserters from Holkar's irregular bands, and from the loose cavalry establishments of Scindia and others, where they were retained by no tie but that of present advantage, and where they were always in arrears of pay. The central

situation of these freebooters, at an equal distance from the three presidencies, rendered them formidable enemies; and though the British were in the practice of guarding their frontiers by a line of posts, it was easily penetrated by these flying hordes, and the country, in consequence, subjected to annual devastations. Their first incursions into the British territories took place in 1809 and 1812. In 1815, a body of 8000 Pindarees crossed the Nerbuddah, penetrating to the Kishna, though they were watched both by infantry and cavalry, and they were only deterred from crossing into the Madras presidency by the swollen state of the river, along whose fertile and populous banks they took their course, plundering and burning as they went along, and committing every kind of enormity. They finally made good their retreat along the British positions with an immense booty, and with utter impunity. A second expedition soon after crossed the Nerbuddah; in one day they marched 38 miles, plundering 92 villages with every circumstance of barbarous outrage; next day they marched 38 miles, and plundered 51 villages. They finally returned loaded with spoil, and with scarcely any loss; and it was ascertained, that during the 12 days they remained within the Company's territories, 182 persons were put to a cruel death, 505 were severely wounded, and 3603 suffered different kinds of torture.

The devastations of this horde of plunderers having become so destructive, and so widely extended, it became necessary to adopt vigorous measures for protecting the Company's territories from so dreadful a scourge. With this view it was resolved to establish along the course of the Nerbuddah, which crosses the country in a direction nearly from east to west, an extensive line of defensive positions, and by the 26th

October, 1816, this line extending nearly 150 miles from Soonee to Sirinagur, was completed. Great was the alarm spread among the Pindarees by the advance of the British troops to the Nerbuddah; they immediately retired northward towards Malwa, and even suspended the preparations which they were making for an expedition to the north. But when they observed that the British remained stationary on the Nerbuddah, their courage and their hopes revived. In the course of November and December, Colonel Walker's line was penetrated by different bodies of the Pindarees, with a rapidity of movement which baffled all the attempts of the infantry, either to impede or harass their march. Two expeditions were formed, which advanced the one towards the east, and the other took a northern direction. There was besides another division of the Pindaree force which crossed the Nerbuddah, and having passed the valley of the Taptee, and the mountains of Berar, advanced northward between Aurungabad and Talna, and moved direct upon Ahmednagur. By the singular activity of the Company's troops, aided also by fortunate accidents, all these expeditions were intercepted, broken, and discomfited, so that very few of the plunderers ever reached their own country. The Pindarees were so disheartened by these reverses, that they did not again venture, during the remainder of the season, into the Company's territories, but confined their ravages, which were carried on for mere subsistence, to the northern confines of India, above the mountains of Malwa.

But although, in the course of this active campaign, the most brilliant successes were achieved, it was still evident that the result was owing fully as much to accident, as to any previous calculation; and had the differ-

ent expeditions taken another course, in place of being overtaken and dispersed, they might, as in former occasions, have safely re-crossed the Nerbudda, loaded with the spoil of wasted provinces. In place of a system of mere passive defence, therefore, which was necessarily insecure and inefficient, it was resolved to carry on active operations against these predatory hordes, to attack them in their native haunts, and either to exterminate them or to drive them from the advantageous position which they occupied in the very centre of India. With this view, the rainy season of 1817 was spent in preparations for a great military effort against the Pindarees, and their abettors, if any such should be found among the central powers of India. It was resolved, in this war, to admit of no neutrality, and those who refused their aid in the common cause of peace and good order, were, if it was found expedient, to be treated as enemies. The plan of the campaign was simple and comprehensive. The armies of the Company were to advance southward for the purpose of encompassing the devoted territories of the freebooters, with an extended cordon of troops, which were gradually to converge to a common centre, surrounding the enemy at every point, and preventing his escape. On the side of Hindostan, four divisions were to take the field, each of sufficient strength to act independently according to circumstances, besides two corps of observation, to guard the frontiers against accidental incursions. On the side of the Deccan four independent corps were in like manner to take the field, and a corps were also to penetrate from Guzerat, in order to complete the intended line of operations. The Governor-General the Marquis of Hastings was to take the field in person, under whose orders Sir Thomas

Hislop, Sir John Malcolm, Generals Doveton, Smith, Floyer, and Pritzler, held important commands.

In the course of October, or early in November, all the different divisions of the grand army had arrived at the different positions assigned them on the Nerbuddah, and they were preparing to continue their movements, and to advance into Malwa, for the purpose of driving the Pindarees out of that country. But this plan was suddenly interrupted by the intelligence which reached Sir Thomas Hislop, of the Peshwa, or prince of Poonah, an ally and dependent of the British, having risen in arms against their authority.

This prince was one of those with whom the British had concluded a subsidiary alliance, by which they agreed to furnish a military force, for the support of the sovereign's authority, receiving in return a subsidy in money, or a territorial cession, and it was further provided that no political negociation should be carried on with any foreign power, except in concert with the British Government, to whose arbitration all claims and disputes of every sort were to be submitted. To this state of degrading dependence, which left them the mere shadow of sovereign authority, the princes of India were naturally averse, and it was generally from necessity that they submitted to any foreign interference in their internal concerns. Bajee Rao, the prince of Poonah, had been long impatient of the British yoke; but each new effort that he made to emancipate himself only brought him under more severe, arbitrary, and degrading stipulations; so that, though he was naturally a weak prince, and wavering in his counsel, he at last resolved on hostility. The Company's troops being mostly engaged in the north against the Pindarees, and only one brigade left at Poonah, the occasion was deemed

favourable for striking a decisive blow; and during the whole of October, Bajee Rao, the prince, continued to recruit his armies from all quarters; so that towards the end of the month, there was an immense accumulation of Mahratta troops at Poonah, and the situation of the Company's brigade, surrounded on every side, became still more alarming. Mr Elphinstone, the British resident at the court of Poonah, though fully aware of the Peshwa's hostile views, was unwilling to be the first to commence hostilities. He had remonstrated to no purpose, against such a concentration of troops in the capital, and on the 21st October, every thing bore such a menacing appearance, that the resident resolved to prepare for the worst, by moving the brigade from the position which it usually occupied, to one more advantageous at the village of Kirkee, where it was protected by the Moola river in the rear and on the left, and was supported on the right flank by the village. After the movement of the brigade to this position, every day produced more decisive symptoms of approaching hostilities. An officer on his way to Bombay, was attacked and plundered, and escaped with difficulty, after being severely wounded. Early in the month of October, Brigadier-General Smith had proceeded northwards according to the general plan of the campaign, and by his absence the brigade at Poonah was deprived of the support which it derived from the troops which were usually stationed at Seroor, about 30 miles to the northwest. On Parnag, however, the situation of affairs at Poonah, a light battalion was ordered back to Seroor, and towards the end of October, the Brigadier-General himself concentrated his force on the Godaveree. He had arranged with Mr Elphinstone, that if he did not hear daily from Poonah, he would con-

sider the communication cut off, and would hasten immediately to his assistance.

The resident, seeing no possibility of avoiding hostilities, sent orders to the light battalion at Seroor, together with a corps of 1000 auxiliary force, to move towards Poonah. The light battalion left Seroor on the 5th November, and Bajee Rao the Peshwa, on hearing intelligence of its approach, immediately put his army in motion, and took up a position between the residency, and the brigade at Kirkee, with the intention of cutting off the communication between. Mr Elphinstone remonstrating against this hostile movement, the Peshwa assigned as his reason the march of the troops from Seroor to Poonah, and demanded that all the Europeans who had lately arrived at his capital, should be sent back to Bombay; that the brigade should be reduced to its usual strength, and be cantoned at such a place as the Peshwa should select; and finally, a categorical answer was required to these demands. Mr Elphinstone disputed the right of the Peshwa to make these demands, and added, that if his Highness joined his army he would proceed to his brigade, and that if his troops advanced to the brigade, they would be attacked. After receiving this message, the Peshwa mounted his horse and joined his army, and Mr Elphinstone immediately left the residency which was attacked and plundered; and he had some difficulty in joining the brigade by the bridge of Kirkee.

The fighting commenced a few minutes after, chiefly by a distant cannonade. Immense bodies of the enemy's horse appeared in front of the British line, which they attempted to out-flank, and having partly succeeded in this manœuvre, they made a spirited charge against the left of the line; but were driven back after a short con-

test. The British troops charging in their turn, and too eager in the pursuit, were thrown into some confusion, when they were attacked by the enemy's horse, which had got round both their flanks. The battle was restored by the advance of a body of European troops, under Colonel Burr, and by the fire of the two guns on the left, which were served with great effect. This was the only instance in which the enemy attempted to come to close quarters. At the approach of night the troops retired to Kirkee, and were no further molested, having had 18 killed and 57 wounded; while the loss of the enemy amounted to about 500. This action was fought on the 5th of November.

On the following day, the British were joined by the light battalion and the irregular horse from Seroor, and on the 13th November, Brigadier-General Smith arrived at Poonah, having been harassed in his march by large bodies of the Mahratta horse. Next day, it was resolved to attack the enemy's camp, which was situated on the opposite side of the Moola-Moola river. The river was crossed after some opposition, and next morning, before day-break, the attack was commenced, as agreed on; but the camp was found deserted, the enemy having quietly retired in the night. General Smith immediately commenced an unremitting pursuit of the Peshwa, who was pursued from place to place by the different corps of the British army, and was finally obliged to surrender. He was deposed from his throne, a residence in a particular city was pointed out to him, and he was allowed a pension of 100,000*l.* per annum for his support. His dominions were taken under the administration of the British.

Appo Sahib, the Rajah of Nagpoor, who was held in the same degrading thralldom by the British, pursued a simi-

lar course, which terminated in like manner in his complete overthrow. It was about the middle of November that the British resident first became suspicious of his intentions, and on the 24th he received a note from his minister, informing him, that a Khilat, or dress of honour, had arrived for the Rajah from Poonah, and that his highness intended next day to go in state to his camp, in order to be formally invested with it, and to assume the Juree Putka, or golden streamer, the emblem of high command in the Marhatta armies, which, with the title of general, had been conferred on him by the Peshwa. Mr Jenkins was invited to assist at the ceremony; which he declined, remonstrating at the same time against the Rajah's acceptance of any titles from a power at open war with the British. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the Rajah was formally invested with the Khilat and other insignia, and his troops immediately took such threatening positions that it was found necessary to make every preparation against any sudden attack.

The residence is separated from the city of Nagpoor by a small ridge of high ground, with two hills at its extremities, the one higher, but smaller than the other. On this elevation, the British awaited the attack of the enemy, which commenced at sun-set of the 26th November by the fire of the Arab infantry. The artillery then opened on the British position, from which the fire was returned, though not with equal effect; the men being much exposed, and galled besides by a well-directed fire from the Arab infantry, posted under cover of the huts and houses of a village at the foot of the hill. The firing continued with little intermission till two o'clock in the morning, by which time the small body of troops encamped at the residency had suffered severely, and on the

smaller hill particularly, had to sustain some serious assaults, which they had repulsed with great difficulty.

The British troops were greatly discouraged by the issue of this day's fighting. They had to contend against fearful odds, and if the attack was renewed, as they had every reason to expect, with fresh troops, it was manifest, however bravely they might defend their post, that in the end they must be overpowered. The precious interval of the night was duly improved to strengthen their defences, and by day-break the firing recommenced with greater fury than ever; additional guns having been brought to bear on their position during the night. The enemy fought too with increased confidence; the Arabs were especially conspicuous for their courage, and to them was committed the assault of the smaller hill. The accidental explosion of a tumbril having occasioned some confusion, they seized the critical moment, and rushing forward with loud cries, stormed the hill, putting all the wounded to the sword. The gun which they found in the position, with two others which they brought up, were immediately turned on the British with great effect. The Arabs too, flushed with this signal success, were seen advancing in great numbers along the ridge, as if with the design of making a general attack, while the enemy on the plain below assumed a more menacing attitude. An alarm was at the same time spread among the followers and families of sepoys, whose lines were to the west of the smaller hill, now occupied by the Arabs, and the shrieks of the women and children contributed not a little to damp the ardour of the native troops. At this critical moment a most brilliant and successful charge was made by Captain Fitzgerald on a large body of the enemy's horse. He had kept himself in reserve within the

residency grounds, while the enemy, accumulating round him on all sides, had brought ten light guns to bear upon his line. In this extremity he resolved to make a last and desperate effort to drive them back; and advancing across a hollow with a small party of horse, the enemy retired, leaving two guns in his possession; this small party of the British were now on the point of being surrounded, when it was joined by the remainder of the column of cavalry, who halting at the abandoned guns, turned them against the enemy with great effect, and effectually kept his horse in check. This success greatly encouraged the Company's troops, in proportion as it damped the courage of the assailants. The firing now recommenced from the larger hill with loud shouts, and the explosion of a tumbril on the smaller hill having caused some confusion among the Arabs, a party from the larger hill rushed forward, and drove them back with the loss of three guns. The battle was now entirely restored, and the enemy's troops were finally driven back at all points, from the hills as well as from all the surrounding houses and villages in the plains below.

This trying contest was terminated about noon on the 27th, after eighteen hours of unintermitted fatigue and anxiety. The Company's troops were greatly over-matched in point of numbers. They did not amount to more than 1400 fighting men, of whom one fourth were either killed or wounded; while the Rajah, it is said, had upward of 10,000 infantry in the field, and at least an equal number of horse, though his chief reliance was placed on a body of between 3 and 4000 Arabs, who fought with great bravery. It is scarcely credible, however, that with numbers so immensely disproportionate, the battle could have been brought to a successful issue.

Troops immediately poured into Nagpoor from every quarter, and the Rajah, dispirited by the ill success of his first attack, was disposed to accept almost any terms. Those proposed to him were sufficiently humiliating: That he should give up all his artillery, leaving it to the British to restore what they thought proper; that he should disband the Arabs and other mercenary troops; and that he should come over himself as an hostage for the performance of these conditions, unattended, to the British camp. He was allowed to deliberate on this offer till next morning at nine o'clock; which time being expired, the army, under General Doveton, advanced in order of battle to the attack. The fears of the Rajah now prevailed, and mounting his horse, he rode off with his ministers, and a few other attendants, straight to the presidency, where he delivered himself up to Mr Jenkins.

General Doveton halted on receiving this information, and some time elapsed before the arrangements were agreed on for the surrender of the artillery. The minister of the Rajah at length returned from the army, and reported that every thing was in readiness for fulfilling the terms, and General Doveton was requested to dispatch a party to take possession of the abandoned guns. The general, on examining the messengers, suspected that some deception was intended, and in place of sending a detachment, advanced with his whole army. The moment the troops debouched from behind some trees, a heavy fire was opened upon them; they advanced in the face of this cannonade, and finally carried all the enemy's batteries, where they found 75 guns, mortars, and howitzers, of different descriptions. The camp was also taken, with 40 elephants belonging to the Rajah, and all his camp equipage. The Arab infantry

under the command of Meer Biut Rhao, fled into the city, and occupied the fort, a place of considerable strength, containing the Rajah's palace, and other strong buildings. It was in vain that the British endeavoured to persuade these troops to evacuate the fort, and to retire. They expressed their determination to defend themselves, and it became necessary to besiege them in form. In three days a breach was made which was considered to be practicable, and on the morning of the 24th December an assault was attempted. The gate, however, on which the assault was made, was found to be completely commanded by the inner walls, and the storming parties, after in vain endeavouring to penetrate farther, or to establish themselves, were at length recalled, after losing 90 killed, and 179 wounded. General Doveton now saw that it would be necessary to procure a more formidable train, in order to prosecute the siege to an issue. The Arabs, in the mean time, offered to surrender, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with their families, baggage, private property, and arms, which being agreed to, they evacuated the fort on the 30th December; and thus were brought to a close the military operations in this quarter.

In the mean time, the different divisions of the general army continued, according to the plan proposed, to advance against the Pindarees, and by the end of November they had completely driven them out of their haunts in Malwa. It had been the professed intention of the Anglo-Indian government to force the two independent chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, into an acquiescence with its views in regard to the Pindarees, and also the Patans, a species of infantry, better appointed, and more regularly disciplined than the Pindarees, but asso-

ciated on the same unlawful principle of indiscriminate plunder. Scindia was compelled to temporize, and to accede to the British propositions. Holkar, feeling strongly the disgrace of yielding to foreign threats, resolved to try the fortune of war, and as the British armies advanced for the purpose of attacking and circumventing the Pindarees, he gradually discovered his hostile dispositions. The same spirit was displayed by Scindia, who executed most reluctantly the treaty which had been forced upon him, while the Ghoorkas of Nepaul were collecting their forces, and were known to be in close communication with the other disaffected sovereigns. The growing ascendancy of the British, and the steadiness with which they pursued their schemes of universal dominion in India, had excited, when it was too late, the alarm of the native powers, and for their own security they had entered into a combination against these foreign intruders, whom they regarded as the common enemies of Indian independence. The boldness and energy of the British power, and that unity which pervaded all their movements, however extensive and complicated, enabled them to disconcert all these secret plots, and to break the confederacy, which was forming against them, before it had assumed consistency and strength. The success at Nagpoor confounded all the calculations of their enemies, and revived the illusion of their invincible superiority. Holkar, however, shewed no disposition to recede, and the temper of his troops was decidedly hostile. They were eager to rally round the chief of the Mahratta nation, and to resist the farther extension of the British power.

In the mean time, while the British armies were taking such positions as were calculated to intercept the retreat of the Pindarees, and to keep the hos-

tile chiefs in awe, they were overtaken by a violent and destructive pestilence, which had well nigh proved fatal to all their plans. This malady received from medical men the title of *cholera morbus*, from its general resemblance to that disease. It fell with extraordinary violence on the army commanded by Lord Hastings in person, while it was on its march from the Sindh, on the 14th November. Owing to the scarcity of grain which prevailed at this time, the troops were using food of very inferior quality; that part of Bundelcund where they were encamped was also very unhealthy, and ill supplied with water; and at this particular season the heat of the day was most strongly contrasted with the cold during the night. All these circumstances, joined to the crowded state of the encampment, gave an extraordinary degree of virulence to this epidemic, which raged for ten days with such fury, that the whole camp was converted into an hospital, and the deaths, in this short period, amounted, as nearly as could be calculated, to a tenth of the whole number collected. The army turned eastward, in the hope of finding a better climate on the Betwa; but the line of march was strewed with the dead and dying, and those that were in health were broken in spirits, and incapable of exertion, so that the whole efficiency of this fine army appeared for a time to be destroyed. Towards the end of November, the epidemic abated its virulence, after the army had reached a healthier station at Erich, on the Betwa.

The army was again put in motion for active operations, and had commenced a system of attack against the Pindarees which was completely successful, when an alarm was spread as to the hostile intentions of Holkar. Sir John Malcolm, with his corps, immediately fell back upon Oojein, and

having effected a junction, on the 12th December, with Sir Thomas Hislop, the two divisions advanced, on the 14th, towards the camp of Holkar, for the purpose of giving effect to the treaty which had been proposed for his acceptance. Matters continued in this state for some days, the two armies remaining all the while within 14 miles of each other, that of Holkar being at Melhudpoor, while Sir Thomas Hislop was at Pimbchar, a little to the north of Oojein. The appearances of approaching hostilities were in the mean time becoming every day more decided, and on the 20th December, Sir Thomas Hislop advanced, in consequence, to within seven miles of Holkar's camp. On that day, a picquet of Mysore horse was attacked by 200 of Holkar's cavalry, and it was accordingly resolved either to enforce the acceptance of the proposed terms of peace, or to bring on a general action without further delay. On the 21st December the army again advanced, and an answer was received from Holkar's court to a proposition for negotiation, which left no doubt that war was resolved on. Sir Thomas Hislop immediately advanced, for the purpose of attacking the enemy. On approaching Melhudpoor, Holkar's army was observed to be drawn up in line on the opposite bank of the Soopra. Having reconnoitered the ground, it was discovered that the troops, after passing the river, might form on the opposite bank, within 300 yards of the enemy's artillery, from which they would be sheltered by the overhanging banks of the river. It was in consequence resolved to attack in front by the ford; for which purpose a few light troops were pushed across, followed by 14 guns of the horse artillery, and a troop of rocketers. The horse artillery immediately opened a fire on the line of defence; but they were soon silenced by the superiority

of the enemy's fire. In the mean time, the army had passed the ford, and was now formed for the attack. The enemy possessed a commanding artillery, which was extremely well served, and occasioned a severe loss. But nothing could shake the steadiness of the troops, who advanced under a heavy fire, and overpowered all resistance by the intrepidity of their attack. Holkar's camp, with all his artillery, was captured; an immense booty was taken by the cavalry, who pursued the flying enemy. The loss of the British was severe, amounting to 174 killed, and 604 wounded. This battle was decisive; the power of Holkar was completely broken, and he accordingly sent to sue for peace. The messenger dispatched for this purpose arrived at the British camp on the 1st January, 1818.

Those contests with the native powers which broke out in the course of the war with the Pindarees, did not materially interfere with its main object. According to the plan of the campaign, all the different corps had marched northward, taking such positions as alarmed the enemy in his

most remote haunts. By the judicious dispositions made, several corps of the freebooters were intercepted and destroyed; and about the end of the year, when the war with Holkar was brought to a triumphant close, the whole army was in motion, for the purpose of completing the destruction of this military banditti, which had so long preyed on the country, and of establishing on a solid basis, the future peace of India. It was one of the great objects of the war undertaken by the governor general, not merely to crush for ever that host of adventurers, who, under the shew of honourable war, followed the trade of robbery and murder, but also to settle, according to some fixed principle, the endless disputes among the different chieftains about their respective territorial rights and privileges, those disputes serving to keep alive in the heart of India a perpetual civil war, and to cherish among the people those habits of military licence, which were entirely subversive of good order and peace. The account of the various measures adopted for this purpose belongs, however, to the succeeding volume.

PART II.

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

PART II.

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

CHAPTER I.

BIOGRAPHY—POLITICAL.

Mr Ponsonby.—Mr Horner.—Mr Henry Erskine.—Mr Curran.—Admiral Duckworth.—Duke of Northumberland.—Duke of Marlborough.—Marshal Massena.—Cardinal Many.—Kosciusko.

THE most prominent British public character of whom death deprived the world, was Mr GEORGE PONSONBY, usually considered in parliament as the leader of opposition. This highly respectable statesman was born on the 5th March 1755, and was a branch of one of the families in Ireland most distinguished for wealth and influence. His father, brother to the Earl of Besborough, was long speaker to the Irish House of Commons, and has been described as enjoying the patronage of all Ireland. This is doubtless an exaggeration; though, in consequence of the vast influence of the landed aristocracy in that country, it has been long the system of the British ministry to rule that kingdom through the medium of one or other of its great families. The Besboroughs, after their union with the Shannons, and other

great houses, eclipsed the Beresfords, their only rivals, and for a long time enjoyed, almost exclusively, the confidence of the British government. Under these brilliant auspices, Mr Ponsonby was introduced into political life. Being possessed, however, neither of title nor fortune, his extensive influence could not be rendered effective without a profession. He entered, therefore, in one of the inns of court, and devoted himself to the bar. In two or three years, he obtained the office of prosecutor in revenue causes, with emoluments of 1200*l.* a-year. Looking forward, however, to a sure succession of high and lucrative offices, he acted more like one who had a fortune to enjoy than to acquire. A passion for hunting distracted his mind from more serious avocations. There was no appearance of his rising to

eminence as a pleader ; and he was observed to shew greater zeal in unken-
nelling a fox than in detecting a smug-
gler. About the year 1783, his pros-
pects underwent a complete reverse.
The Marquis of Buckingham, sent out
by Mr Pitt, introduced a new system
of administration. The star of Bes-
borough was now destined to sink be-
neath that of Beresford,—the Ponson-
bys lost the favour and confidence of
the crown ; and the subject of this me-
moir was deprived at once of all his
offices, both in possession and expect-
ation. This blow was rendered the
more serious, from his having two years
before married Lady Harriet Butler,
daughter to the Earl of Lanesborough ;
and he was thus left to support a fa-
mily, ranking by its connections with
the first in Ireland, upon the scanty
portion of a younger brother. This
crisis, which seemed to involve the en-
tire ruin of his prospects, proved ulti-
mately the most fortunate which could
have befallen him, and was the means
of rousing him to a state of activity
and respectability. His stud underwent
a speedy diminution ; and the courts
of law were more frequented than the
dog-kennel. Diligent application, join-
ed to a vigorous understanding, soon
enabled him to acquire a proficiency,
which, joined to his high connections,
introduced him to extensive practice ;
and the income thus earned for him-
self became speedily more ample than
that formerly secured to him by offi-
cial appointments. His success soon
emboldened him to seek a higher sphere
of exertion ; and in parliament he ren-
dered himself a formidable adversary
to those who had driven him from of-
fice. Yet, whatever might be the ad-
miration excited by his eloquence, he
was always destined, when the vote
came, to be left in the minority. On
one occasion, however, a brilliant tri-
umph was obtained. In 1789, at the
first occurrence of his late Majesty's

indisposition, Mr Pitt prevailed in Eng-
land to admit the heir-apparent to the
office of Regent, only by a bill under
strict limitations. In Ireland, on the
contrary, the efforts of Mr Ponsonby
and Mr Grattan were crowned with
success ; and his Royal Highness was
invited, by address, to assume the en-
tire and unrestricted functions of the
regal office. All the hopes, however,
which were derived from this success-
ful exertion, were disappointed by the
timely recovery of the King ; and ma-
ny who, in seeking to court the rising
sun, had mortally offended those ac-
tually in power, were now struck with
chagrin and dismay. No change, how-
ever, took place in the situation of Mr
Ponsonby, who had not swerved from
the usual line of his politics.

Ireland now assumed a portentous
aspect ; the threat of rebellion, and, to
a certain extent, its actual occurrence,
continued to shake that country for a
succession of years. Mr Ponsonby,
while he continued to censure and op-
pose the measures of government, de-
fied all suspicion as to any co-opera-
tion with the designs of the disaffect-
ed. In his character of leader of a
party, he opposed zealously, though
without success, the grand measure of
the union, proposed by Mr Pitt, as the
means of tranquillizing this unfortu-
nate country.

The sun of office at last shone on
Mr Ponsonby. On the accession to
power of the Foxe Grenville admini-
stration in 1806, he was considered as
having a just claim to the highest ho-
nours. He was created Lord Chan-
cellor of Ireland ; and though the
speedy termination of this ministry
obliged him to descend from that high
dignity, he still retained the pension of
4000*l.* a-year allowed during life to
those who have once held it. It was
remarked by his opponents, that he
had earned this pension by services of
very short duration. But it ought to

he considered, that he had finally lost his practice at the bar, to which it was understood that no one who had once presided in the first court of the kingdom could ever return. The leisure and independence thus secured, enabled him to seek a higher sphere of political action. He was returned as a member of the imperial parliament, and took an active share in its debates. After the death of Mr Fox, and the promotion of Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) to the peerage, the whig party were at a loss for a leader in the Commons; and though Mr Ponsonby could not, in point of talent, be placed on a level with those eminent men, his powers of speaking, and extensive connection, were supposed to fit him better for this place than any other individual. In this place, he rendered himself conspicuous by his moderation, which by many of his partizans was even thought to border on tameness. Candour and decorum distinguished his views; and he never anxiously courted the applause of the multitude. His address was neat, polished, and elegant;—his language plain and perspicuous. He was supposed particularly to excel in reply; and often shewed great skill in refuting the arguments, and pointing out the weak parts in the speeches of his opponents.

Although Mr Ponsonby's vigour had shewn some symptoms of decline, he continued, even during the session of the present year, actively employed in his parliamentary duties. He was named as a member of the secret committee, and concurred in the report, though he voted both against the habeas corpus and the seditious meetings bill. At length, while listening to an important debate, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, and, after lingering for a few days, expired on 8th July, 1817. He left an only daughter, married to the second son of Lord Dunally, in the county of Tipperary.

VOL. X. PART I.

Another prominent member of the British parliament, excited by his premature fate still deeper regret. FRANCIS HORNER was born on the 12th of August, 1778. His father, an extensive manufacturer, and a man of liberal and enlightened mind, spared no pains to cultivate the promising talent which his son early displayed. Being sent to the High School, he distinguished himself by that steady application, which continued to mark his character during after life. He thus maintained the station of dux of his class, and became a favourite pupil of the late Dr Adam, who was often heard to declare, that "Frank Horner had an old head upon young shoulders." At the university, he enjoyed the instructions of Stewart, Playfair, and other teachers, who gave lustre to that distinguished seminary; but the theatre perhaps, which tended beyond any other to unfold his talents and views, was the Speculative Society, of which he soon became one of the most distinguished members. There are few youthful associations of this nature which have given birth to so great a number of eminent men; but among these, the public soon distinguished Messrs Brougham, Jeffrey, and the subject of this memoir, as a triumvirate, whose splendid talents and similar pursuits promised to raise them to a conspicuous place in public life. All the three turned their attention in the first instance to the Edinburgh bar, but with very limited success. The attainment of practice at this bar is supposed to require a longer probation, than young men, conscious of superior talent are willing to pass through; and their progress was farther obstructed by the aristocratical character of the political world in Scotland, and the prevalent rumours of the bold speculations which had been agitated in the Speculative Society. They became first known to the world by the Edin-

burgh Review, the extraordinary interest excited by which was almost entirely supported by their contributions. Mr Horner confined himself nearly exclusively to the science of political economy, which the admirable work of Smith had rendered a favourite pursuit in Scotland, and which he appears to have studied more profoundly than any of his contemporaries. The pre-eminent excellence of these essays was fully acknowledged, even by those who inveighed most bitterly against other effusions of that celebrated journal. Mr Horner repaired to London, and prepared for practising before the metropolitan courts. Coming thus so closely into contact with parliamentary life, in which he felt conscious of being able to fill a distinguished place, he was not long of being attracted into that brilliant circle. Mr Horner was brought into Parliament for the borough of St Ives, and he was appointed one of the commissioners for investigating the claims on the late Nabob of Arcot, an office which, with much labour, afforded some considerable emolument. Once established in parliament, Mr Horner made his way slowly but steadily, to one of the first places in the public confidence. As a speaker, he was not remarkable for popular graces and attractions, nor for that power of working on the passions or imagination, which is properly called eloquence. The excellence of his speeches consisted in accurate reasoning, the just arrangement of the parts, clear and forcible illustration. Above all, he was distinguished by the complete degree in which he made himself master of every subject on which he addressed the House, and the deliberation with which his opinions were formed. These qualities, though not obvious at first sight, became more and more prominent in proportion to his progress in public life. In 1810, the disproportion be-

tween the value of paper and bullion, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges, excited a strong public sensation, and gave Mr Horner an opportunity of displaying his powers in that department where they were most conspicuous. In the spring of that year, he made a variety of motions and speeches, which soon shewed him to be better acquainted with this important question than any other statesman of the present day. Accordingly, when, towards the close of this session, the bullion committee was appointed, Mr Horner was placed at its head, and officiated for some time as its chairman. In the part of the report drawn up by him, as well as in his speech and resolutions on the occasion, it was his object to shew, that the difference between the value of paper and bullion had arisen mainly from the depression of the former, in consequence of its excessive issue, and of the suspension of cash payments by the bank. The remedy therefore consisted in that body gradually resuming its payments in bullion, instead of delaying them, as now proposed, till the close of the war. Long debates ensued, in which those propositions were opposed by ministers, and ultimately negatived in the House; but every thing in the appearances of Mr Horner tended to heighten the impression already received of his judgment and knowledge. From this time he took his place as one of the first class of statesmen; and whilst he commanded the warmest attachment of the party which he uniformly supported, never forfeited the respect and regard of the other. The moderation with which he always maintained his political opinions, and the tolerance shewn to those who differed most widely from them, prevented the rise of any personal animosity. It has been generally supposed, since the ranks of opposition in the House of Commons have been

so much thinned by death, or promotion to the peerage, that after the decease of Mr Ponsonby, Mr Horner would have succeeded to the place of its ostensible leader. Fate, however, had determined otherwise. The duties of a laborious profession, combined with habits of study, and with such extensive parliamentary efforts, exhausted a constitution originally deficient in vigour—symptoms of consumption made their appearance, and induced him to try the usual remedy of a warm climate; but this proved unavailing, and he expired at Pisa on the 8th of February, 1817. The character of Mr Horner was warmly and successfully drawn by several of the most distinguished members of the house, on occasion of a new writ being moved for the borough which he had represented. Our limits will only permit us to introduce extracts.

Mr Canning.—"I, sir, had not the happiness (a happiness now counterbalanced by a proportionate excess of sorrow and regret) to be acquainted personally, in private life, with the distinguished and amiable individual whose loss we have to deplore. I knew him only within the walls of the House of Commons. And even here, from the circumstance of my absence during the last two sessions, I had not the good fortune to witness the latter and more matured exhibition of his talents; which (as I am informed, and can well believe) at once kept the promise of his earlier years, and opened still wider expectations of future excellence.

"But I had seen enough of him to share in those expectations, and to be sensible of what this House and the country have lost by his being so prematurely taken from us.

"He had, indeed, qualifications eminently calculated to obtain and to deserve success. His sound principles—his enlarged views—his various and

accurate knowledge—the even tenor of his manly and temperate eloquence—the genuineness of his warmth, when into warmth he was betrayed—and, above all, the singular modesty with which he bore his faculties, and which shed a grace and lustre over them all; these qualifications, added to the known blamelessness and purity of his private character, did not more endear him to his friends, than they commanded the respect of those to whom he was opposed in adverse politics; they ensured to every effort of his abilities an attentive and favouring audience; and secured for him, as the result of all, a solid and unenvied reputation.

"I cannot conclude, sir, without adverting to a topic in the latter part of the speech of my noble friend, upon which I most entirely concur with him. It would not be seemly to mix with the mournful subject of our present meditation in any thing of a controversial nature. But when, for the second time within a short course of years, the name of an obscure borough is brought before us as vacated by the loss of conspicuous talents and character, it may be permitted to me, with my avowed and notorious opinions on the subject of parliamentary constitution, to state, without offence, that it is at least some consolation for the imputed theoretical defects of that constitution, that in practice it works so well. A system of representation cannot be wholly vicious, and altogether inadequate to its purposes, which sends to this House a succession of such men as those whom we have now in our remembrance, here to develop the talents with which God has endowed them, and to attain that eminence in the view of their country, from which they may be one day called to aid her counsels, and to sustain her greatness and her glory."

Mr Manners Sutton.—"I know not whether I ought, even for a moment,

to intrude myself on the House: I am utterly incapable of adding any thing to what has been so well, so feelingly, and so truly stated on this melancholy occasion; and yet I hope, without the appearance of presumption, I may be permitted to say, from the bottom of my heart, I share in every sentiment that has been expressed."

Mr Wynn said, "that his noble Friend (Lord Morpeth), and his Right Hon. Friend who had last spoken (Mr M. Sutton), had expressed themselves concerning their departed friend with that feeling of affection and esteem which did them so much honour, and which was heightened by their habits of intimacy, and their opportunities of observing his character; but the virtues by which he was distinguished were not confined within the circle of his acquaintance, or concealed from the view of the world. Every one who saw Mr Horner, had the means of judging of his temper, his mildness, and his personal virtues; for they were seen by all. He carried with him to public life, and into the duties and the business of his public station, all that gentleness of disposition, all that amenity of feeling, which adorned his private life, and endeared him to his private friends. Amidst the heats and contests of the House, amidst the vehemence of political discussion, amidst the greatest conflicts of opinion and opposition of judgment, he maintained the same mildness and serenity of disposition and temper. No eagerness of debate, no warmth of feeling, no enthusiasm for his own opinions, or conviction of the errors of others, ever betrayed him into any uncandid construction of motives, or any asperity towards the conduct of his opponents. His loss was great, and would long be regretted."

Sir S. Romilly said, "that the long and most intimate friendship which he

had enjoyed with the Hon. Member, whose loss the House had to deplore, might, he hoped, entitle him to the melancholy satisfaction of saying a few words on this distressing occasion. Though no person better knew, or more highly estimated, the private virtues of Mr Horner than himself, yet, as he was not sure that he should be able to utter what he felt on that subject, he would speak of him only as a public man.

"Of all the estimable qualities which distinguished his character, he considered as the most valuable, that independence of mind which in him was so remarkable. It was from a consciousness of that independence, and from a just sense of its importance, that, at the same time that he was storing his mind with the most various knowledge on all subjects connected with our internal economy and foreign politics, and that he was taking a conspicuous and most successful part in all the great questions which have lately been discussed in Parliament, he laboriously devoted himself to all the painful duties of his profession. Though his success at the bar was not at all adequate to his merits, he yet steadfastly persevered in his labours, and seemed to consider it as essential to his independence, that he should look forward to his profession alone for the honours and emoluments to which his extraordinary talents gave him so just a claim.

"In the course of the last twelve years the House had lost some of the most considerable men that ever had enlightened and adorned it: there was this, however, peculiar in their present loss. When those great and eminent men to whom he alluded were taken from them, the House knew the whole extent of the loss it had sustained, for they had arrived at the full maturity of their great powers and endowments."

But no person could recollect—how, in every year since his lamented friend had first taken part in their debates, his talents had been improving, his faculties had been developed, and his commanding eloquence had been rising with the important subjects on which it had been employed—how every session he had spoken with still increasing weight and authority and effect, and had called forth new resources of his enlightened and comprehensive mind—and not be led to conjecture, that, notwithstanding the great excellence which, in the last session, he had attained, yet if he had been longer spared, he would have discovered powers not yet discovered to the House, and of which perhaps he was unconscious himself. He should very ill express what he felt upon this occasion, if he were to consider the extraordinary qualities which Mr Horner possessed, apart from the ends and objects to which they were directed. The greatest eloquence was in itself only an object of vain and transient admiration; it was only when ennobled by the uses to which it was applied, when directed to great and virtuous ends, to the protection of the oppressed, to the enfranchisement of the enslaved, to the extension of knowledge, to dispelling the clouds of ignorance and superstition, to the advancement of the best interests of the country, and to enlarge the sphere of human happiness, that it became a national benefit and a public blessing; that it was because the powerful talents, of which they were now deprived, had been uniformly exerted in the pursuit and promoting of such objects, that he considered the loss which they had to lament as one of the greatest which, in the present state of this country, it could possibly have sustained."

Lord Lascelles "hoped to be excused for adding a few words to what had

been said, though he had not the honour of a private acquaintance with Mr Horner, whom he knew only in this House, where they had almost uniformly voted on opposite sides on every great question. Notwithstanding these differences, he had often said in private that Mr Horner was one of the greatest ornaments of his country; and he would now say in public, that the country could not have suffered a greater loss. The forms of Parliament allowed no means of expressing the collective opinions of the House, on the honour due to his memory; but it must be consolatory to his friends to see that if it had been possible to have come to such a vote, it would certainly have been unanimous."

HENRY ERSKINE, long the most distinguished Advocate at the Scottish bar, was third son to Henry David, last Earl of Buchan. The family of Buchan is of considerable antiquity, and has held many high hereditary offices, as well as made some figure in the history of Scotland. At this time, however, the patrimonial estate attached to the title had become extremely limited. This circumstance induced Lord and Lady Buchan to fix their residence at St Andrews, where they found an agreeable retirement, and could educate their children at an University which has produced a great number of distinguished characters. Lady Buchan, a daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness, was a woman of very superior character and intelligence, and to her instructions may be in a great measure ascribed the eminence to which her family afterwards attained. The eldest, so well known in Scotland as the inheritor of the family title, has been chiefly devoted to the pursuits of literature, and has sought to distinguish himself as a patron of science and art; while Thomas, the youngest, after devoting

himself to a military life, rose to the first eminence at the English bar, and attained the office of Lord Chancellor. Henry, the second son, after beginning his education at St Andrews, completed it at Glasgow and Edinburgh, and became a member of the Scottish bar in 1768, when he had only attained the age of twenty-two. His powers of oratory were soon acknowledged in all the theatres which Edinburgh afforded. One of the earliest was that called the Forum, a promiscuous assemblage of the inhabitants, for the purpose of debate. It was carried on for some years with great spirit, being mainly supported by the speeches of Mr Erskine, after being quitted by whom, it rapidly dwindled away. Some attempts indeed have lately been made to revive it, but under inferior auspices. The General Assembly of the Church, the only deliberative body now remaining in Scotland, formed a more respectable theatre, into which Mr Erskine, who was strongly attached both to the doctrines and discipline of the national church, entered with considerable zeal. But it was in his professional career, that his efforts as a speaker were chiefly exerted; and he continued for many years the most brilliant ornament of the Scottish bar. If some equalled, or even surpassed him in depth of legal knowledge, he was at least unrivalled in variety of illustration, knowledge of literature, and of human life, and in the coruscations of wit, which frequently amid the gravest discussions set the bench in a roar. Yet those ornaments were so well disposed, and kept so completely under the controul of sound judgment, that they seemed always to illustrate, instead of obscuring the argument. Although depth and solidity could not be considered as his characteristic excellencies, yet his advice was on many occasions greatly valued, parti-

cularly in unravelling the difficulties of an intricate case. It, as well as his tongue, were ever at the service of indigent and deserving clients. It is mentioned that a writer in a remote part of Scotland, representing to a needy client the impossibility of contending at law with a wealthy neighbour, the other replied: "Ye dinna ken what ye say, maister: there's nae a puir man in Scotland need to want a friend, or fear an enemy, while Henry Erskine lives." During a long period of his career, he shone as a rival advocate to Blair, the late illustrious President of the Court of Session, a man of equal powers as a lawyer, but whose grave, dignified, and impressive tone of pleading, formed the most striking contrast with the lively and excursive oratory of his opponent. Mr Erskine did not shine less in the society of Edinburgh, and was long considered its most brilliant ornament. In wit, he was judged superior to any Scotsman of his time, though perhaps rather too much of it belonged to that inferior species called punning. Many sallies of this kind form still, in their repetition, the amusement of Edinburgh society, though they are too much connected with circumstances of time and place, to render them communicable to the public in general.

Another sphere, in which Mr Erskine actively moved, was that of politics. Here he embraced decidedly the side of whiggism, at a time when the opposite principles were very predominant in Scotland. In 1782, on the accession to power of the Rockingham administration, he was raised to the office of Lord Advocate, the highest which can be held by a practitioner at the bar, and including in some degree the functions of Minister for Scotland. During the high tide of politics which flowed during the early periods of the French Revolution, such offence was

taken at his conduct, that by a vote of the Faculty of Advocates, he was removed from the honourable, though not lucrative office of their Dean. On the accession of the whigs to power in 1806, he resumed during their short ministry, the office of Lord Advocate, but did not obtain any permanent appointment. We know, however, that in 1803, on the death of Lord Eskgrove, he was offered the situation of Lord Justice Clerk (President of the Criminal Court,) being the second situation on the bench. Honourably, though, we think, injudiciously, he declined this liberal offer, and refused to receive an appointment from persons with whose political opinions he was at variance. Soon after this his health began to decline, and in 1814, finding his constitution entirely broken, and having raised an independence by his professional exertions, he withdrew from the bar, and spent the rest of his life in the beautiful retirement of Ammondale, near Mid-Calder, about twelve miles to the west of Edinburgh. The ground of this villa originally formed part of the family estate, and was purchased by him from his brother, the Earl of Buchan. He had created it himself, and took inexhaustible delight, not only in rural scenery, but in the simplest country occupations. He was from this time, however, a prey to constant maladies, which frequently obliged him to repair to England. At length medical aid proved unavailing, and on the 1st of October, 1817, he expired at Ammondale in the 71st year of his age.

The following elegant character is understood to come from the pen of Mr Jeffrey :

“ In his long and splendid career at the bar, Mr Erskine was distinguished not only by the peculiar brilliancy of his wit, and the gracefulness, ease, and vivacity of his eloquence, but by the

still rarer power of keeping those seducing qualities in perfect subordination to his judgment. By their assistance, he could not only make the most repulsive subjects agreeable, but the most abstruse easy and intelligible. In his profession, indeed, all his wit was argument, and each of his delightful illustrations a material step in his reasoning. To himself, it seemed always as if they were recommended rather for their use than their beauty. And unquestionably they often enabled him to state a fine argument or a nice distinction, not only in a more striking and pleasing way, but actually with greater precision, than could have been attained by the severer forms of reasoning.

“ In this extraordinary talent, as well as in the charming facility of his eloquence, and the constant radiance of good humour and gaiety which encircled his manner in debate, he had no rival in his own times, and has yet had no successor. That part of eloquence is now mute,—that honour in abeyance.

“ As a politician, he was eminently distinguished for the two great virtues of inflexible steadiness to his principles, and invariable gentleness and urbanity in his manner of asserting them. Such, indeed, was the habitual sweetness of his temper, and the fascination of his manners, that, though placed, by his rank and talent, in the obnoxious station of a leader of Opposition, at a period when political animosities were carried to a lamentable height, no individual, it is believed, was ever known to speak or to think of him with any thing approaching to personal hostility. In return, it may be said with equal correctness, that though baffled in some of his pursuits, and not quite handsomely disappointed of some of the honours to which his claim was universally admitted, he never allowed

the slightest shade of discontent to rest upon his mind, nor the least drop of bitterness to mingle with his blood. He was so utterly incapable of rancour, that even the rancorous felt that he ought not to be made its victim.

“He possessed, in an eminent degree, that deep sense of revealed religion, and that zealous attachment to the Presbyterian Establishment, which had long been hereditary in his family. His habits were always strictly moral and temperate, and in the latter part of his life even abstemious. Though the life and the ornament of every society into which he entered, he was always most happy and most delightful at home, where the buoyancy of his spirits, and the kindness of his heart, found all that they required of exercise or enjoyment; and though without taste for expensive pleasures in his own person, he was ever most indulgent and munificent to his children, and a liberal benefactor to all who depended on his bounty.

“He finally retired from the exercise of that profession, the highest honours of which he had at least *deserved*, about the year 1812, and spent the remainder of his days in domestic retirement, at that beautiful villa which had been formed by his own taste, and in the improvement and adornment of which he found his latest occupation. Passing, then, at once, from all the bustle and excitement of a public life to a scene of comparative inactivity, he never felt one moment of ennui or dejection; but retained unimpaired, till within a day or two of his death, not only all his intellectual activity and social affections, but, when not under the immediate affliction of a painful and incurable disease, all that gaiety of spirit, and all that playful and kindly sympathy with innocent enjoyment, which made him the idol of the young, and the object of cordial attachment

and unenvying admiration to his friends of all ages.”

The following is stated to come from the pen of a friend :

“The character of Mr Erskine’s eloquence bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother, (Lord Erskine) but being much less *diffusive*, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression : he had the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers masters of the view he took of his subject ; which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands ; for, to professional knowledge of the highest order, he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science ; and a thorough conversancy with human life and moral and political philosophy. The writer of this article has witnessed, with pleasure and astonishment, the widely different emotions excited by the amazing powers of his oratory ; fervid and affecting in the extremest degree, when the occasion called for it ; and no less powerful, in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit, and the brilliancy of comic humour, which constantly excited shouts of laughter throughout the precincts of the Court,—the mirthful glee even extending itself to the ermined sages, who found too much amusement in the scene to check the fascinating actor of it. He assisted the great powers of his understanding by an indefatigable industry, not commonly annexed to extraordinary genius ; and he kept his mind open for the admission of knowledge, by the most unaffected modesty of deportment. The harmony of his periods, and the accuracy of his expressions, in his most unpremeditated speeches, were not among

the least of his oratorical accomplishments.

"In the most rapid of his flights, when his tongue could scarce keep pace with his thoughts, he never failed to seize the choicest words in the treasury of our language. The apt, beautiful, and varied images which constantly decorated his judicial addresses, suggested themselves instantaneously, and appeared, like the soldiers of Cadmus, in complete armour and array to support the cause of their creator, the most remarkable feature of whose eloquence was, that it never made him swerve by one hair-breadth from the minuter details most befitting his purpose; for, with matchless skill, he rendered the most dazzling oratory subservient to the uses of consummate *special pleading*, so that his prudence and sagacity as an advocate, were as decisive as his speeches were splendid. In person Mr Erskine was above the middle size, well proportioned, but slender; his features were all *character*, and most strikingly expressive of the rare qualities of his *mind*. In early life his carriage was remarkably graceful—dignified and impressive as occasion required it; in manner he was gentle, playful, and unassuming, and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination to fix, and enchain it. His voice was powerful and melodious, his enunciation uncommonly accurate and distinct, and there was a peculiar *grace* in his utterance which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of it indelibly on the minds of his hearers."

Mr Erskine was first married to Christina, daughter of George Fullarton, Esq. Collector of the Customs at Leith, by whom he had three daughters, (one of whom died young,) and two sons. She died in 1804, and he

afterwards married Mrs Turnbull, formerly Miss Munro, an extremely amiable and accomplished lady, who survived him.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN was born on the 24th July, 1750, at Newmarket, an obscure town in the county of Cork in Ireland. His parents were in humble circumstances, but his father is said to have been a man of some learning, and his mother was distinguished by a strong masculine understanding. His own account was:—"The only inheritance I could boast of from my poor father, was the very scanty one of an unattractive face and person like his own; and if the world has ever attributed to me something more valuable than either face or person, or mere earthly wealth, it was, that another and a dearer parent gave her child a portion from the treasure of her mind." The indications of capacity which John early displayed, so strongly affected Mr Boyse, the clergyman of the place, that he took him into his house, and gave him the rudiments of learning. He was then sent to the free school of Middleton, where he prepared himself to become a student of Trinity College Dublin. He went thither at the somewhat late age of nineteen, but soon distinguished himself by his proficiency in classical studies, for which he ever after retained a taste. The ambition of his parents, in which he originally acquiesced, was, that he should be a clergyman; but after a short residence at College, his own taste, and the advice of his fellow-students, induced him to prefer the bar. This change was a deep disappointment to his mother, who, when congratulated on her son's abilities, would exclaim, "Oh, yes! but it breaks my heart to think what a noble preacher was lost to the church, when John disappointed us all, and insisted on being

a lawyer." When congratulated on his having reached the first honours of the law, she replied, "Don't speak to me of judges; John was fit for any thing; and had he but followed our advice, it might hereafter be written upon my tomb, that I had died the mother of a bishop." At college, young Curran had the reputation of being "very clever and very wild," and being full of "wit, and fun, and fire," his convivial society was eagerly courted. He was thus engaged in many of those schemes of extravagant frolic, prevalent in this University, and which, besides placing him sometimes in awkward situations, led to frequent pecuniary embarrassments, always borne, however, with gaiety and good humour. He made, notwithstanding, many respectable friends, among whom the ablest appears to have been one Apjohn, of whom he himself says, "his abilities and attainments were so many and so rare, that if they could have been distributed among a dozen ordinary persons, the shares of each would have promoted him to the rank of a man of talent." A premature death prevented him from being known to the world.

From the University, Mr Curran went over to London, and became a student of law in the Society of the Middle Temple. He appears here for some time at least to have studied hard, and led a retired life. "I never thought," says he, "solitude could lean so heavily on me as I find it does: I rise, most commonly, in the morning between five and six, and read as much as my eyes will permit me till dinner-time; I then go out and dine, and from that till bed-time I mope about between my lodgings and the Park." From a combined view to economy and amusement, he used to frequent the inferior eating houses; and in one of his letters gives a view of London politics, which is curious, as coming from him.

"Here," says he, "every coal-porter is a politician, and vends his maxims in public with all the importance of a man who thinks he is exerting himself for the public service: he claims the privilege of looking as wise as possible, and of talking as loud, of damning the ministry, and abusing the king, with less reserve than he would his own equal. Yet, little as these poor people understand of the liberty they contend so warmly for, or the measures they rail against, it reconciles one to their absurdity, by considering that they are happy at so small an expence as being ridiculous; and they certainly receive more pleasure from the power of abusing, than they would from the reformation of what they condemn."

It was during Mr Curran's residence in London, that his power of speaking, hitherto unknown to himself, first displayed itself. At college he shewed a hurried and confused utterance, which made him get the name of "stuttering Jack Curran;" and even those who formed the highest ideas of his success at the bar, conceived that it would be only as a chamber counsel. A small debating club being formed at the Temple, he undertook one evening to open the debate. He says, "I stood up—the question was the Catholic claims or the slave trade, I protest I now forget which, but the difference, you know, was never very obvious—my mind was stored with about a folio volume of matter, but I wanted a preface, and for want of a preface the volume was never published. I stood up, trembling through every fibre; but remembering that in this I was but imitating Tully, I took courage, and had actually proceeded almost as far as 'Mr Chairman,' when to my astonishment and terror, I perceived that every eye was rivetted upon me. There were only six or seven present, and the little room could not have contained as many

more ; yet was it, to my panic-struck imagination, as if I were the central object in nature, and assembled millions were gazing upon me in breathless expectation. I became dismayed and dumb ; my friends cried ‘ hear him ! ’ but there was nothing to hear.” He ventured, however, to a large theatre, called “ the Devils of Temple-bar,” where, however, he long confined himself chiefly to eye and ear, “ those material elements of Parliamentary eloquence.” At length, one evening when fortified by a good dinner and an extra glass of punch, and provoked by the absurdity and taunts of one of the speakers, he burst forth and produced an oration, which procured the applause of the assembly, and was honoured, according to the usage of this learned body, with an invitation to a supper of cheese and porter. The spell being thus broken, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the improvement of his talents for oratory. His enunciation was naturally impeded, his voice shrill, and his accent strongly provincial, or (to use his own expression) “ in a state of nature ;” to remove these defects, he adopted the practice of daily reading aloud, slowly and distinctly, and of most studiously observing and imitating the tones and manner of more skillful speakers. The success of this exercise and study was so complete, that among his most unrivalled excellencies as an orator, were the clearness of his articulation, and a peculiar, uninterrupted, graduated intonation ; which, whatever was the subject, whether tender or impassioned, melodised every period. His person was without dignity or grace—short, slender, and inelegantly proportioned. To attain an action, that might conceal as much as possible these deficiencies, he recited perpetually before a mirror, and selected the gesticulation that he thought

best adapted to his imperfect stature. To habituate his mind to extemporaneous fluency, he not only regularly attended the debating clubs of London, but, both before and after his admission to the bar, resorted to a system of solitary exercise, of which the irksomeness cannot be well appreciated by those who have never practised it. He either extracted a case from his books, or proposed to himself some original question ; and this he used to debate alone, with the same anxious attention to argument and to diction, as if he were discussing it in open court. Mr Curran’s learning was never considered as profound ; yet, besides great classical knowledge, he became familiar with the popular French and English authors. He made ever and anon vigorous plunges at the law, the repetition of which at length produced a competent knowledge. One of his favourite studies was the Holy Scriptures, which, independent of higher claims, he particularly admired as literary compositions. He drew from them frequent allusions in his speeches, and particularly derived from them a power of solemn obtestation, that proved peculiarly effective in the awful circumstances under which he was sometimes called upon to plead.

Mr Curran came to the bar in 1775. An eminent judge laid it down as a principle that a man, to excel as a lawyer, must be without a shilling. Besides the full profession of this primary requisite, Mr Curran had too many others not to be fully assured of success. Yet he displayed at first the same timidity which had been so striking in his youthful attempts at oratory. The first brief he received, when opened, dropped from his hands, and a friend who stood by was left to read it. His mouth, however, was soon opened, and he never after gave any room to consider timidity as one of his

faults. It is remarkable also, that all his orations were pronounced extempore, or at least with only the preparation of a few hasty notes. Those made previous to some of his most celebrated speeches do not exceed four or five lines. He soon acquired the reputation of the most eloquent speaker that had ever appeared at the Irish bar. His oratory has never been fully appreciated on our side of the water. His speeches, never written out by himself, have been always imperfectly reported, and were probably better suited in themselves for extemporaneous delivery, than for being deliberately read. Irish pleading, too, differs widely in its style from the gravity and technicality of the English, or even from the more free expanded reasoning of the Scottish. It is filled with the boldest flights of passion and fancy, marked by a tone of violent and airy exaggeration, which no other nation could tolerate. It is seasoned, moreover, with a kind of broad humour, which we can scarcely relish. But what most astonishes us, is the strain of personality which then at least pervaded it. The barrister loaded with abuse not only the cause, but the private character of his opponent; and not unfrequently the two parties passed direct from the bar to the field, to decide the contest with deadlier weapons. Nor were these invectives confined to the barrister, but were often, behind a very thin veil, pointed directly against the judge. Such a proceeding, besides its indecency, was so manifestly ruinous to the client, that one would think it must have been soon discouraged. On the contrary, among this bold-spirited people, such flights served only to give distinction to an advocate. Mr Curran is said to have derived a considerable accession of practice in consequence of an attack on Judge Robertson, who had thrown out a sarcasm on the smallness of his

library; Mr Curran, who knew him to be the author of some anonymous political pamphlets, replied, "his library might be small, but he thanked heaven that among his books there were none of the wretched productions of the frantic pamphletteers of the day. I find it more instructive, my lord, to study good works than to compose bad ones; my books may be few, but the title pages give me the writers' names; my shelf is not disgraced by any of such rank absurdity, that their very authors are ashamed to own them." Not less strange would it appear to a British audience, to hear the pleader endeavouring to conciliate the judge by recalling the early days of social intercourse they had passed together, and their youthful companions now deceased; and to see the two weeping and sobbing in concert.

The Irish lawyers who rose to any eminence in their profession, usually aspired to make a figure in public life, and from the greater rarity of information among the gentry, in general, they obtained a higher place in Parliament than the same class in England. The period was critical; the country, during the greater part of his career, being torn by the utmost violence of contending factions. Ireland had been always an unfortunate and suffering country. England, from the first, acted to her more or less the part of a step-mother; and the revolution, so auspicious to the rest of the empire, brought to her a great accession of evil. Her Catholic population, and attachment to the Stuarts, placed her in a hostile attitude to the sister country; and even the whigs, the advocates of liberty, were the foremost in imposing restraints and penalties upon Ireland. The state of landed property, and the relations which habit had established between landlord and tenant, were perhaps a more prolific and irremedia-

ble source of misery. In 1782, Ireland obtained an independent Parliament, and a free trade; but notwithstanding these great boons, her people remained still dissatisfied. The French revolution kindled the fire into a blaze. Extensive associations were formed for effecting a separation from England, and creating a republic. An executive directory was appointed, in imitation of France; and the mass of the nation busied themselves in acquiring the use of arms, preparatory to the grand approaching struggle. In these circumstances, two violently opposed parties were formed in the national councils. One maintained that concession, even in itself reasonable, would at the present moment only embolden the malcontents, and that the true policy was to overawe them by a display of power and severity. The other called for conciliation, and insisted that by granting the overt demands of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, all that was dangerous in the public discontent would be appeased. Without inquiring whether this last opinion could be held justly, we conceive there is no doubt it could be held honestly. By Mr. Curran it was adopted with the most enthusiastic and devoted zeal. He espoused the cause of the people less, it has been said, with the warmth of a patriot, than with the romantic idolatry of a lover. His temper, ardent, generous, and impatient of controul, naturally inclined him to it; and his mind was always bound by the closest ties to that class from among whom he rose. Most of his leisure was spent at Newmarket, where he maintained the most intimate connection with all classes of the inhabitants. On his arrival there, his house was instantly crowded, and he was hailed by varied greetings, some in English, some in Irish, and some in a mixture of both languages; while others

appeared by deputy, being at that moment "in trouble;" that is, imprisoned for some misdemeanour—from the efforts of which they wished "the Counsellor's" aid in relieving them. Both in the courts of Dublin and in the circuits, he held constant intercourse with the lower orders, and his familiar and accessible manners rendered him, as it were, their personal acquaintance. Among the whole body, accordingly, the admiration of his talents and attachment to his person were almost unbounded. His person and character were so purely national, that, forgetting the difference of rank, they fondly considered him as *one of themselves*, and viewed his success as their own triumph.

Mr Curran appeared with distinction in parliament, but did not reach the same eminence as Mr Ponsonby and Mr Grattan. His time was much engrossed by professional pursuits, and he wanted probably those powers of solid and regular debate, which are requisite on such a theatre. He acted rather as a light skirmisher in aiding the movements of others. His present views soon involved him in open hostility with Mr Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, and Chancellor of Ireland, with whom he had begun life on a friendly footing. At Mr Curran's first appearance in the House of Commons, Mr Fitzgibbon undertook to "put down the young patriot;" and, among other things, called him "a puny babbler;" Mr Curran replied in a strain of such keen invective, that a duel immediately followed. Their enmity continued; and Lord Clare, when he became Chancellor, was so illiberal as to mark it, by excluding Mr Curran from practice in his court. The barrister, however, seized an opportunity of revenge, when called to plead before the privy council, in a case between the parliament and the city of Dublin. He

then, under a slight veil, drew a character of Lord Clare, so keenly satirical, as delighted the by-standers, and extorted visible marks of agitation from the object of it.

The rebellion now came, and proved the brilliant and fatal theatre of glory to Mr Curran. He was, at this time, strongly urged by the administration, particularly by Lord Kilwarden, to change his party. "I tell you," said the latter, "that you have attached yourself to a desperate faction, that will abandon you at last, with whom you have nothing to expect but danger and disappointment; with us, how different would be your condition?" Mr Curran, however, replied, "that he knew better than his friend could do, the men with whom he was associated; that they were *not* a desperate faction; that their cause was that of Ireland; and that, even though it should be eventually branded with the indelible stigma of failure, he would never regret that it was with such men, and such a course, that he had linked his final destinies." He now undertook successively the defence of all the unfortunate men who, before, during, and after the rebellion, were arraigned for high-treason. Never could more splendid occasions be offered to that impassioned and pathetic eloquence in which he excelled. The crime of the sufferers was not of a nature to exclude interest in their fate, which was often accompanied by the most affecting private circumstances; and, though the guilt was usually undoubted, yet the impure character of the *quondam* associates by whose evidence they were convicted, and the disposition of the judges to overlook the strict forms of justice, afforded ample ground for acuteness and argument. On one occasion, a clash of arms was heard in the court, evidently directed in a menacing manner against the pleader, who called out, "You

may assassinate, but you shall not intimidate me;" but the noise was immediately silenced by the rebuke of the judge. The effect of these speeches was heightened by their being pronounced often at midnight, by the glare of torches, and amid crowds of spectators, whose agitated looks and gestures shewed them to have been sharers in the deeds which were now in judgment. The trial of Hamilton Rowan was the first and most celebrated of these occasions; it was followed by those of Jackson, Finnerty, Finney, (in which he succeeded,) the Sheareses, M'Cann, Byrne, Bond. The insurrection of 1808, marked by the atrocious murder of Lord Kilwarden, was attended with circumstances peculiarly painful to Mr Curran. Mr Robert Emmett, its original contriver, a young man of high accomplishments and amiable manners, had been a visitor of Mr Curran's, and, unknown to him, had formed an attachment to his youngest daughter. His apprehension took place in consequence of an attempt to see, for the last time, the object of his affections. These particulars appearing from his papers, a warrant was issued to search Mr Curran's house, when several letters were found, proving Emmett's share in the insurrection, and which were afterwards used on his trial. This was to Mr Curran the first intimation of the attachment of his daughter to Emmett, and he felt deeply the advantage which his enemies might make of such a circumstance. He immediately waited upon Mr O'Grady, the attorney-general, and tendered his person and papers to abide any inquiry which government might direct. That gentleman received him in the most friendly manner, and went with him to the privy council, when it appeared, that all the circumstances could be explained without the possibility of an unfavourable conjecture.

The next crisis of Mr Curran's life occurred in 1806, when his political friends came into power. By an arrangement then made, upon the retirement of Sir Michael Smith, he was appointed Master of the Rolls. This might in some respects be considered a fortunate situation, since it remained with him, after the speedy removal of his friends from office. He was not satisfied, however, and wished for one to which greater political power and influence should be attached. In the experience of this employment, also, he found his spirits flag extremely, from the want of that bustle and excitement in which he had been for twenty years involved, and which was suited to his character. In order to keep his mind in activity, he thought of literary employments, and projected memoirs of his life, and even a novel; but his aversion to written composition was so invincible, that he never could make any progress. He endeavoured to enliven his time by visits to London, to Paris, and to Scotland. The society of the two former places he greatly disliked; of the latter, we are happy to say, his opinion was very much to the contrary. In 1814, he resigned his office in favour of Sir James M'Mahon, and spent the rest of his life chiefly in the neighbourhood of London. His constitution at length gave way under repeated paralytic affections, and he died on 13th November 1817. He left three sons and two daughters.

JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH was the son of the Rev. Henry Duckworth, rector of Fulmer, in Buckinghamshire, and was born at Leatherhead, Surry, in 1748. He entered the navy at the age of eleven, and continued in it eleven years, till, in 1770, he obtained the rank of lieutenant. He was present at the engagement with Count d'Estaigne, and was covered with the blood of a negro, shot by his side. He was soon

after appointed master and commander of the Rover sloop-of-war. Being soon after obliged to bring the vessel home in a sickly state, and encountering a difficult passage, he distinguished himself by humanity and care towards his crew. The peace which occurred soon after, threw Captain Duckworth out of employment for a number of years; but when war broke out in 1793, he was immediately appointed to the Orion of 74 guns. He was present at Lord Howe's victory of the 1st of June, and his name occurs in the list of those who distinguished themselves on that occasion. In 1798, he was employed in the attack on Minorca, and though provided with very inadequate means, succeeded, by his boldness and enterprise, in capturing that strongly fortified island, which had always, we know not why, been an object of British ambition. Being afterwards employed on the Leeward Islands, on the breaking out of war with the northern powers, he was directed to reduce several of those belonging to Denmark. His conduct in this service afforded so much satisfaction, that he received the honour of knighthood, with a pension of 1000l. a-year. The short suspension of hostilities in 1802, was spent by the admiral in the bosom of his family; but the speedy renewal of war called him again into active service. After cruising for some time off Cadiz, he set out with a squadron for St Domingo, in order to intercept a fleet which the French had dispatched for the succour of that important colony. He came up with them in the bay of St Domingo, and, notwithstanding all the attempts made by the French admiral to escape, he was overtaken by the activity of Sir John, and his whole squadron, consisting of five sail of the line, after a sharp conflict, destroyed or taken. Two ran on shore, the other three were carried into Jamaica. On this occasion, Admiral Duckworth received the unanimous

thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was presented by the corporation of London with a sword of the value of 200 guineas. When the war on the continent broke out in 1806, he was sent into the Mediterranean, with the view of compelling Turkey to desist from her operations against Russia, which weakened the efforts of that power in the common cause. This object was to be effected by a naval attack on Constantinople; and the British fleet actually succeeded in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, notwithstanding the forts by which it was guarded; but its force was then found insufficient to effect any further object. The expedition thus entirely failed; but the public were inclined to impute the blame less to the admiral, than to the planners, who had weakened his force by detaching a great part of it, without motive or object, to attack Alexandria. Admiral Duckworth, during the rest of his life, commanded on the Newfoundland and Plymouth stations. He died on the 14th April 1817, leaving the reputation of a great, humane, and experienced commander. Near the end of his life, he had the affliction of losing an only son, a colonel in the army of the Duke of Wellington in Spain.

Death during this year ceased not its havoc among the great ones of the earth. In this year died the DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND, bearing a name which recalls all the pomp of the feudal ages, combined with a fortune which enabled him to emulate royal splendour. He possessed also more personal merit than is usually attached to such favourable circumstances of birth and fortune. Though disappointed, very unhand-
somely as he thought, by ministry, in the nomination of a governor to Tyne-mouth fort, he volunteered his services on occasion of the American war, where he distinguished himself on several oc-

casions. At the battle of Lexington, he came opportunely to the succour of Colonel Smith; and General Gage, in his dispatch, observed, "that too much praise cannot be given to Lord Percy for his remarkable activity during the whole day." On his return to England he was well received by ministers, and appointed first Colonel, and then Lieutenant-general. A proposition was even made to place him at the head of the commission sent out to treat with the American government; but this proposal failed, in consequence of Lord Percy demanding the honour of the Garter before setting out, while ministers only promised it after his return. On the 6th June, 1786, he succeeded to the title of Duke of Northumberland. He had been married in 1764, at the age of twenty-one, to Lady Anne Stuart, third daughter of the Earl of Bute. This union proved unfortunate, and was dissolved by parliament in March 1779. He was afterwards married to the beautiful Miss Burrell, whom he met at Spa, when she particularly excited his admiration by her filial care of Sir Peter Burrell her father, who had repaired thither for the benefit of his health. The duke, after his accession to the title, spent most of his time in the bosom of his family. Though his general support was given to Mr Pitt, he maintained always an independent character, and was often found voting against the minister. While managing his affairs with order and economy, he maintained all the pomp suited to his high rank. Alnwick Castle, the seat attached to his vast domains, Northumberland-house, his town residence, and the beautiful villa of Sion on the Thames, were all enlarged and improved by him. At Alnwick, he kept up an image of the feudal times, by holding two or three days of the week as public days, in which his table was open to all who chose to enter. The "Percy tenantry" composed a formidable bo-

dy of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, equipped and paid by himself. He gave also great attention to the improvement of his estates and the comfort of his tenants. During a great part of his life, he was subject to habitual ill health, which obliged him repeatedly to seek the milder climate of Lisbon. At length his constitution yielded to repeated attacks, and he expired on the 10th of July 1817.

The name of MARLBOROUGH, though not so ancient as that of Northumberland, recalls still higher ideas of British glory. GEORGE, the third Duke, was born on the 26th January, 1738. He originally entered upon the military life, a natural destination, which, however, he soon quitted, and devoted himself entirely to peaceful pursuits. Having repaired to Italy, he employed himself, under the advice of Mr Jennings, the celebrated connoisseur, in collecting a noble cabinet of antiques, paying large sums for many of the specimens. On his return, he added to his cabinet fine cameos and intaglios of the Arundelian collection. His Marriage of Cupid and Psyche was pronounced, by Horace Walpole, to be "the finest remain of ancient sculpture of that kind." The cabinet was engraved, at the Duke's expence, by Bartolozzi, and formed a most splendid work, in two volumes, which, however, was not published, but only presented to some public institutions, and a few distinguished virtuosi. He bestowed also much care in the ornament of Blenheim, employing, for this purpose, the celebrated planner, known by the name of *Capability* Browne. A magnificent wall was made to enclose a vast extent of ornamented country, including farms, parks, gardens, and all the varieties of rural scenery. The landscape had before wanted water, but the stream of the Glyme was now turned into it, and was made to expand

into a lake of two or three hundred acres in extent. The Duke likewise shewed always a taste for the mathematical sciences, particularly astronomy. He had a splendid observatory fitted up at Blenheim; and he presented to the University of Oxford one of the finest and largest telescopes which London artists could produce. He was a generous contributor to the wants of the neighbouring peasantry, and to the public charities of the city and county. He had been feeling the infirmities of advanced age, but was not supposed in any immediate danger, when, on the morning of the 30th January, he was found dead in his bed, in the 79th year of his age.

In looking abroad, the most eminent deceased character appears to be Marshal MASSENA. In the absence of Buonaparte, he ranks as the oldest and most illustrious of that series of great military commanders who have adorned the recent annals of France. He was born at Nice, in 1755, of humble parents. He did not enter the military service till the commencement of the revolutionary war, when he obtained the place of an inferior officer, and served during the invasion of Piedmont, in 1793. He soon distinguished himself, and, in an army where merit commanded speedy promotion, was successively raised to the situations of superior officer, general of brigade, and general of division. In 1795, he commanded, under Buonaparte, the right wing of the army of Italy, and during that splendid campaign, which laid the foundation to the latter of fame and greatness, Massena afforded such effectual aid, that the general-in-chief used to call him, "the favourite child of fortune." He appeared first as a separate commander in 1799, at a most critical period for the French revolutionary government. The campaign had been most disastrous; Jour-

dan and Moreau were obliged to retreat before the Archduke Charles, and the Russians, under Suwarrow, had driven the French entirely out of Italy. A fresh army of that nation, under Korsakoff, was now traversing Switzerland, for the purpose of marching directly upon Paris. Massena met him, and a dreadful battle ensued, which, after lasting three days, terminated in the total overthrow of the hitherto unconquered Russians. In 1800, after the return of Buonaparte, Massena commanded in Italy, and was obliged, with a vast inferiority of force, to make head against Melas. He exerted all the resources of skill and bravery in the defence of Genoa, and maintained his ground till Napoleon, with a fresh army, arrived in Italy, and decided the campaign by the battle of Marengo. In 1805, while Buonaparte led in person the grand army into Germany, he entrusted that of Italy to Massena, who was there opposed to the Archduke Charles. The entire overthrow and destruction of Mack, however, rendered it impossible for the Archduke to hazard a conflict. He retreated without loss, and even repulsed his rival at Caldiero, so that Massena had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, but joined the grand army, and was present at Austerlitz. After this, he was for some time unemployed, and it was suspected that his long-established military reputation, only rivalled by that of Moreau, inspired jealousy into Napoleon, who preferred entrusting commands to officers of his own raising. Still his services were called for when any urgent necessity arose. Such was that of the Austrian war in 1809. At the first memorable attempt to pass the Danube, Massena commanded the 5th corps, and took a most active part in covering the retreat of the army, after their disastrous repulse. On this occasion his merit was warmly acknowledged, and he obtained the

title of Prince of Essling, in addition to that which he had formerly borne, of Duke of Rivoli. His next employment was at the head of the army destined to drive the English out of Portugal. It has been alleged, that this undertaking was pitched upon with a presentiment of its ill success, and in contemplation of the loss which his reputation might sustain from the failure. Certain it is, that the campaign was unfortunate. At first, indeed, the English army retreated before him; but he was unable to gain any advantage over it, or finally to make any impression on its lines in front of Lisbon. At last he was obliged to retreat, and baffled in his attempts to relieve Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, which were retaken before his eyes. Yet he never was reproached with any important errors; and the campaign was judged, by military men, rather to reflect glory on his adversary, than disgrace upon him. He lost the favour of Buonaparte, however, and at the capture of Paris, in 1814, filled the obscure situation of governor of Toulon. On the 16th April, he sent in his adherence to the provisional government, with many professions of fidelity and devotion to the Bourbons. He was decorated by the king with the cross of St Louis; received letters of naturalization, and other honours. Yet, on the landing of Buonaparte, his conduct appeared from the first doubtful, and he finally joined his cause. It would not appear that he enjoyed any peculiar confidence, since he held no command at the battle of Waterloo, and was merely placed at the head of the national guard at Paris, where he obtained credit for the tranquillity which he maintained in that city. After the return of Louis, he was denounced by the inhabitants of Marseilles; but no measures were taken by the court in consequence, and he was allowed to enjoy his immense for-

tune at his seat near Paris. A long and violent illness, in the course of which he entirely lost his sight, was the precursor of his death, on the 10th April, 1817. He left two sons, and a daughter married to Count Rielle.

JEAN SUFFREIN MAURY, was born on the 26th June, 1746, at Valreas, in the county of Avignon. He embraced the profession of the church, and came at an early age to Paris. He soon attracted general admiration by his eloquence. The panegyric of St Louis, pronounced at the Louvre, before the French Academy, brought him first into notice, and afterwards that of St Augustin, pronounced before the Assembly of the French Clergy. He drew the notice of the court; was appointed to preach before the king at Versailles during Christmas and Advent, and was presented with several valuable benefices. When a vacancy therefore occurred in the French Academy, his friends conceived him entitled to come forward as a candidate, and he was zealously supported by Marmontel, then secretary to that body. His warmth and impetuosity of temper, however, had raised him a number of enemies, who now, with La Harpe at their head, united in opposing his entrance into the Academy. He triumphed over all opposition, and was admitted. It was after the revolution that he began to take a prominent part in public life. With unbounded zeal he espoused the cause of royalty, and in defending it soon acquired the character of one of the first orators in the Constituent Assembly, a body rich in eloquent men. His faculty of speaking extempore, a rare talent in France, gave him a great advantage over his opponents. His speech opposing the union of the different orders into one assembly, was the first that remarkably distinguished him. At this time he determined up-

on leaving France, but was stopped at Peronne, and put under arrest. The assembly, however, ordered him to be released, and he soon after, on the 23d August, reappeared upon the *tribune*, to oppose the despotic union in one body of the executive and legislative powers. On the 9th November, he inveighed with great energy against the proposal for alienating the property of the church. On this occasion, a girl called out from the gallery, "*Messieurs les pretres*, they are shaving you; if you stir so much, they will cut you." He attacked Mirabeau's plan of *assignats*, forcibly demonstrating its illusory and ruinous nature. Among his other speeches were those against restraints upon the residence of the king, and against the union of Avignon with France. There was none, however, more universally admired by men of all parties, than that upon the admission of men of colour to the privileges of French citizens. Amid such eager exertions in an unpopular cause, Maury soon found himself the object of so violent an enmity, as placed even his life in danger. One night he was on the point of falling a sacrifice to the fury of the populace, who, seizing him, called out *a la lanterne*, (hang him to the lamp-post.) The Abbé had the presence of mind to cry out, "When you have done so, will it give you the better light?" In the most dread extremities, a *bon mot* never lost its empire over the French mind; this accordingly saved the life of its author. After such an adventure, however, he deemed it highly expedient to lose the least possible time in placing himself beyond the limits of France. He effected his purpose, and visited successively Brussels, Coblenz, and Chamberri, all which cities he entered in a sort of triumph: so warm were the applauses of the royalists who had fixed their head-quarters in these places.— He now repaired to Rome, where the

Pope loaded him with honours. In 1792, he was created Apostolical Nuncio, to officiate at the coronation of the Emperor Francis, which took place at Frankfort. In 1793, he was invested with the bishoprick of Nice; and in 1794, with that of Montefiascone; and in the same year, he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal, the highest which Rome has to bestow. In 1798, he escaped only by a few minutes from the French troops which were entering Rome. After having devoted himself so long, and with such zeal to the royal cause, the Cardinal, in 1805, formed the resolution of seeking advancement from an opposite quarter. He wrote to Buonaparte, requesting to be permitted to return into France. He might plead, indeed, that this was a change rather of men than of principles, since every thing republican had long been effaced from the French government, and the despotic principles of the ancient monarchy more than re-established. Buonaparte received with open arms a new adherent, who would throw lustre on his government and church establishment. The Cardinal was immediately made a member of the Institute, and on the 14th of October 1810, an imperial decree constituted him Archbishop of Paris, the highest dignity in the Gallican church. From this time he was never seen to miss an opportunity of appearing at the head of the clergy, to congratulate the Emperor on every success obtained by his arms. His charges inculcated in the most strenuous manner loyalty and attachment to the existing government. At the entrance of the allies into France, he published an animated charge, urging the people to rise against the invaders. On the 5th April, 1814, he sent in his simple adherence to the Bourbons, but without attempting to express any zeal or attachment in their cause. He experienced no favours; his name was erased from the Institute,

and he was obliged to retire to Rome, where the Pope threw him into prison for having accepted of the archbishoprick without his permission. At the end of a year he was released, and died at Rome in April 1817.

We conclude this chapter with a name, one of the brightest in the page of history, and the lustre of whose patriotism faction could never sully or obscure.—THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO was born in Poland about the year 1752. His father was of good birth, but small fortune; and the son was educated in the school of cadets at Warsaw. According to the plan of that institution, the king sent annually four of the pupils into foreign countries, to complete themselves in tactics and the military art. Kosciusko was selected as one of these four, and was sent to Paris, where he was placed in the Military Academy at Versailles. He acquired here a thorough knowledge of the technical part of the art, particularly the engineer department. On returning home he was seized with an ardent and romantic passion for a young lady, greatly his superior in rank, and succeeded in gaining her affections; but her father, on being informed of his pretensions, gave a peremptory refusal, and forbade his daughter to see him. Kosciusko now persuaded the young lady to an elopement; but while conveying her out of Poland, he was pursued and overtaken. He put himself on his defence; but finding that he could preserve his mistress only by killing her father, he chose rather to yield her up. After this painful adventure, he determined to quit for a time his native country. His active mind sought employment in America, where the war of independence had newly begun. He was well received by General Washington, who appointed him his aid-de-camp, and whom he followed in all his campaigns.

He here imbibed at once that love of liberty, and skill in war, which prepared him for the arduous theatre on which he was to act. Poland had long suffered under accumulated wrongs; but in 1791, the cup of her sufferings began to run over. The nation rose, and sought by one grand effort, to deliver herself from the foreign armies which trampled her under foot. Kosciusko, in this crisis, devoted himself to his country. Poniatowsky, from his rank, obtained the place of commander-in-chief; but Kosciusko had a high command under him, was present at every engagement, and every where distinguished himself. It was supposed by many, that if invested with the chief command, he might have obtained greater success. Even after the unfortunate issue of this contest, he did not despair. He repaired to Paris, where, by representing to the principal members of the Convention the justice of his cause, and the advantage of exciting a diversion against Prussia, he procured the funds necessary for his enterprise. About the middle of February he appeared in the south of Poland, and collecting a chosen band of followers, defeated the Prussian corps in that quarter, and made himself master of Cracow. He now issued a proclamation, inviting the Polish nation to rise and assert its independence. The cry, "Long live Kosciusko," echoed through the streets of Cracow; and an assembly of the leading men in the town-hall declared him commander-in-chief of the liberating army of Poland. He then marched upon Warsaw, and completely defeated Woronzow, who, with a Russian corps, attempted to oppose his progress. On arriving at Warsaw, he found the Russians already driven out by the exertions of the inhabitants. The cause of Poland inspired now the highest hopes; the whole country was united, and 70,000 men were under-

stood to be already in arms. The King of Prussia, however, hastened to enter Poland with his whole force, and having occupied Cracow, advanced upon Warsaw, which being unfortified, he expected to take with ease. Kosciusko, however, entrenched himself so strong in front of Warsaw, that the Prussians, alarmed by risings on their own frontier, found themselves obliged to retreat. Russia meantime was collecting all her strength for a decisive blow. At length an immense army, under the terrible and invincible Suwarow, entered this devoted country. Kosciusko hastened to engage before all the Russian reinforcements had formed. The battle took place on the 10th of October. Never did the valour of this heroic chief shine more bright than on this glorious and fatal day. It began in favour of the Poles; but a too rash pursuit involved part of their force in the toils of the enemy, whose overwhelming numbers at length caused a total defeat. Kosciusko having three horses killed under him, was wounded in falling from the last, and obliged to surrender—

"Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked, when Kosciusko fell."

The Supreme National Council, indeed, published an address, in which they exhorted their countrymen "not to bury with his fate all the hopes of their country;" but the march of Suwarow upon Prague, and the successful storm of its ramparts, soon caused the curtain to fall over all the hopes of Polish independence. Catharine did not even shew any magnanimity in the use of her guilty triumph. She threw into dungeons Kosciusko, and his friend Niemchevitch, the poet of independence, whose strains had roused his countrymen to resistance against Russian aggression. It must be mention-

ed to the glory of Paul, that on his accession, he immediately liberated the Polish patriot, and even proffered wealth and dignities, which were not accepted. Kosciusko now went over to America, where he spent two years, and was treated with the highest distinction. On his return he visited London, when the Whig Club presented him with a sword, in testimony of national esteem. When Buonaparte, in 1806, entered Poland, he published a proclamation in Kosciusko's name, inviting the Poles to join him; but the hero disowned it, and declined all al-

liance with one who ruled only by the sword. Similar overtures, made by the Emperor Alexander, were also rejected. He lived in proud independence, superior to fortune and to kings. His last years were spent in a retired manner at Soleure, where he distinguished himself by his generosity to the poor. He had a highly cultivated mind, and was passionately fond of poetry, particularly the works of the English poets, with which he was well acquainted. He died in October 1817, in the 65th year of his age.

CHAPTER II.

BIOGRAPHY—LITERARY.

*Mr Edgeworth.—Dr William Thomson.—Mr David Williams.—Mr Glenie.
Mr Beloe.—Dr Monro.—Mad. Stael.—Werner.—Delametheric.—Messier.
—Rochon.—Dr Dwight.*

THE most prominent literary character deceased in these islands during the present year, was RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH. He was the son of an Irish gentleman, of good family and some fortune, who, after spending part of his life in the profession of the law, withdrew into the country. The subject of this memoir was born in 1744, and received the first rudiments of education from his mother. This lady, from some mismanagement at his birth, lost the use of her right side; and, from being a sprightly and active young woman, was never after able to leave her couch. This accident led her to cultivate still more the habits of reading and reflection, to which she was already addicted to a degree very uncommon in that age, when any thing beyond reading the Bible, and casting up a week's household accounts, was considered a very idle waste of time. She seems to have conducted her son's education in a very judicious manner. Her last advice was, "My son, learn to say no;" to which she added, "Your inventive faculty will lead you cagerly

into new plans; and you may be dazzled by some new scheme, before you had finished, or fairly tried, what you had begun. Resolve to finish—never procrastinate." He received the rudiments of classical education at Warwick. There, he says, he began to observe in his schoolfellows the varieties of temper and disposition; and he derived great advantage from spending the vacations with a Mrs Dewes, in the neighbourhood, who had a great taste for reading and literature. Before going to college, a sister's marriage occurred, the festivals at the celebration of which developed all his propensities for gaiety. He spent the morning in shooting, in which he soon acquired such skill as to kill eight birds out of ten; while in the evening he was the most incessant and unwearied of the dancers. Every interval of these exercises was employed in exhibiting to his companions the most extraordinary feats of agility. In one of these frolics, he foolishly celebrated a mock-marriage with a very young lady, which was rendered of consequence only by

the alarm with which his father was seized, and the process of *jactitation* raised by him in the courts. Being now sent to Dublin College, Mr Edgeworth spent six months in all sorts of idleness and dissipation. His father, seeing he was doing no good, sent him to Oxford, where he recommended him to the care of Mr Elers, a man of talents, and bred a lawyer, but who having unfortunately married an heiress, resigned himself to indolence, and became finally involved in his affairs. Mr Elers declared himself ready to undertake the task; but warned his friend, that he had three handsome daughters, without any fortune to leave them. The honourable nature of this declaration only increased the confidence of old Edgeworth in the care which would be taken of his son's education. So it was, however, that Richard, who was born a ladies' man, and who saw few ladies except the Miss Elerses, made love to one of them, and carried her off to Gretna Green. His father was so unreasonable as to be very angry at this step, which arose so much from his own arrangements; however, the mother at length reconciled them. Mr Edgeworth does not appear to have made a bad husband; but he makes rather too little secret in his *Memoirs* of the little felicity derived from this union. He says, "My wife was prudent, domestic, and affectionate; but she was not of a cheerful temper. She lamented about trifles; and the lamenting of a female with whom we live, does not render home delightful." He adds, that she had no sympathy in any of his tastes or pursuits; and that his chief support was found in the determination to bear with fortitude the evil which he had brought upon himself.

A visit to Bath during one of the vacations, introduced Mr Edgeworth for the first time into the fashionable circles. He saw the old Duke of Devonshire, who, with disgust and cha-

grin painted in his countenance, exhibited a lesson of the power possessed by the smiles or frowns of princes. He saw also Beau Nash, "the popular monarch of Bath," and Lord Chesterfield, who had reigned for half a century over the world of fashion. Mr E. saw only his remains, and looked in vain for that fire which he expected to see in the eye of a man of wit and genius. Shortly after, he was launched into the greater world of London, where he was introduced to a most extensive acquaintance by his intimacy with Sir Francis Delaval. This gentleman, the gayest of the gay, made it his business to amuse the fashionable world by the display of ingenious toys. Mr Edgeworth had already employed himself a good deal in mechanical contrivances, which seem even to have been his prevailing taste; and being now ready to consecrate to Sir Francis's service the fruits of his ingenuity, without claiming the merit of them, he became an inseparable companion of this important personage. The mechanical skill often displayed by Sir Francis, attracted the notice of men of science; while the gay and open house which he kept, rendered many of them frequent visitors. Among these are mentioned Dr Knight of the British Museum, Dr Watson, Mr Wilson, and Mr Espinasse, the electrician. Besides these, and the whole fashionable world, the house was crowded with players, gamblers, and non-descript characters of every description. Mr Edgeworth, whose mind, like aameleon, seems always to have reflected the objects before it, does not seem to have spent his time very wisely; but he accumulated extensive information upon manners and society. The ambition of the men of *haut ton* in that day, seems to have been to astonish each other, and gain bets, by the exhibition of wonderful feats and contrivances; certainly at least as rational as the

modern mode of rising to distinction, by excelling in the qualities appropriate to grooms. Lord March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry, Tension Shaftoc, Lord Eglintoun, Mr Thynne, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Brereton, are mentioned among the ephemeral leaders of fashion. At length Sir Francis broke his heart, for the death of the Duke of York; not of any regard for that prince, but because he was disappointed of the hopes of advancement founded upon his favour.

Mr Edgeworth was soon after introduced to a better society. Having heard at Chester of a carriage invented by Dr Darwin, on a new principle, he set his ingenuity to work, and found out the contrivance himself. At London he submitted it to the Society of Arts, handsomely acknowledging the Doctor as the original author; and on its being well received, wrote a letter to himself with the tidings. The Doctor took him for a coachmaker; but thinking him meritorious in that capacity, gave him an invitation to his house. Mr Edgeworth went accordingly, and Mrs Darwin discovered sooner than her husband the real quality of her guest. He describes Darwin as "a large man, fat and very clumsy; but intelligence and benevolence were painted in his countenance." He was soon introduced to Miss Seward, then in the height of youth and beauty, and of the most elegant and brilliant conversation. The same channel introduced him to Mr Day, so distinguished for his high tone of morality and philosophy, combined with solitary and eccentric habits. Although no two people could be more diametrically opposite than he and Mr Edgeworth, the closest friendship was soon formed between them. Mr Edgeworth was constantly contriving carriages and machines; and though none of them ever came to any practical use, the ingenuity they displayed, connected him with a body of able men, who

in this part of England were applying science to the uses of manufactures and common life. He thus enumerates them.—"Mr Keir, with his knowledge of the world, and good sense; Doctor Small, with his benevolence, and profound sagacity; Wedgewood, with his unceasing industry, experimental variety, and calm investigation; Bolton, with his mobility, quick perception, and bold adventure; Watt, with his strong inventive faculty, undeviating steadiness, and unbounded resource; Darwin, with his imagination, science, and poetical excellence; and Day, with his unwearied research after truth, his integrity and eloquence;—formed altogether such a society, as few men have had the good fortune to live with." He was introduced by Mr Keir to a London society of very eminent literary and scientific men, who met once a-week at a coffeehouse;—John Hunter was chairman; Sir Joseph Banks, Dr Solander, Sir C. Blagden, Dr George Fordyce, Dr Milne, Dr Maskelyne, Captain Cook, Sir G. Shuckburgh, Lord Mulgrave, Smeaton, and Ramsden, were among the members. They had adopted what appears a very odd method of narrowing the competition for entrance.—"In the society of Slaughter's coffeehouse, we practised every means in our power, except personal insult, to try the temper and understanding of each candidate for admission. Every prejudice, which his profession or situation in life might have led him to cherish, was attacked, exposed to argument and ridicule. The argument was always ingenious, and the ridicule sometimes coarse. This ordeal prevented, for some time, the aspiration of too numerous candidates; but private attachments at length softened the rigour of probation; the society became too numerous, and too noble, and was insensibly dissolved."

In 1770, Mr Edgeworth's father died, and having succeeded to his pro-

perty, he gave up all thoughts of following out the profession of the law. He seems to think, that if his father, who was ambitious that he should excel in this pursuit, had placed him in Dublin, where he would have seen persons raised by it to the first political eminence, he would have been smitten with the ambition of making a figure in public life, and have begun a course of regular application. We question, however, if any thing would ever have overcome his habits of vague and desultory pursuit. He now went to reside for two or three years to Lyons, partly with a view to the education of his eldest son. This son he had determined to educate strictly upon the plan delineated in Rousseau's *Emile*; and to this plan he adhered amid all the remonstrances of his friends, and the ridicule of the public. He dressed him in jacket and trowsers, with arms and legs bare, and allowed him to run about wherever he pleased, and to do nothing but what was agreeable to himself. In a few years he found that the scheme had succeeded completely, so far as related to the body; the youth's health, strength, and agility were conspicuous; but the state of his mind induced some perplexity. He had "all the virtues that are found in the hut of the savage;" he was quick, fearless, generous; but he knew not what it was to *obey*. It was impossible to induce him to do any thing that he did not please, or prevent him from doing any thing that he did please. Under the former head, learning, even of the lowest description, was never included. Rousseau himself was not very much edified with this specimen of his system. At Lyons, the boy became complete master of his tutor, whom he treated with the utmost contempt. In fine, this child of nature grew up perfectly ungovernable, and never could, or would, apply to any thing; so that there remained no

alternative but to allow him to follow his own inclination of going to sea.

During Mr Edgeworth's stay at Lyons, he rendered himself useful to the inhabitants by assisting to turn the course of the Rhone, which hemmed in the city, and prevented its extension. He was recalled to England by the death of his wife, who had returned thither to be confined, and died in childbed. He makes no pretence to grief upon this occasion, and, indeed, had a successor already in his eye. During a visit to Lichfield, he had been deeply smitten with Miss Honora Sneyd, a cousin of Miss Seward's, and whose beauty and accomplishments that lady has so enthusiastically celebrated. As soon, therefore, as decency could possibly permit, he paid his addresses, which were at once accepted. The hints given by Miss Seward, that Honora was thus jilting Major Andre, seem confuted, although there had been an attachment between them, the fulfilment of which was prevented by his want of fortune. Honora appears, from concurring testimonies, to have been very superior both as to character and intelligence, and entirely suited to her husband's disposition. After six years, however, spent in the highest matrimonial felicity, she discovered symptoms of consumption, which constantly increasing, became at length fatal. Mr Edgeworth seems to have felt more than usual upon this occasion, and the account he gives of her last moments appears to us very interesting.

"Three days before she died, I was suddenly called up to her room. I found her in violent convulsions. Youth, beauty, grace, charms of person, and accomplishments of mind, reduced to the extreme of human misery, must have wrung the most obdurate heart. What must her husband feel at such a moment!—I felt her pulse, and whispered, 'you are not dying.' She look-

ed at me with an effort of resolution and kindness, to thank me. When the fit seized, she begged of me to sit down beside her bed. I took out my pencil, and determined to note whatever she said and did at this awful period, an employment that might enable me to bear with more fortitude the scene that I was to witness. She soon fell asleep, and wakened smiling. ‘I am smiling,’ said she, ‘at my asking you to sit beside me as a sort of protection, and at my being afraid to die in my sleep, when I never felt afraid of dying when awake.’ The ensuing days she talked, during the intervals of dosing, about the education of her children, and about every thing which concerned my happiness. She recommended it to me in the strongest manner to marry her sister Elizabeth.

“After my having sat up all the night of the 30th of April, I was suddenly called at six o’clock in the morning. Her sister Charlotte was with her. The moment that I opened the door, her eyes, which had been fixed in death, acquired sufficient power to turn themselves towards me with an expression of the utmost tenderness. She was supported on pillows. Her left arm hung over her sister’s neck beyond the bed. She smiled, and breathed her last!

“At this moment I heard something fall on the floor. It was her wedding ring, which she had held on her wasted finger to the last instant—remembering, with fond superstition, the vow she had made, never again to lose that ring but with life. She never moved again, nor did she seem to suffer any struggle.

“Thus died Honora Edgeworth. The most beloved as a wife, a sister, and a friend, of any person I have ever known.”

The hint about Elizabeth was not lost on Mr Edgeworth. Although this lady was handsome and accom-

plished, he had not hitherto been partial to her, nor she to him; however, from this time they began to view each other with more favourable eyes. Serious strictures were, however, raised, not without some reason, on account of the nearness of the relation. Pamphlets appeared on the subject; and it was with some difficulty that a clergyman was prevailed upon to perform the ceremony. The rest of Mr Edgeworth’s life was spent on his estate in Ireland, as a country gentleman, in which capacity he seems to have acted well. By a judicious mixture of favour and firmness, he improved both his estate and the condition of his tenantry, though his period of seven years for a lease seems too short. In politics, he seems to have been always actuated by a warm patriotic zeal, mixed with a surprising absence of party spirit. He had an opportunity of serving Ireland quite in his own way, by assisting in forming a telegraphic communication through the country. After a matrimonial union of seventeen years, his third wife died of the same malady as her sister. Although now past fifty, Mr Edgeworth scarce lost a year till he was united to Miss Beaufort, daughter of Dr Beaufort, author of a Memoir on the Topography of Ireland. His best friends were alarmed at this step, considering the disparity of years, and the numerous children of three successive families, some of them grown up, over whom the young lady was called to preside. Miss Edgeworth, however, who was the person likely to be most painfully affected, assures us, that the choice was made with such judgment as to form only an addition to the domestic felicity at Edgeworth town. At the same age Mr Edgeworth began his career as a public speaker, having become, for the first time, a member of the Irish Parliament. On the question of the Union, he does not seem to have taken a very

decisive side ; but he rendered a real and important service to his country by the active part which he took in introducing into it an improved system of education. He took a great share also in the measures for reclaiming that immense quantity of bog with which a great part of Ireland is covered. After all, it was to literature and science that the greater part of his time was devoted. He was not a voluminous author, and the only work of any extent written entirely by himself being that on Professional Education, published in 1808, in one volume 4to. He wrote also the following Essays for societies.

Philosophical Transactions.—Essay on the Resistance of Air. Vol. lxxiii.—1783. Account of a Meteor. Vol. lxxiv.—1784.

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.—Essay on Springs and Wheel-Carriage. Vol. ii.—1788. Essay on the Telegraph. Vol. vi.—1795.

Mr Edgeworth undervalued, not quite we apprehend without reason, his own talents for writing. His favourite and most active exertion was in exciting and directing the talents of his daughter, and, indeed, his own name would never have stood so high in the literary world, if it could not have been said of him, “Behold the father of Maria.” Yet his friend, Mr Day, had such an unspeakable horror for female authorship, that Mr Edgeworth, though he combated that opinion, never ventured, during his life, to produce his daughter in this capacity. After the death of Mr Day, her literary fame became the favourite object of his ambition. Besides the treatises on Practical Education, and on Irish Bulls, which were professedly joint publications, Miss Edgeworth gives the following account of his superintendence over those works, which were written entirely by herself.

“Whenever I thought of writing any

thing, I always told him my first rough plans ; and always, with the instinct of a good critic, he used to fix immediately upon that, which would best answer the purpose.—‘Sketch that, and shew it to me.’—These words, from the experience of his sagacity, never failed to inspire me with hope of success. It was then sketched. Sometimes, when I was fond of a particular part, I used to dilate on it in the sketch ; but to this he always objected—‘I don’t want any of your painting—none of your drapery !—I can imagine all that—let me see the bare skeleton.’

“It seemed to me sometimes impossible, that he could understand the very slight sketches I made ; when, before I was conscious that I had expressed this doubt in my countenance, he always saw it.

“‘Now my dear little daughter, I know, does not believe that I understand her.’—Then he would in his own words fill up my sketch, paint the description, or represent the character intended, with such life, that I was quite convinced he not only seized the ideas, but that he saw, with the prophetic eye of taste, the utmost that could be made of them. After a sketch had his approbation, he would not see the filling it up, till it had been worked upon for a week or fortnight, or till the first thirty or forty pages were written ; then they were read to him, and if he thought them going on tolerably well, the pleasure in his eyes, the approving sound of his voice, even without the praise he so warmly bestowed, were sufficient and delightful excitements to ‘go on and finish.’ When he thought that there was spirit in what was written, but that it required, as it often did, great correction, he would say, ‘Leave that to me : it is my business to cut and correct—yours to write on.’ His skill in cutting—his decision in criticism was pe-

cularly useful to me. His ready invention and infinite resource, when I had run myself into difficulties or absurdities, never failed to extricate me at my utmost need. It was the happy experience of this, and my consequent reliance on his ability, decision, and perfect truth, that relieved me from the vacillation and anxiety to which I was so much subject, that I am sure I should not have written or finished any thing without his support. He inspired in my mind a degree of hope and confidence, essential in the first instance to the full exertion of the mental powers, and necessary to ensure perseverance in any occupation. Such, happily for me, was his power over my mind, that no one thing I ever began to write was ever left unfinished."

Mr and Miss Edgeworth visited in company Paris and Edinburgh, with the latter of which places, much gratification is expressed, particularly from the society assembled at Mr Dugald Stewart's. Mr Edgeworth, in his old age, witnessed the formation of a much more genial taste in Ireland for literature and for literary society than when he first settled there, the consequence of which was, that his society was more extensively courted and liked. He enjoyed perfect health till his 71st year, when his sight began to fail, which he predicted would be the forerunner of a general decline, as it actually proved. He continued, however, all his usual pursuits, and made even overstrained exertions, from his conscientious zeal to finish every thing. He was particularly fatigued by some experiments on wheel-carriages, made for the Dublin Society, in May, 1816, and remained ever after a complete invalid. Amid severe bodily pain, he retained the full possession of his faculties, and shewed the utmost complacency and kindness to his family. His last words were, "I die with the soft feeling of gratitude to my friends,

and submission to the God who made me." He died on the 13th June, 1817.

Dr WILLIAM THOMSON, the most rapid and indefatigable manufacturer of books in the present or perhaps any age, was born in the parish of Forteviot, in Strathearn, about six miles to the west of Perth. His father was in the humbler ranks of life, and by the joint trades of carpenter and builder, supported, with difficulty, a family of thirteen children. At the parochial school, however, young William obtained the elements of education; and his promise of talent appeared soon so remarkable, that Mr Randall, clergyman at Inchtute, in the Carse of Gowrie, took him into his house as a companion to his son, and inculcated in his mind, with little success, the doctrines of the most austere and rigid Calvinism. After three years residence here, he was removed to Perth, where he studied under Mr Martin, a very eminent teacher, and had for companion Lord Mansfield, then at the same school. At the age of fifteen, he was sent to the University of St Andrews, which, in proportion to the numbers attending it, has produced an uncommon number of eminent men. He found in the same class, Thomas, now Lord Erskine, Dr George Hill, Professor Playfair, and several others who have since risen to distinction. This University was then much indebted to the care of Thomas Earl of Kinnoul, who filled the office of Chancellor, and who, by inspection, by bestowing prizes, and personal notice, encouraged all the young students who gave marks of ability. Thomson soon drew his notice, and excited peculiar interest from having been born on his property; he became thus the object of his lordship's steady and constant patronage. To the youths among the Scottish peasantry who display any peculiar promise, the grand object of

ambition is to be a *minister*; and though William's vocation by no means lay in this direction, it appeared the only line in which interest and the facilities of education afforded him the prospect of attaining a situation suited to his abilities. By applying his powers to the study of divinity, he excelled in it as he had done in classical learning and metaphysics. His noble patron now received him into his house, and placed under his management the extensive library which he had collected; an employment which, besides its other advantages, afforded ample opportunities of gratifying a thirst for knowledge. He sent him also to spend two sessions in Edinburgh, where he must have extended his information and views, but where he is supposed to have contracted that taste for conviviality which followed him through life; his turn for wit and humour causing his company to be much courted by the gay spirits of the metropolis. After being admitted as preacher, he obtained the situation of assistant and successor to Mr Porteous, the old clergyman at Monivaird, Lord Kinnoul allowing him 50*l.* a-year till he should draw the income of the benefice. Having now an opportunity of sitting in the General Assembly of the Church, he began to speak with success, and recommended himself to the favour of Dr Robertson and Blair, whose party he espoused. One of his sallies is particularly recorded. The presbytery of Auchterarder, so distinguished by rigid Calvinism, that not content with the Church Confession of Faith, they had framed a creed for themselves called the *Auchterarder Creed*, had objected to the reception of a young man, Lawson, as pastor. Their real reason was probably very different; but they rested their opposition on the singular ground of his total want of polish and gentility. Thomson, after stating

the serious arguments in favour of the young man, excited a laugh by supposing John the Baptist to have appeared among their presbytery in the guise described in the New Testament, when he supposed him to be interrogated, "Pray, sir, who is your barber? We should be ashamed to be seen with you in the town-lane of Auchterarder." This speech is understood to have contributed much to the decision in favour of Lawson. Meantime Thomson held a course of life not altogether becoming the clerical character, especially among a body so distinguished by the strictness and purity of their morals as the Scottish clergy. His sermons were usually the fruit of a hasty preparation on the Sunday morning; while the week was spent in hunting, fishing, or in festive parties at the houses of the neighbouring lairds. At length his convivial indulgences extended so far as to excite a serious clamour, heightened, as his friends assert, by envy of his talents and favour with the Earl of Kinnoul. He found it expedient, however, to resign his charge, and repair to London, where talents like his might be expected to meet with adequate reward.

With his residence in London begins the life of Dr Thomson as a writer. A fortunate circumstance brought him into notice. Principal Watson, of St. Andrews, author of the interesting histories of Philip II. and Philip III. had died, leaving the latter work in an unfinished state. Dr Robertson and Mr Dempster of Dunnichen successfully recommended Thomson for writing the continuation. This he executed with greater pains than he has proved in most of his subsequent publications, and in a manner so highly respectable, that Dr Adam Smith pronounced his the best part of the work. Its success recommended him to the notice of the booksellers, and he conti-

nued, during the rest of his life, to exercise the functions of an author by profession. Although haste often produced negligence, yet the readiness with which he undertook every thing, and the celerity with which he executed it, secured him always an ample share of employment. This, however, is a trade which is in danger of leading to an oblivion, not only of fame, but of any very strict principle. Dr Thomson has been characterized as one who wrote many books under his own name, and more under those of other men. In regard to these last, some had no existence, unless by their name on the title-page; others contributed a few notes or some verbal information, upon which our compiler founded a regular book. Among those may be mentioned Newte's *Travels through Scotland*, John Lane Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, Swinton's *Travels through Norway, Denmark, and Russia*, Stedman's *Narrative of an Expedition in Suripam*, Harrison's *Commentary on the Bible*. In his preface to the *Travels in Norway, &c.* he enlarges on his own advantages, when compared to those of Wraxall and Cox, who had made only a hasty tour through these countries, while he had spent several years in them, solely occupied in collecting information. He published probably a greater number without any name at all, among which are the "Man in the Moon," and "Mammoth, or Human Nature Displayed on a Great Scale," two Philosophical Romances; *Memoirs of the war in Asia, from 1780 to 1784*; *History of France*, in 3 vols. 8vo.; *History of Spain*, in 3 vols. 8vo.; *Travels in Scandinavia*, 2 vols. 8vo. &c. He translated also numberless works, among which the principal are Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*, from the Latin, and Acerbi's *Travels in Lapland*, from the Italian. It is supposed he would have

undertaken translations from the Hebrew and Persian, though he was ignorant of both, rather than refuse offered employment. He wrote also largely in periodical works, being long the chief contributor to the *English Review*, and largely concerned at different times in the *Critical*, the *Analytical*, and in the *European Magazine*. He held for several years the entire property of the *English Review*, but found, that without the exertions of a bookseller, its sale could not be supported, and suffered it to be absorbed into the *Analytical*. In his critical capacity, his own works came frequently under review, and were treated with all the indulgence and favour which might be expected. From newspapers also he derived extensive profit. He was reckoned the best parliamentary reporter of that day, when this department was not so respectably and diligently filled as now; though he was apt to supply from his own store the deficiencies of the *Speaker*. He wrote also essays, paragraphs, summaries, and every thing for which money could be got; and as these little pieces were always paid in ready cash, he found them often more convenient than the long dated bills which he received for his more elaborate performances. In his political principles, Dr Thomson was always distinguished by the most signal impartiality, contributing with equal liberality to journals on the most opposite sides, and making no distinction, unless in favour of that whose payment was most ample. His writings formed the main support at once of the *Whitehall Evening Post*, a devoted ministerial print, and of the *Political Herald*, a zealous opposition paper. In the first of these, he compiled the weekly abridgement of politics; but it may be mentioned to his honour, that on the discovery of the conduct of Aris, the governor of Cold-Bath-Fields, his huma-

nity led him vehemently to inveigh against that personage ; and though his sentiments were similar to those expressed by Mr Pitt, they were deemed not sufficiently orthodox for the vehicle in which they were conveyed. Its readers were speedily assured that this summary would henceforth be written " by another hand ;" and Thomson thus lost a guinea a-week which he had been accustomed to receive for this task. When the question of the slave trade came under discussion, the weight of West Indian gold prevailed over any scruples, and he lent his pen to its defence. He espoused also with zeal the cause of Mr Hastings ; and besides any more solid rewards, was honoured with an audience of him and his lady, from which he seems to have derived higher pride than there was altogether room for. Among his political labours must not be omitted the editing of Dodsley's Annual Register, from 1790 to 1800 inclusive.

Notwithstanding these various employments, the finances of Dr Thomson were always in a narrow and distressed state ; partly, it is probable, from the false hopes and estimates inspired by so precarious an income, and not a little from the too convivial habits in which he always indulged. His favourite companion for a long time was Dr Gilbert Stuart, a man of the same irregular talents and character with himself ; and at the Peacock, in Gray's-Inn Lane, they quaffed libations which were often prolonged till break of day. Dr Stuart's constitution sunk under a regimen which his more robust rival was able to withstand. Dr Thomson, however, was a family man, and was twice respectably married. His second wife, in particular, is much praised for the prudence and propriety with which she educated her family. She is the author of four novels, *The Labyrinth of Life*, *Excessive Sensibility*, *Fatal Follies*, and *the Pride of*

Ancestry. He had a son, who went to Bombay, and afterwards two daughters, who were married there, but died before himself. His last work was *Memoirs relative to Military Tactics*, to which a preface was contributed by Dr Glenie. For several years before his death, he lived in a retired manner at Kensington gravel pits, where, no longer distracted by proofs, revises, the clamour of printers, and the remonstrances of booksellers, he tranquilly employed himself in the education of his children. He died on the 16th of March 1817, in the 71st year of his age.

DAVID WILLIAMS was the son of a Welsh gentleman near Cardigan, who injured his fortune by speculations in mines. David was educated with a view to the exercise of clerical functions among the society of Methodists. Accordingly, he had scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, when he obtained the charge of a congregation at Frome, Somersetshire. His views, however, soon changed, and at the age of twenty-two he is found officiating at Exeter, as an Arian minister. He had influence enough with his congregation to make them adopt a Socinian liturgy, but soon after quarrelled with them, not without the charge of some irregularities in his own conduct. Repairing now to London, he was admitted to perform the duties of a dissenting congregation at Highgate. He was soon after employed to assist in drawing up a petition from a number of dissenters, and some members of the Church of England, praying relief from the subscription of the thirty-nine articles. His performance on this occasion, however, gave little satisfaction, being judged to be deeply tinged with Deism, towards which creed he was fast verging. Soon after, his speculative habits led him to project an Academy, to

be conducted on the principles unfolded in the *Emile* of Rousseau. The mechanical sciences were taught by experiments made by the pupils themselves on common and familiar objects; the refinements of grammar, poetry, and metaphysics, were reserved till a maturer age. The school was governed by a system of laws sanctioned by the scholars themselves, and offenders were tried by a jury of their schoolfellows. This plan, in an age fond of novelty, met with wonderful success; the Academy, established at Chelsea, though the terms demanded were high, experienced a rapid increase in the number of its pupils. This prosperity was overcast by the death of his wife, whom he had married at the time of first setting up this establishment. The event wholly unmanned him; and yielding to a romantic extravagance of grief, he quitted the school, without motive or explanation, left the scholars to shift for themselves, and withdrew into a remote part of the country. The Academy was of course dissolved.

Mr Williams, on returning to London in a few months, when the first paroxysm of his grief had abated, found himself without any professional employment or means of subsistence. He had recourse now to a very extraordinary scheme. We have already noticed the freedom of his religious opinions. During the time when he held the Academy at Chelsea, he had diligently employed his mind in the formation of a new creed, which was to supersede every other. He has been said even to have obtained the assistance of Dr Franklin, through which aid, and his own intense meditation, he at length drew

up one, of which the following is an entire copy:—"I believe in God. Amen." This elaborate composition being transmitted to Voltaire and the King of Prussia, letters were received expressive of their entire approbation. Thus encouraged, Mr Williams determined upon endeavouring to establish a new form of worship, founded on this single basis. A chapel for this purpose was opened in Margaret Street; and, as free-thinking might be considered characteristic of the age, a large audience was expected. Those, however, who have rejected Christianity, do not usually addict themselves much to any religious ideas or habits. This temple of natural religion, though of small dimensions, was soon found much too large for any audience that was likely to frequent it. The only support was derived from General Melville, a man of amiable dispositions and some intelligence, who had composed a creed not quite so concise as that of Mr Williams, and certainly as mystic and incomprehensible as any of those could be, which it was intended to supersede.* A good dinner, which the general was accustomed to bring in at the close of the service, alone kept up for a little some shew of a congregation, but could not prevent the establishment from at length dying of itself.

After the failure of these schemes, Mr Williams was left to depend for subsistence chiefly on the produce of his pen. Experiencing the inconveniences of such a life, he was led to the only project which has had a permanent influence, that of the literary fund. This establishment, destined for the relief of indigent and deserving authors, ex-

* We shall only quote the first article. 1. "That by nature I now am, and ever have been, while awake, and in a state of sensibility, *passively* existing under an incessant succession of conscious *sensations* and *resensations*, produced by causes internal or external; both these sensations and resensations, naturally and necessarily implying my *existence*; but the latter only so implies my *identity*." &c.

cited at the time a great degree of interest. A number of subscribers were obtained, and it has ever since continued to carry on its operations. In the course of twelve years, the sum of 1680*l.* 8*s.* has been distributed among a hundred and five persons; and their operations are said to have been of late years considerably extended. Still we cannot help agreeing with Sir Richard Philips, that the scale of the Institution, and the scanty pittance distributed, bear but a slender proportion to the wealth and generosity of the British nation.

On the breaking out of the French Revolution, Mr Williams's fame as a reformer, procured for him the notice of the republican faction. He was named a French citizen, and was invited by Roland, and other heads of the Brissotine party, to assist in the formation of a new constitution. This visit, however, afforded him little satisfaction, as he soon perceived the want of vigour and union among his own party, and, on the other hand, the desperate designs and rising ascendancy of the Jacobins. The evil omens derived from these circumstances being quickly fulfilled, he was obliged to return to England, without fulfilling any of the objects for which his journey had been undertaken. Soon after, his health began to decline, and his circumstances continuing narrow, he was invited to take up his residence in the house of the Literary Fund, Gerard Street, Soho, where he acted as resident director of the Institution. Here he subsisted on his little fortune, and was carefully attended by a niece, till, on the 29th June 1816, his long illness terminated in death.

The deportment of Mr Williams is described as dignified and decorous, and his conversation animated. Notwithstanding the dogmatic zeal which

he shewed for his paradoxical opinions, there was so much courtesy and affability in his manners, that he lived on intimate habits with many whose views were the most decidedly hostile. His own, indeed, were so little obtruded in conversation, that many who had been long acquainted with him, continued to consider him as a clergyman in the full exercise of his official duties. Towards the end of his life, indeed, his opinions appear to have been sensibly modified, and to have been no longer characterized by that fiery zeal for religious and political reform which marked their early progress. The following are some of his principal writings.

Essays on Public Worship, Patriotism, and Projects of Reformation. 12mo. 1773.—Sermons on Religious Hypocrisy. 2 vols. 8vo. 1774.—A Liturgy, containing the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality. 8vo. 1776.—Lectures on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality. 2 vols. 4to. 1779.—Letters on Political Liberty. 8vo. 1782.—Letters on Education. 3 vols. 8vo. 1789.—Claims of Literature, containing the Origin, Motives, Objects, and Transactions of the Literary Fund. 8vo. 1803. Second Edition. With Life and Portrait. 1816.

JAMES GLENIE. This eminent mathematician was born at a small town on that part of the coast of Fife, situated on the Frith of Forth. This tract, though fallen from the commercial prosperity which it once enjoyed, has produced, in our days, an uncommon number of eminent men, and particularly more mathematicians of the first rank, than all the rest of Scotland put together.* Young Glenie was educated at St Andrews, where his acquirements, particularly in mathematical

We need only mention the names of Leslie and Wallace.

knowledge, soon attracted the notice of the professors, and of Lord Kin-noul, the chancellor. He was at first destined for the church, and entered with zeal on a course of theological studies ; but was afterwards impelled to seek a more adventurous life, and one affording greater scope for his peculiar talents. On application to Lord Adam Gordon, then commander in chief for Scotland, he obtained an appointment in the artillery, and was sent out to America, where the war had just broken out. He was placed under the command of General St Leger, appointed to co-operate with the unfortunate expedition under Burgoyne ; and our young officer greatly distinguished himself by the manner in which he saved a small detachment under his command, when placed in a situation of extreme danger. In consideration of this service, he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. Meantime, during the intervals of leisure, he cultivated, with unabated zeal, his favourite science ; and through the channel of Baron Maseres, transmitted a number of papers to the Royal Society. That learned body esteemed them so highly, that they admitted him a member without solicitation, and without exacting any fees. At the end of the war, he returned to England, where he found that his fame had preceded him ; and here he was welcomed by many persons of distinction. He obtained, in particular, the notice of the Duke of Richmond, then occupying the place of Master-general of the Ordnance, a connection which seemed to offer the most flattering prospects of promotion. The result, however, was very different. That ingenious but fanciful nobleman had formed a scheme for fortifying the whole coast of England, so as to render it impregnable to any maritime attack. This plan he wished to fortify by the opinion of Mr Glenie, whom he therefore

sent for, and explained it to him at full length. The uncompromising honesty of Glenie induced him at once to exhibit the plan in its true light. He proved to the duke, that it was contrary to every military rule ; that it would be of no avail for the purpose intended, and would involve an expence which would build a navy sufficient to defy all the maritime powers of Europe. The duke having in vain attempted to make him a convert, dismissed him. It was not enough, however, for Glenie to forfeit all the prospects of favour, which might have opened to him from supporting the *hobby* of his patron. He was prevailed upon by Mr Courtenay, then a leading member of opposition, to embody, in a pamphlet, all the arguments which he had stated to the duke. The pamphlet blew in the air the whole of this immense line of fortification ; the arguments appeared so unanswerable, that the proposal, though supported by all the influence of ministry, and by the high popularity of the duke, was negatived by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Duke of Richmond was a worthy and amiable man—but still he was a man—and it could scarcely be expected, perhaps, that such a defeat from a lieutenant of engineers, could meet his forgiveness. Mr Glenie's hopes, therefore, were now all to be derived from opposition members, at whose instigation he imprudently threw up his commission, and withdrew to America. At Halifax, however, he attracted the notice of the Duke of Kent, and seemed again in the road to favour. But he embarked, idly it should seem, in the local political disputes, and having obtained a seat in the Assembly, set himself in direct opposition to the measures of government. His prospects of fortune being thus ruined, he was obliged to return home, where they were little less propitious. His merit, however, induced

the Earl of Chatlam to give him employment as engineer extraordinary; and the East India Company gave him an appointment at Croydon, in the instructing their young military cadets, which yielded an emolument of 400*l.* a-year. Here, however, he involved himself in quarrels with a superior in power; and his appearing as an evidence in the celebrated case of Mrs Clarke, was supposed to have given much offence to government. The Company made an alteration in its establishment, in consequence of which his services were dispensed with; and he had no farther promotion to hope from the existing administration. He made next a voyage to Copenhagen, on a speculation, which proved unsuccessful. After his return, he took lodgings near Pimlico, where he died in great poverty.

Mr Glenie possessed a vigorous and athletic form, which promised a long life. He possessed a native independence of mind, and shrewdness of character, mixed with a certain simplicity and credulity, which rendered him ill fitted to make his way in the world. His friends asserted, and seemingly with reason, that the measures which ruined him, were all taken from strictly honest and conscientious motives. Yet it seems difficult not to suspect some kind of perversity in the system which he invariably pursued, of setting himself in direct opposition to every one, from whom he had any favour or promotion to expect.

This year the literary world lost a meritorious member in the Rev. WILLIAM BELOE. He was born in 1757, and was the son of a respectable clergyman at Norwich. After being well initiated in the rudiments of classical learning, by the Rev. Matthew Raine at Hartforth; he had the good fortune to be four years under the tuition of Dr Parr at Stanmore. He was then

removed to Cambridge, where he obtained the Declamation Prize, and otherwise distinguished himself. Afterwards Dr Parr, being appointed head master of Norwich free-school, chose Mr Beloe as his assistant. From the Bishops of London and Lincoln, and Lord Rosslyn, he obtained the rectorship of All-Hallows, the prebendaries of Lincoln Cathedral, and of Pancras. After leaving Norwich, he became Master of Emanuel College, Westminster. In 1804, he was appointed one of the librarians of the British Museum; which situation he lost through an act of unheard of treachery in a person whom he had admitted to see the books and drawings. He employed himself much in literary composition. His first great work was the translation of Herodotus, which was very favourably received, and has become a standard work. That of Aulus Gellius has been less known, only perhaps from the inferior reputation of the original author. His *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, recently completed in six volumes 8vo, contain also a great variety of curious and useful information. Mr Beloe was combined with Mr Nares in the editorship of the *British Critic*, which he continued to the end of the forty-second volume. He made also several translations from the French, and assisted in the editing of some important works. After struggling for some years with different maladies, he was seized, in March 1817, with a violent illness, which terminated his life on the 11th April, in the 60th year of his age. He left a widow, four sons, a daughter, and several grand children.

Dr ALEXANDER MONRO, the first of the name, born 1697, has been generally considered as the founder of that Medical School of Edinburgh, which has become the most distinguished in the three kingdoms. His place,

both as a teacher and practitioner, was fully supplied by his son, Alexander, usually called, by way of distinction, *Secundus*. He was the youngest son, and born on the 20th of March, 1733. He had the advantage of carrying on his general studies under MacLaurin for mathematics, Sir John Pringle for ethics, and Dr Stewart for experimental philosophy. In his eighteenth year, he began his medical studies under his father, whom he soon began to assist in dissection. So great was the reputation which he acquired at College, and by his Inaugural Dissertation, that the Patrons of the University determined to secure to that seminary the benefit of his abilities, by electing him, in the twenty-second year of his age, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, jointly with his father. As the old gentleman, however, was still fully equal to the performance of his duties, young Monro was enabled to consult his improvement by visiting London, Paris, and other parts of the continent. He derived particular benefit from a residence at Berlin, in the house of the celebrated Professor Mackell, to whom he repeatedly expressed his gratitude. He returned to Edinburgh in 1758, and the following year became a Fellow of the College of Physicians. He became also the colleague of his father as Secretary to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Dr Monro *Primus* had long officiated in that capacity, to what was called the Medical Society, and had published six volumes of Essays, written by members of that body. But, about the year 1750, a proposal was made to unite the physicians and philosophers into one Society; which being strenuously supported by MacLaurin, Lord Kames, and David Hume, was accordingly accomplished. The two Monros continued to be Medical Secretaries, while David Hume held that place for the philosophical department; but as the latter

soon went abroad, the duty devolved entirely upon the former. Young Monro, even while a student, had published several Essays in the Transactions of the Society, which gained him great reputation. He continued to enrich, in this manner, its volumes, of two of which he may be considered as the editor. At length, in 1782, this Society, chiefly through the exertions of Principal Robertson, was established on a more extended scale, including literature, as well as medicine and philosophy, and was incorporated by royal charter, under the title of the *Royal Society*. Dr Monro's extensive engagements, however, did not allow him any longer to officiate as Secretary, though he still continued a counsellor, and made several valuable communications. Since the session 1758-59, the whole charge of teaching the anatomical chair had devolved upon him, and was discharged with the greatest industry and eminence. His high reputation had raised him also to the most extensive medical practice in Edinburgh. Amid all these avocations, he continued to enrich science with valuable discoveries. In 1758, he had published at Berlin, a treatise on the Lymphatic Vessels, which proved those vessels to be much more widely diffused than had previously been supposed. This gave rise to a controversy with the celebrated Dr William Hunter, who claimed the honour of the same discoveries. In fact, it appears that those two eminent men had been carrying on observations separate from and independent of each other. Dr Monro published in 1783, "Observations on the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System;" in 1785, "The Structure and Physiology of Fishes, compared with those of men and other animals;" and in 1788, "A description of all the Bursæ Mucosæ in the Human Body." These were all printed in folio, with a view to contain the

numerous plates with which they were illustrated. His last publication was a quarto volume, containing three treatises, on the Brain, the Eye, and the Ear, published in 1797. Notwithstanding the care with which all these organs had been examined, he made considerable additions to our knowledge of them.—Amid these various and laborious avocations, Dr Monro did not deny himself all relaxation. Gardening was a pursuit of which he was passionately fond; and he had an excellent garden at Craig Lockhart, near Edinburgh, where he had a cottage, in which he never slept, not chusing to do so out of Edinburgh; but he frequently spent there a social day with his excellent colleague Dr Duncan, and other friends of congenial taste. He had also a strong partiality, which a superficial observer would not have expected, in favour of theatrical amusements. No one enjoyed more the humour of that excellent comic party, which Foote at one time formed in Edinburgh; while at the splendid pathos of Mrs Siddons, the tears were seen rolling down his cheeks. He did not refuse to join in a laugh against his own profession; and, it is alleged, accommodated Foote with his own red cloak, to be employed in the attire of the Mock Doctor.—In 1800, finding his health decline, he began to receive the academical assistance of his son, the present Professor of Anatomy; but he continued to deliver the most important part of the lectures till 1808-9, when he closed his academical labours, to the infinite regret of numerous students. At the same time, he gave up his medical practice; but survived till the 2d October 1817, when he died in the 85th year of his age.

On the continent, this year was marked by the death of an authoress, the most celebrated female in Europe,

—MAD. DE STAEL HOLSTEIN. She was the daughter of virtuous and illustrious parents. Her father was Necker, the celebrated Minister of Finance at the beginning of the French Revolution, whose various fortunes are well known. Her mother was Susan Curchod, the daughter of an obscure Protestant clergyman in Switzerland, whose beauty and accomplishments, much celebrated in her youth, attracted the admiration of Gibbon, who was only prevented by paternal remonstrances from paying his addresses to her. She afterwards married Necker, who as partner in the banking-house of Thellusson, acquired such a reputation for knowledge of business, as made him be called in a critical moment to the general management of the French finances. Anne Louisa Necker was born at Paris in 1766. Her mother undertook the entire management of her education, and being endowed with extensive learning, and of lofty, religious, and moral principle, seemed well qualified for the task; yet she was in some respects not perfectly suited to her pupil. Her sense of duty, strictly and systematically applied to the minutest occurrences of life, gave to her management something formal and severe, which accorded ill with the vivacity and enthusiasm of the young student. M. Necker, on the contrary, notwithstanding the gravity of his character, was delighted with her lively sallies, and by encouraging them, tended to counteract the influence of her mother. Mademoiselle Necker, though with difficulty confined within the prescribed rules of behaviour, eagerly imbibed the information communicated to her. Her ideas were farther unfolded by the literary society of Paris, which her father studiously assembled at his house. Mad. Huber, an early visitor, describes the attention paid by her at the age of eleven, to what was going on in this brilliant society:—"She uttered not

a word, yet she seemed as if speaking in her turn, so much expression did her flexible features betray. Her eyes followed the looks and gestures of the speakers; she appeared to seize their ideas before she heard them. She was mistress of every subject, even politics." All the visitors took notice of her, either for their own amusement, or in compliment to Necker. "She answered all with ease and elegance; they took pleasure in attacking her, embarrassing her, exciting in her that little imagination which already appeared so brilliant." These premature intellectual exertions had an unfavourable effect on the bodily constitution of Mademoiselle Necker; and at the age of fourteen, her health appeared in an alarming state. Tronchin prescribed the absolute necessity of her removal to the country, of her being constantly in the open air, and giving up every kind of study. Her mother was in dismay at a prescription which broke up all her plans. It is probable, however, that the mind as well as body of the young patient derived new strength from being thus left for some time to expatiate at full liberty. She wandered through the woods of St Ouen with a friend of her own age, giving full scope to their imagination. This arrangement also threw her more under the influence of her father, of all whose leisure moments she could take advantage, and who found in her society his favourite relaxation. The most brilliant qualities which she displayed, could not console her mother for seeing her so different from the model upon which she wished to have formed her. On being congratulated upon the admiration which her daughter's talents excited, she replied, "It is nothing, absolutely nothing, to what I would have made of her." Mademoiselle Necker, however, is said never to have shewn any want of duty to her mother, though unable to confine her-

self within the strict rules which she would have imposed.

In 1784, M. Necker was dismissed from the finance; and Mademoiselle Necker, sharing the adverse circumstances of her family, withdrew with them to the retirement of Copet, on the lake of Geneva. Here she was seen by Gibbon, who describes her in a manner which does not shew much presentiment of the future splendour of her talents. He says, "They, (the Neckers,) have now a very troublesome charge, the disposal of a baroness; one of the greatest heiresses in Europe, wild, vain, but good-natured, and with a much larger provision of wit than of beauty."—(Miscellaneous Works, vol. I.) Her mother, he observes, is determined that she shall marry only a Protestant, which leads him to wish that she could be wooed by some young Englishman. Fortune, however, had decreed otherwise. She received the addresses of Eric Magnus Baron de Stael, a Swedish nobleman of rank, with an amiable character, and agreeable person. As she objected to leaving France, King Gustavus III., who favoured his suit, appointed him ambassador at the court of France, with an assurance of continuing for several years in that situation. The union took place, but did not produce mutual happiness. The baron, a plain respectable man, with great simplicity of manners and conduct, was very little in unison with her lively, shewy, and enthusiastic temper. It must also be suspected, that one who could scarcely exist out of society, and whose whole ambition was to display her wit and talents, and to shine as the oracle of coteries, was not exactly suited to form the felicity of domestic life. Although, however, they lived a good deal separate, no open breach took place; and in his last illness, she hastened to him at Paris, and they were on their way to Switzerland when he died.

Mad. de Stael mixed deeply in the political intrigues with which Paris was agitated during the stormy period of the Revolution. Her principles, inherited from her father, were those of a moderate republican. In 1793, she fled from the tyranny of the Jacobins, but returned in 1795, and was supposed to possess great influence in the counsels of the Directory. She was repeatedly denounced by Legendre and his party, as directing the political intrigues of the time. Unable to prevail upon her father to quit the retirement of Copet, she divided her time between his residence and that of Paris. When Bonaparte, however, established an absolute government in France, she took a decided part against him. It is said, that in 1800, when the First Consul was passing the Alps into Italy, he went to visit the Necker family. After breakfast, Mad. de Stael craved a private audience, which she employed in giving a long lecture on the mode in which France ought to be governed. Napoleon, to whom her views were probably very unwelcome, after a compliment on her talents, and on the good fortune of her children in having such a mother, asked if she educated them herself; then saying that a division of his army waited, hastened away. In 1803, when she came to Paris, and formed an intimate connection with M. Benjamin Constant, he had the meanness to banish her to the distance of forty miles from that capital; and when she attempted to settle at Rouen and Montmorency, notice was sent, that these were within the prescribed limits; she therefore left France. Devoted to Parisian society, she felt exile as the most exquisite misery; yet it may be mentioned to her honour, that she never sought to abridge it by any concession in point of principle. To this circumstance, so painful to herself, the public was probably indebted for her best works,

written to cheer the gloom of retirement, and as the only channel by which her powers could now display themselves. Indeed, melancholy seemed always the muse that inspired her; and her earlier works were usually written under the pressure of some family misfortune. She had composed very early some little dramas, one of them on the death of Lady Jane Gray; but her genius was first known to the world by "Letters on the Writings and Character of Rousseau," some passages of which rivalled the eloquence of Rousseau himself. During the active period of the French Revolution, her mind, turned entirely to politics, produced only political pamphlets. She wrote, "Defence of the Queen—Epistle to Misfortune—Reflections on Peace, addressed to Mr Pitt—and on Internal Peace." Her work, "On the Influence of the Passions upon the Happiness of Individuals and of Nations," published in two parts, 1796-7, was written with ability, and combined temporary politics with general views of society. Her next work, "Literature Considered in its Connection with Social Institutions," was thought by some to display the influence produced in her mind by the society of M. Schlegel. In 1803, appeared "Delphine," which caused a strong sensation on the continent, though, from various causes, it never acquired much popularity in this country. Two years after, she produced "*Corinne, or Italy*," which must always retain its place as the first of her works, and as one of the most charming that ever was written. The living picture of this country, so magnificent, and so filled with interesting recollections, is here incorporated with the thoughts and adventures of some most striking and original characters. Philosophy, passion, and fancy, are united, and insensibly blended together; the deep feeling of the German school is har-

moniously combined with the flowing ease of the French, and in some degree with the solid reflection of the English. In 1811, appeared "Germany," a work which gives, in many respects, an admirable picture of that extraordinary people; yet it has not the charm of *Corinne*; it wants the dramatic interest, and that strain of melancholy and tender enthusiasm, which rendered the other so exquisitely pleasing.

The strongest sentiment in the mind of Mad. Stael, was the attachment to her father. It is described by her biographer as embracing the whole of her existence, and acquiring daily new strength. Even his love of retirement and tranquillity, the points in which he most differed from herself, were exaggerated as proofs of an almost incredible greatness of mind. She found inexhaustible pleasure in his conversation, which was carried on between them on the most equal footing. Her love was increased by tender regret for his fall, for the calumnies raised against him, for his bodily sufferings, and approaching decline. On this last subject her sanguine and thoughtless spirit made her liable to illusion. "She would pass instantly from the most anxious solicitude to the completest security. So full of life herself, she could not believe in death." When some one mentioned him as old, she declared with anger that she would consider as her worst enemy, any one who should repeat such an assertion. The consequence was, that he was seized with his last illness in her absence, and died before she could reach him—a circumstance which she considered as one of the greatest misfortunes of her life.

Mad. Stael was not so much famed for her maternal, as her filial affection; she was even accused of coldness and severity towards her children; her intimate friends, however, assure us, that this proceeded from principle,

and indicated no want of tenderness. One of them quotes from a letter written on the illness of a daughter the following expressions: "What would become of a mother, trembling for the life of her child, without prayer? This situation would make us find out religion, if we had never even heard of it before." She complains elsewhere of a certain "maternal modesty," which made her say less to her children than she felt. She had no opinion of any extraordinary systems of education, and blamed that too ostensible devotedness of parents to their children, which made them, she thought, vain and selfish. She disapproved also of making children acquire learning in the shape of play, thinking that only the most superficial knowledge could thus be acquired, and that it superseded that habit of resolute application, which forms one of the chief benefits of study. She had no wish to have her daughter brilliant, gay, and celebrated like herself; she was displeased even when she saw any propensity to imitation. "Echoes tire me," said she, "I have enough of myself in myself, and I want to hear something else than the sound of my own voice."

The conversation of Mad. de Stael, seems to have been brilliant and formidable. She appears to have sought in it a scene of too high and constant excitement. She laboured, as it were, under a superstitious dread of *ennui*. Sometimes when the conversation became dull, she would break out, merely in the view of creating a sensation, with some paradox calculated to revolt some of those present in the strongest manner; she would then amuse herself in bringing round the doctrine, and explaining it, away till it was cleared of what was offensive. She was not satisfied that persons were witty, unless they were also animated, and used to say of one who spoke with indifference, "How

can he expect me to attend to him, when he does not do himself the honour to attend to himself." The pleasure derived from her conversation has been compared even by a friend, to that derived from seeing the performances of a rope-dancer.

After the restoration of the Bourbons, Mad. de Stael had full liberty to return to Paris, where since that time she has chiefly resided. In 1814 she paid a visit to London, where she was received with the highest distinction. She died at Paris in July, 1817, in the 53d year of her age. Her remains were conveyed to Copet, and interred with those of her parents. The Duke de Noailles, M. Schlegel, the State Councillors and leading characters of Geneva and the neighbouring country, attended.

Since her death, have been published, "Considerations on the French Revolution," not popular here, but which has been described as the most profound, though not the most eloquent of her works. Appended to it is an Account of England, written with considerable ability, though not nearly so elaborate, as what she has written on France and Germany.

If Europe was deprived in Madame de Stael of one of its greatest literary characters, it lost in WERNER, a name equally illustrious in science. Abraham Gottlob Werner was a native of Saxony, and was born on the 25th September, 1750, at Wehrau, in Upper Lusatia. His father being the manager of a forge, he was surrounded from infancy with the objects to which his life was to be devoted. Brilliant fragments of mineral were daily presented to the boy as playthings; and before he could pronounce their names, he amused himself in arranging, tossing them about, and breaking them. These early specimens he always preserved, and continued to shew them, as the

foundation of a collection, which afterwards became one of the richest in Europe. As he grew up, the passion for minerals always gained new strength, and it was happily accompanied with another equally powerful, the love of method. This appeared in every thing, even in books, which he took more pleasure in arranging than in perusing. This method, applied in a pre-eminent degree to his favourite study of minerals, produced that systematic arrangement of them, which has rendered his name so celebrated. At the age of twenty-four, he published a "Treatise on the external Characters of Minerals." It formed only a pamphlet of a few sheets, and is remarkable as being almost the only written composition of the author. The object was to distinguish the varieties and species of minerals by a nomenclature, expressing the minutest differences in their external qualities, and thus to form a general language, by which all mineralogists might understand each other. He thus did for mineralogy what Linnæus had done for botany. The same effect also followed, of giving to the science, at first sight, a technical and repulsive aspect; but its utility was soon appreciated, and caused its universal adoption throughout Germany. In 1775, Werner was appointed Professor and Inspector of the Cabinets of Freyberg, the chief mining district of Saxony, and perhaps in Europe. He was thus enabled to devote himself entirely and professionally to the pursuit for which he felt the warmest inclination, and with every advantage for its prosecution. Having given to mineralogy a language, his powers of method were now applied to forming it into a system. The first object was mineralogy simple, or what he calls *oryctognosy*, being the classification of minerals considered simply as detached substances. This he made strictly according to their external qualities of fracture,

hardness, lustre, &c., without any regard to their chemical analysis. Cuvier accuses him of too much neglecting their crystalline forms, which were afterwards so ably illustrated by Haüy. The next branch was *Geognosy*, or the composition, structure, and mode of formation of the earth. This is the part of his system which has excited the strongest interest in this country, in consequence of its direct opposition to that promulgated by Hutton. According to Werner, the whole surface of the earth is deposited from waters which originally covered it entirely, but which drying up gradually, left room for the production of dry land, and of organized bodies; but our limits cannot admit of any detailed view of it. Next came geographical mineralogy, or a view of the distribution of minerals over the different countries and tracts on the surface of the globe. Lastly, economical mineralogy, or the application of minerals to the uses and purposes of life. These were the subjects of his Lectures, but in his conversation he gave to the science a much wider extension. Tracing families, tribes, and nations, to their supposed origin in the most elevated part of a mountain chain, he made geology the key, as it were, to the history of the world. He even traced to it the laws of military art; and future generals, he thought, would do well to lay the foundation of their studies at Freyberg. Strangers who heard him discourse in this manner, were apt to regard him as a visionary. The enthusiasm, however, which prompted these views, powerfully warmed the imaginations of youth. There is said, indeed, to have been an indescribable force and charm in his language and conversation. Those who heard him develop, as if by inspiration, the extensive views which he had formed, and the innumerable relations which his genius had discovered, could scarcely avoid

being smitten with similar ardour. Many who came to Freyberg, with the mere view of gaining a general idea of the science, ended with devoting their lives to it. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the pains taken by him in the instruction of his students; his time, his exertions, were entirely devoted to them. When they were too numerous to see his specimens conveniently, he divided them into two parts, and lectured twice. He commonly had some of them at table with him, and in case of occasional necessity, he even afforded pecuniary assistance. The same attention to method, which regulated his scientific arrangements, prevailed in all the concerns of life. Etiquette and ceremony, which were longer preserved in Germany than in any other country, were especially preserved in him; and he regulated the dishes on his table with the same care as the minerals in his cabinet. There was only one occasion when all ceremony ceased, and all ranks became equal in his eyes; this was when minerals were handled awkwardly, or so as at all to stain their lustre. When he heard of one of his pupils who had become a great minister or general, he would exclaim, "Wonderful! he never knew how to touch a stone." Another peculiarity, more to be regretted, was his almost invincible aversion to the act of writing. It was seldom that the most intimate friendship, or the strongest esteem, could extract a letter from him. At length, in order to avoid self-reproach, he gave up altogether opening those that were sent to him. Hence, the letter announcing his election as a member of the French Academy of Sciences, an honour reserved only for a few of the greatest men in Europe, remained unanswered, and he knew the fact only by accidentally looking into an almanack. When his sister sent by express from Berlin a paper for his signature on some im-

portant family affair, he allowed the messenger to wait two months at the inn before he could submit to the intolerable labour of affixing his name to it. The consequence of this reluctance was, that except the small treatise already mentioned, and another not much longer, "On Veins," none of his discoveries and observations have been committed by himself to writing. It must be confessed, however, that neither his fame, nor the diffusion of his doctrines, in any degree suffered by this omission. Secluded within a small Saxon town, without authority in his own country, or connection with persons in power, he acquired a glory and an influence over Europe, scarcely equalled by that of any other individual. He saw his views, which originally appeared so strange and novel, universally adopted. According to M. Villefosse, he has formed all the mines of the world into a subterraneous country, regulated by fixed laws, and of which Freyberg is the acknowledged capital. The fame of Werner, like that of Socrates, has been diffused by his disciples. On the continent, Karsten, Humboldt, Von Buch, Daubuisson, Brochant and many others, taught, wrote, and explored the globe upon his principles. This country is fortunate enough to possess in Professor Jameson, probably the most learned and authentic expositor of his system. Mr Jameson, in his first attempts to introduce it, was assailed by opposition and even ridicule. These, however, soon gave way before the genuine merits of his system, which was soon adopted by a large proportion of the most eminent men of science, while even those who adhered to an opposite geological theory, admitted its excellence in the classification and description of minerals. Edinburgh now contains a Natural History Society, taking its name from Werner, over which Mr Jameson presides, and which has distinguished it-

self by the production of a number of valuable papers.

The regular life led by Werner, and the care which he took of his health, inspired his friends with sanguine hopes of a prolonged life. Unfortunately his health, hitherto firm, sunk beneath the fervour of his patriotism. The misfortunes which befel Saxony at the end of the last war, preyed so severely on his mind, that he never recovered from their effects. He sought in vain to obtain relief by removing to Dresden, where he died in the 67th year of his age. His remains were conveyed to Freyberg, where he was interred with extraordinary pomp.

JEAN CLAUDE DELAMETHRIE was born at Clayette, a small town of Maïennois, in France, on the 4th September 1743. He shewed from his earliest years symptoms of a peculiar character; took no interest in childish sports, but spent his time in profound meditation, and in reading abstruse works. He was at first destined for the church, for which his views seem to have very ill fitted him; but, on the death of his elder brother, he betook himself, at the age of twenty-two, to his father's profession of medicine. After spending five years in this study, he took a disgust to it, and at length determined not to follow any regular profession, but to give himself up wholly to the strange and wild speculations with which his head was teeming. The gravity and sedateness of his youthful temper had now degenerated into spleen and austerity. In order to free himself from all trouble and restraint, he agreed, upon receiving an annuity, to give up all claims upon the property of the family. At the same time he determined never to marry, partly for the same reasons, and partly from scruples of conscience, because, being disposed to consider

existence as an evil, he thought it unjustifiable to communicate it to other beings. His first work was entitled, "Principles of Natural Philosophy," in which he made the most decided profession of atheism, and rendered it the basis of his system of physics. He denied the possible creation and annihilation of matter, and conceived all its properties to be the result of powers necessarily inherent in it.—He endeavoured to revive the antiquated division into four elements; and all his book was filled with speculations equally extravagant. As the booksellers of Paris would not venture to publish it, he printed it at Geneva. Next appeared, "Physiological Views," full of still wilder theories, in which he represented animals and vegetables as the product of crystallization; and the vital power as consisting in galvanism. He now removed to Paris, and formed connections with the men of science in that metropolis. Having contributed extensively to the *Journal de Physique*, he became, in 1785, editor of that Journal. It seems he possessed some of the requisite qualities, industry, punctuality, extensive information, and a strict sense of literary justice. Besides his extravagant speculations, however, he had a violent self-love and jealousy of rivalry, which made him undervalue the most important discoveries made by his contemporaries. He set himself in direct opposition to the new chemical system of Lavoisier, and insisted on continuing to use the word pure air, instead of oxygen. In the same spirit he attacked Haüy's doctrines of crystallography. When he was unable to deny the value of any discovery, he searched for passages in old works which appeared to anticipate it, and republished them, in order to shew that it was not original. The most useful direction that his pursuits took, was that of mineralogy and geology; and the "Theory of the Earth,"

which he published in 1795, is reckoned his best work, or at least that which contains the fewest absurdities. When the professorship of Natural History in the College of France became vacant by the death of Daubenton, he considered himself unjustly treated in the preference given to Cuvier, a much younger man, and who did not then possess the great fame which he has since attained. He afterwards, however, became joint lecturer, having the departments of mineralogy and geology allotted to him. He made his Lectures on these subjects very interesting, by the exhibition of specimens, and by making excursions with his pupils to the neighbourhood of Paris. He suffered severely in consequence of the Revolution, which both injured the family-property, and stopped the sale of his Journal; and he owed much on this occasion to the generosity of Cuvier. On the return of peaceable times, he immediately renewed his Journal, and, in 1804, published "Considerations on Organised Beings," in the same wild strain as all its predecessors. In 1812, he had a severe attack of apoplexy; and though he resumed his literary occupations, he continued in an infirm state till 1st July, 1817, when a second shock carried him off, in the 74th year of his age. In the course of thirty-one years that he conducted the *Journal de Physique*, he inserted in it nearly 120 papers, which, with his other works, made him one of the most voluminous writers of the age. He was accustomed to boast of this circumstance, not reflecting, that a smaller quantity of writing, better considered and digested, would have been much more useful to the public.

The scientific world of Paris lost this year another ornament in CHARLES MESSIER. He was born at Badonvilliers in Lorraine, and early devoted himself to the study of astronomy. He

became the pupil and confidant of the celebrated Delisle, under whose direction he was the first to discover the return of Halley's famous comet. He thenceforth devoted himself to the observation of the heavens, and particularly of comets, nineteen of which were discovered by him between 1758 and 1800. He passed whole nights in the observation of celestial phenomena, while the days were employed in marking the spots on the sun, or in making charts of his numerous observations. In 1770, he was admitted member of the French Academy, on the same day with Cassini. He never sought wealth; but the Revolution deprived him of all means of support; and he had sometimes difficulty in obtaining oil for his nightly lamp. After the fall, however, of the Jacobin government, the Convention assigned him honourable places in the Institute, and in the Board of Longitude. After sixty years devoted to astronomy, he became blind, like Eratosthenes, Galileo, and Cassini. He made numerous contributions to the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences*,—the *Connaissance des Temps*, the *Ephemerides of Vienna*, the *Philosophical Transactions*, the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin*, and other collections. In conjunction with the learned Pingré, he edited the *Voyage of the Marquis of Caustons-vaux*, (4to. Paris, 1768.) He died at Paris in 1817, at the age of 87.

Science also suffered by the death of ALEXIS MARIE ROCHON. He was born at Brest on the 21st February, 1761, and, being accustomed from infancy to the view of maritime objects and scenery, he contracted a passion for them, and devoted his life to the improvement of nautical science. In 1765, he became a correspondent of the Academy of Sciences; and soon after was nominated astronomer to the marine. In 1768 he was sent out to

the East Indies, and employed himself in determining the position of the islands and shoals which intervene between the coasts of India and the Isle of France. During this period he visited Madagascar, and published one of the most valuable accounts of that island which we yet possess. Returning in 1772, he brought home with him the most beautiful crystals of Madagascar quartz that had been hitherto seen. He discovered the property of double refraction possessed by this body, and conceived the happy idea of applying it to the measure of angles.—Such was the foundation of the micrometer invented by him. He felt an ardent zeal for the improvement of his native province, and particularly of the port of Brest. His representations induced the government to adopt the measure of opening a navigable canal across Brittany, between the ports of Brest and Nantes. He was also appointed chief civil engineer of Paris, and immense hydraulic works were, in the course of the last ten years, begun and executed under his direction. He died in the beginning of April, 1817, in the 77th year of his age.

We could have wished here to introduce a memoir of Deluc, the philosopher of Geneva; but, as we have not yet collected materials adequate to the subject, we shall reserve this till the following year.

On the opposite side of the water, this year is marked by the death of a person of some merit and importance,—Dr TIMOTHY DWIGHT, President and Professor of Divinity in Yale College. He was born at Northampton, in the state of Massachusetts, in May, 1752. After completing his studies, and on the commencement of the American war, he was invited to accept the office of chaplain, in which capacity he was attached to the division com-

manded by General Putnam. He was distinguished by the facility with which he adapted himself to, and rendered himself useful in this peculiar mode of clerical duty. After the peace, he was chosen to represent the town of Northampton in the general court of Boston. Possessing poetical taste, he published, in 1785, an epic poem, called the "Conquest of Canaan." In 1794, he published "Greenfield Hill," descriptive of the place of his residence, situated on the coast of the Sound of Long Island. His reputation as a preacher was constantly increasing, being distinguished for the clearness of his thoughts, the copiousness and elegance of his diction, and for the distinctness and warmth of his elocution. On the death then of President Stiles, in May, 1795, Mr Dwight was named by the public voice as the fittest person to succeed. He was elected, and discharged his duties with such ability, that the college soon began to flourish beyond former example. His labours seem indeed to have been very great, since, besides the general superintend-

ence of the college, he undertook the entire instruction of the senior class in rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, and ethics; and heard each week two disputations. As professor of divinity, he delivered every Sunday forenoon, a Lecture, forming part of a general course of theological science, completed in four years; while in the afternoon, he gave a Sermon on miscellaneous topics. His course of divinity he left revised, and in a state ready for the press. In the same state were found a number of miscellaneous discourses and dissertations connected with the proofs of Christianity and Biblical literature. He left also, ready for the press, another laborious work—an Account of the States of New England and of New York, collected in various tours through this territory, during the last twenty years of his life. He contributed numerous papers to the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the formation of which he had taken a very active part. He died on the 11th January, 1817.*

* The materials for this and the preceding Chapter, are in Annual Biography and Obituary, London 1818;—The Monthly, Gentleman, and Edinburgh Magazines;—Thomson's Annals of Philosophy.—Edinburgh Philosophical Journal.—Life of John Philpot Curran, by his son William Henry Curran, 2 vols. 8vo.—Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, by himself, and Maria Edgeworth, 2 vols. 8vo.—Memoires de Mad. Stael.—Account of the Life, &c. of Dr Alexander Monro, Secundus, by Andrew Duncan, sen. M. D. 8vo.—Private and Oral Information.

CHAPTER III.

VIEW OF IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE DURING THE YEAR.

Davy's Safety Lamp, and Researches on Flame.—Artificial Freezing of Water.—Preservation of Volatile and Deliquescent Substances.—The Oxy-Hydrogen Blow-pipe.—Security of Steam-Boats.—Geography of Plants.

IN taking a view of the accessions made during the year to the different branches of physical science, it is not our intention to enter into any detail of minute particulars. The object will rather be to embrace those grand and leading discoveries, which retain a permanent interest, and form an era in the department of human knowledge to which they belong. Among these, the following are the most prominent :—

DAVY'S SAFETY LAMP, AND RESEARCHES ON FLAME.

While the improvements made in science afford to accomplished minds a high rational pleasure, independent of their application to the useful arts, their influence on the latter contributes materially to those sentiments of respect and of gratitude which mankind at large entertain towards them; and in proportion to their operation as promoting public wealth and the general comfort of society, such sentiments are elicited with the greater promptitude and warmth. On this account, it is with feelings of no common admiration that we congratulate the public on the

discovery of the safety-lamp of Sir Humphrey Davy, by means of which, subterranean mines, which hitherto could not be visited without the risk of ruinous explosions, are rendered accessible without danger.

In the coal mines of Newcastle and most other coal districts, an evolution of inflammable gas, called by chemists carbureted hydrogen, and by the workmen, fire-damp, is liable to take place, and to accumulate in situations in which no regular ventilation is kept up. Wherever a mine, or a division of a mine, has been for some time left without ventilation, it is always dangerous to approach it with a lamp or candle, and in cases in which the rashness of individuals has allowed them to neglect the danger, or in which accumulations of the inflammable gas have been more rapidly formed than they were aware, an immense volume of an explosive mixture, has in many instances been set on fire, and explosions have been produced by which numerous lives have been lost; persons who have escaped immediate death have been miserably scorched, and the machinery connected with the works has been destroyed. Various preventives have been

suggested for destroying or removing these gases, or for lighting the mines where they are lodged, without the risk of explosion.

Sir Humphry Davy, on the invitation of the Sunderland committee formed for the express purpose of obviating these dangers, went to that part of the country to investigate the subject, and the result of his investigations, and the multiplied experiments dictated by his inventive genius, and conducted with unwearied perseverance, have been completely satisfactory. It is unnecessary to mention the various expedients previously suggested for lighting the mines. One was that of the steel mill, consisting of a wheel with large steel teeth, made to elicit sparks from flint during its revolutions; light is thus afforded, while the heat generated is not so high as to explode the gas. Plans also were attempted for supporting the flame of a close lamp by air introduced from without by a tube, either with or without machinery. These and other measures, however, were either ineffectual or too cumbersome for general use, or laboured under both disadvantages together.

Sir H. Davy's first experiments consisted in examining the combustibility of this gas, the proportions of mixtures of it with atmospheric air which are combustible, and the circumstances occurring during combustion by which the process is liable to be arrested. He found that this gas differs from other inflammable gases in its combustibility, requiring a much higher temperature to produce explosion. He found also that the flame generated in combustion or explosion, did not pass through metallic tubes of small bore, and a certain proportional length. He ascertained at the same time the quantities of azote and of carbonic acid, which, by their presence, extinguished flame, an effect which he found to arise from their cooling power. On the data thus pro-

cured, he first constructed a lamp which gave light through glass, but was close in every part, with the exception of two or three small orifices beneath for admitting air to support the flame, and one above to give passage to the smoke and residual gases. These orifices admitted only a limited quantity of aerial fluid into the lamp, and such a quantity of azote and carbonic acid was produced as prevented the explosion of the fire-damp, while the nature of the apertures rendered it incapable of communicating any explosion to the surrounding air.

In this lantern the air admitted was only sufficient to support a certain size of flame: the mixture of fire-damp and air being gradually admitted, the first effect of the fire-damp was to produce a larger flame round that of the lamp, and this flame consuming the oxygen which the flame of the lamp required, and the standard of the power of the air to support flame being lowered by the admixture of fire-damp, and by its rarefaction, both the flame of the fire-damp and that of the taper or lamp were extinguished together. The azote and carbonic acid present, by mixing with the fire-damp, prevented explosion in any part of the lantern. As the air gradually became contaminated with fire-damp, this fire damp was consumed in the body of the lantern, and the air passing through the chimney contained no inflammable mixture. In an experiment made on this point, Sir H. Davy gradually threw an explosive mixture of fire-damp and air into this lantern from a bladder. By a rapid jet of gas he produced an explosion in the body of the lantern. There was no tendency to a communication of the flame through the apertures below; the flame did not appear to extend upwards farther than the lower aperture of the chimney, and the explosion merely threw out from it a gust of foul air. The principle of this lamp being esta-

blished, was applied in various forms, the simplest of which was a close lantern, in which the apertures by which the air was admitted, and those from which it passed, were covered with brass wire gauze of $\frac{1}{80}$ of an inch in thickness, with interstices not more than $\frac{1}{80}$ of an inch in diameter.

Such was the invention first announced by this eminent philosopher. It was soon followed by another, the same that is now adopted in actual practice. This has the advantage of continuing to burn in an explosive mixture of fire-damp, and giving light by the combustion of the fire-damp itself. This invention consists in surrounding the flame of a lamp or candle on all sides and above with a wire sieve, the efficacy of which is in proportion to the minuteness of its apertures. The coarsest which has been tried with perfect safety, contains 24 apertures to the inch, or 576 to the square inch, the wire being $\frac{1}{30}$ of an inch thick; the finest has 6400 apertures to the square inch, and the wire $\frac{1}{80}$ of an inch thick. When a lighted lamp is received into a ring soldered to a cylinder of wire-gauze covering the flame, and having no apertures except those of the texture of the gauze, and the whole being thus prepared, is introduced into the most explosive mixture of carbureted hydrogen and air, the cylinder becomes filled with a bright flame, which continues to burn as long as the mixture is explosive. When the carbureted hydrogen is to the air as 1 to 12, the flame of the wick appears within the flame of the fire-damp; when as 1 to 7, the flame of the wick disappears, and that of the fire-damp alone is seen.

When the thickest wires are used in the gauze, it becomes strongly red hot, particularly at the top, yet no explosion takes place. The flame is brighter the larger the apertures of the gauze are; and the cylinder of 625 apertures to the square inch, gives

a most brilliant light in a mixture of one part of coal-gas with seven of air; the lower part of the flame is green, the middle purple, and the upper part blue. Sir H. Davy made various experiments on the application of the principle to mixtures much more readily explosive than any that are liable to occur in coal-mines. He tried cylinders of 6400 apertures to the square inch, in mixtures of carbureted hydrogen with oxygen, and even of oxygen with pure hydrogen, and though the wire became intensely red-hot, explosions never took place; the combustion was entirely limited to the interior of the lamp. In all these experiments, there was a noise like that produced by the burning of hydrogen gas in open tubes.

This safety-lamp is now universally employed, and where explosions have since occurred, they have arisen from negligence and foolish hardness in omitting the lamp altogether, or removing the gauze cover, or some other imprudence. Hence the lamps used by the workmen are now kept shut by means of a padlock, of which an official person keeps the key.

These extraordinary results led their illustrious discoverer to many curious and interesting inquiries respecting the nature and communication of flame.

It is worthy of remark, however, that he advances, in the outset, a position which is altogether untenable, which he considers as best explaining the results which he obtained, "that flame must in all cases be considered as the combustion of an explosive mixture of inflammable gas and air; that it cannot be regarded as a mere combustion at the surface of contact of the inflammable matter, a fact which, he says, is proved by holding a taper or a piece of burning phosphorus within a large flame made by the combustion of alcohol: the flame of the candle or of the phosphorus will appear in the centre of the other flame,

proving that there is oxygen even in its interior part." When this philosopher observed such a result, it must have been a deception arising from some disturbance of the flame, by which oxygen was admitted to its centre. The uniform effect is, when we convey a piece of burning phosphorus in a platinum spoon into the centre of a flame of alcohol, taking care to avoid agitation, that the combustion of the phosphorus instantly ceases; when we remove it into the open air, it recommences, and so on alternately, as long as any remains unburnt. While it is in the air, it is covered with its peculiarly brilliant flame. While in the interior of the flame of alcohol, we only see the yellow surface of the melted matter, like that of a quantity of melted bees-wax. The interior of a flame arising from an extended surface of a burning body consists entirely of combustible matter in a state of volatilization; it excludes the atmospheric air, which only comes in contact with its exterior surface, and the combustion at this surface forms the flame. The heat evolved at the surface of combustion is very high, as our philosopher proceeds to observe; it is perhaps as high as any we are acquainted with. Mr Tennant was in the habit of shewing, that a small filament of platinum may be fused in the flame of a common candle. Now it may be remarked that, if such a high temperature were extended through the interior of the flame, it would display much more powerful energies in fusing bodies than it does. Platinum would be fused in larger masses, if quite surrounded with such a temperature; but the limitation of it to a thin superficial stratum subjects it to dissipation, as soon as a body of any considerable thickness of substance is placed in it. Even a long piece of wood, held for some time across a broad flame, is brought out scarcely altered by that situation, ex-

cept at the points corresponding to the surface of the flame.

With the exception of this mistaken view of flame, the researches of this author are as instructive as they are curious.

He has investigated, in a beautiful manner, the cause of the light emitted by flame, and the differences of this light as exemplified in the combustion of different materials. He finds by comparing a diversity of facts, that the light of a flame of carbureted hydrogen, for example that produced by the combustion of a stream of gas in our artificial gas-lights, arises from the decomposition of the gas towards the interior of the flame, where, he says, the air is in smaller quantity, (but where we maintain that there is no admixture of air at all;) a portion of solid charcoal in the form of a tenuous powder is there generated, which, first by its ignition, and then by its combustion, increases in a high degree the intensity of the light. The flame produced by an explosive mixture of coal-gas and common air, within a wire-gauze cylinder, emits a much fainter light. This arises from the air being thoroughly mixed with the inflammable gas, as is proved by the following beautiful experiment. Sir H. Davy held a piece of wire-gauze over a stream of coal-gas issuing from a small pipe, and inflamed the gas above the gauze, which was almost in contact with the orifice of the pipe. It now burned with its usual bright light. On raising the wire-gauze, so as to admit more atmospheric air into mixture with it, the light became feebler, and at a certain distance the flame assumed the precise character of that of an explosive mixture burning within the lamp; but the heat was now greater than when the light was much more vivid; and a piece of platinum wire, held in this obscure flame, became instantly white hot. Now this is cer-

tainly best explained by admitting that, where that gas is in contact and mixture with air, the temperature generated burns both the ingredients of the compound, *i. e.* the carbon and hydrogen, at once; but immediately within the surface of a common luminous flame, the high temperature being applied without the contact of any oxygen to support combustion, the decomposition takes place, and the charcoal evolved emits a brilliant light in consequence of its simple ignition. The charcoal thus evolved and ignited, is not burned till it rises to the summit of the flame, where it comes in contact with oxygen. Hence it is found, that a piece of wire-gauze held across the summit receives no deposition; but when moved lower in a parallel direction, it receives a deposition of charcoal till it reaches near the bottom of the flame, and now, the gas not being at all decomposed, no such deposit appears. On this principle, the flame of phosphorus and of zinc burning in oxygen or common air, gives an intense light; because the products of those combustions, phosphoric acid and oxide of zinc, are solid bodies; while the flames of pure hydrogen and sulphur, in which volatile matter alone is generated, are feeble. The light of burning sulphur, hydrogen, and carbonic oxide, may be greatly improved by introducing solid matter, even though incombustible; such as amianthus, a coil of platinum wire, or metallic gauze, or throwing into them a fine incombustible powder, such as oxide of zinc.

Our eminent countryman prosecuted further the laws of combustion as applied to gaseous bodies. He investigated the effect of *rarefaction* as produced in two different ways by the removal of pressure and by the application of heat. He made experiments on the combustion of similar jets of different gases, in a medium variously rarefied by the air-pump. He found

that those gases which *require* the least heat for their combustion, burn in more rarefied air than others; those which in their combustion *produce* most heat, also burn in a comparatively rare medium; that the rarefaction only operates by rendering the supply of heat in consequence of the combustion slower. He found that explosive mixtures, when rarefied by heat, were equally combustible, and exploded even at a less elevation of temperature, less cooling agency being in this case exerted by the gas itself.—He found that when gases are subjected to sudden compression, this does not produce combustion, except by the heat which it evolves; and that the doctrines maintained by Higgins, Berthollet, and Dr Murray, that heat suddenly applied, as by the electric spark, kindles a gas by the compression of one part of the gas arising from the sudden expansion which the heat produces in another, are erroneous.

Sir H. Davy then explored the laws of that influence which admixtures of foreign gas, including an excess of either of the gases actually concerned, exert in preventing explosion; an influence which he observed, and of which he availed himself in constructing the first form of his safety-lamp. This influence depends on their cooling agency; and on comparing, in this particular, the different kinds of gases, he found it to be in some inverse ratio to their density.—Their operation, as applied to different combustible bodies during their combustion, is in exact inverse proportion to the heat which their combustion requires. This general principle is elegantly demonstrated by the following simple experiment. Into a long bottle with a narrow neck, introduce a lighted taper, and let it burn till it is extinguished; stop the bottle, and introduce another lighted taper; it will be extinguished before reaching the bottom of the neck; then introduce a small tube contain-

ing the mixture for producing hydrogen gas, and this gas kindled, and burning as it issues from the mouth of the tube; the hydrogen burns in whatever part of the bottle it is placed, as it requires less heat to support its combustion than a taper does. After the hydrogen is extinguished, sulphur will burn for some time, if introduced in a state of combustion: after its extinction, phosphorus, if introduced, will be luminous, as in the air; and, if heated, will produce a dense yellow flame.

In dense atmospheres, the cooling influence of superfluous gases in preventing combustion, is greatest. Yet there is so much more matter present, entering into combustion, as to produce a compensation. In rare atmospheres, the cooling influence of the superfluous gas, (for example, the azote in the higher regions of our atmosphere,) is so much diminished, that the comparatively small quantity of oxygen contained in a given extent of space, supports a combustion nearly as vivid as that which takes place in lower situations, in which it is more dense.

These, and other varied researches, are applied to illustrate the operation of wire gauze, and other tissues or systems of apertures permeable to light and air, in intercepting flame.

It seems singular that, after all, he should lay so much weight on his definition of flame, that it is *gaseous* matter heated so highly as to be luminous, beyond the white heat of solid bodies, when the influence of the evolution of solid matter has been so well illustrated by his own experiments. Whether the blue colour of the flame of hydrogen, and others not containing solid matter, is owing to the high temperature, and is an effect of it, or is the direct separation of the latent matter of light effected by combustion, is a problem not at all elucidated by any of his views; but enough is made known to shake, in some mea-

sure, the doctrine of the separate materiality of light, and to lead us to view it as an effect of caloric, a phenomenon of pure ignition. It is by no means proved, that any elastic fluid, while it continues in other respects unchanged, is capable of being made luminous by a rise of temperature.

Sir H. Davy clearly shews that it is entirely by its cooling influence that wire-gauze arrests the communication of flame. The hottest flames are the most difficult to stop, and require the smallest apertures. A tissue of 100 apertures to the square inch will stop the flame of alcohol, but not that of hydrogen gas. A tissue which would transmit the flame generated by the explosion of hydrogen with air, or even that of olifiant gas, (the heavy carbureted hydrogen), will stop an explosion from fire-damp. A minute flame is extinguished by introducing round it from above, a very small ring of copper, while a ring of platinum of the same dimensions will produce no such effect. The conducting power of the metal, and the mass of it which is employed, promote it, and it is also most easily produced in flames which give out least proportional heat, and those which require the highest temperature to produce or to preserve them. A flame is divided by the wire-gauze into numerous smaller flames, each of which is extinguished in passing its aperture till the wire is raised to a heat sufficient to produce the combustion of the surrounding explosive mixture. A flame, in rapid motion, is transmitted through apertures which will not transmit one in slow motion. But, however rapid the motion, all flames may be arrested by increasing the cooling surface, by diminishing the size of the aperture, or by increasing its depth. If the flame of an explosion is confined on all sides except one, it will pass through an aperture in consequence of the forcible motion given to it in

that direction. Nay, if in the bottom of a lamp covered with wire-gauze, an orifice be made a little larger than the meshes of the gauze, the readier egress afforded at this point will make it pass, whereas if a plurality of orifices of this size be made in different directions, the flame will be arrested. These curious facts demonstrate, that the interruption of flame by solid tissues, which are permeable to light and air, depends on no recondite or mysterious cause, but simply on their cooling powers.

On the 8th of January, 1817, the inventor gave to the Royal Society this highly encouraging report on the facility with which these principles had been practically applied. "It has," says he, "been now for ten months in the hands of hundreds of common miners in the most dangerous mines of Britain, during which time not a single accident has occurred where it has been employed; while, in other mines much less dangerous, where it has not been adopted, some lives have been lost, and many persons burned."

The value of this invention is so much the greater, as the liability to such explosions continues to increase with the comparatively greater depth below the surface of the earth to which the workings are successively carried.

ARTIFICIAL FREEZING OF WATER.

Mr Leslie has announced to the public a new method of freezing water, by the substitution of a substance more easily procured and managed, instead of the sulphuric acid. The principle of his former process is well known. It is to create such a rapid evaporation from a surface of water as will be sufficient, by the abstraction of caloric, to create a cold, by which that part of the water which is not evaporated is converted into ice. This is done by placing the water, in a small vessel,

under the receiver of an air-pump, over a wide basin of sulphuric acid, and then exhausting the air of the receiver. The exhaustion removes the pressure from the surface of the water, which, under other circumstances, forms an obstacle to the evaporating process. If this were the whole effect, however, a portion of the water thus evaporated, or converted into invisible vapour, would quickly occupy the place of the air, and keep up a pressure on the evaporating surface, which would oppose the continuance of the evaporation. But the sulphuric acid possessing a strong attraction for water unites with it, and condenses it from the state of vapour as fast as it is formed, and thus allows the evaporation to proceed. The cooling process is maintained and extended, and the result presents itself in the freezing of the water. Mr Leslie has lately announced, that *porphyritic trap*, reduced to powder, possesses the properties of absorbing water, though not to the same extent as sulphuric acid, and that, by increasing the quantity, it can be applied with equal success in this beautiful and useful experiment. The rock which the Professor employed was obtained from the Calton-hill at Edinburgh, where it was exposed to view by the forming of a public walk. He first perceived its power by its influence on his hygrometer. The rock, after being pounded and roasted, was put into a saucer about seven inches wide, and a shallow cup, of porous earthen-ware, three inches in diameter, was placed at the height of half an inch above it, and the whole covered with a low receiver. On exhausting the air from this receiver till the gage stood at two tenths of an inch, the water, in a very few minutes, was converted into a cake of ice. This powdered rock absorbs the 50th part of its weight of moisture before its absorbing power is diminished one half,

and the 25th part, before it is reduced to one fourth. When completely saturated with humidity, it holds nearly a fifth part of its whole weight. Since, therefore, the quantity of heat abstracted by the process of evaporation is adequate to the congelation of about eight times an equal quantity of water to that which is evaporated, the dry pulverized green-stone, or garden mould, is capable of freezing more than the sixth part of its weight of water; a larger proportion, however, ought to be employed, to secure success, and promote expedition. The contents of two quart-decanter, for instance, poured into a saucer of a foot diameter, may be employed to freeze half, or three quarters of a pound of water in a hemispherical cup of porous earthen-ware. After each process, it should be dried again, and kept accurately stopped up from the influence of the atmosphere. In hot countries exposure to the sun will be sufficient to dry it. Ice may therefore be procured at sea, or in tropical climates, with very little trouble, and no sort of risk or inconvenience. Failures have been complained of in the attempts made to repeat Mr Leslie's experiments. These have arisen either from the imperfection of the air-pump, or some deviation from the directions which he has given. We find, for example, in some foreign works, a direction that the dish of water should be at a *considerable distance* from the absorbing surface of sulphuric acid; no doubt, under the idea that the cold is likely to be best maintained when the cooling body is placed at a distance from that which is heated by the absorption and condensation of the moisture. A larger and longer receiver is thus employed. But it is when the water is placed near to the sulphuric acid, or absorbing earth, and when the receiver is quite low, that the experiment succeeds best.

In some further experiments, the Professor found that parched oat-meal possesses a still greater power of absorbing humidity than the trap-rock. With a body of this substance, a foot in diameter, and rather more than one inch deep, he has frozen a pound and a quarter of water, contained in a hemispherical porous cup; and the absorption is capable of containing the state of congelation for a considerable time. When this experiment was reversed, and the surface of the water double that of the meal, the latter substance acquired an additional heat of 50 degrees of Fahrenheit. The power of oat-meal, in this particular, has been long employed by the farmers in this country in curing hams, by immersing them for a length of time in a repository of oat-meal. The superfluous moisture was thus removed from the muscular fibre, and the curing was accomplished, although, from a total ignorance of the principle, it was not employed systematically, nor the most advantageous methods understood.— Greater delicacy is required in the application of heat to oat-meal, for drying it, than to trap-rock, as the latter is not liable to be burnt by a hasty and excessive heat, as is the case with a vegetable matter. For this reason, many may still prefer the trap-rock, though the quantity of it required to produce a definite effect is larger. In cases in which the lightness of the materials employed may be considered as an object, as in travelling, perhaps one of the best substances would be trap-rock, imbued with muriate of lime. This salt is well known to have a powerful attraction for moisture, but is rendered inconvenient when separately used, from the circumstance of requiring a high heat to reduce it to a solid state, and the great care required to stir it during its consolidation, that it may not run into a hard compact mass, which in this state at-

tracts humidity very feebly, and has a toughness which prevents it from being pulverised. This disadvantage will be obviated by having it diffused through powdered rock, where it will form an extensive surface, by adhering to all the particles of the powder. For the purpose of preserving this or any other hygrometric substance from the atmospheric humidity, the improved apparatus mentioned in the next article will be found very effectual.

PRESERVATION OF VOLATILE AND DELIQUESCENT SUBSTANCES.

Much disadvantage has been experienced from the imperfection of the apparatus employed for the purposes expressed in our title. Volatile acids escape from the best stoppered bottles. The case is the same with æther, particularly in hot climates; and it is well known to mineralogists that the mineral called Lomonite cannot be preserved entire, because the moisture which it imbibes from the air makes it crumble into fragments. This inconvenience they have been in the habit of obviating, by giving it a coating of gum, a plan which must disguise the surface. It is also known that there are some beautiful extraneous fossils of pyrites, which, even when inclosed in glass vessels accurately stopped with sealing wax, attract moisture, and are gradually destroyed by a process of efflorescence, from the formation of crystals of sulphate of iron. An apparatus has therefore been proposed by Dr Dewar, in Dr Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*, which is sufficiently simple, and the principle accurate. This consists of a bottle made with a deep circular rim round its shoulder, not rising quite so high as the mouth of the bottle. In the cavity formed by this rim, a quantity of mercury is contained, and an

inverted glass cup, or tumbler, the mouth of which is adapted to the cavity, is immersed in the mercury, covering thus the neck and stopper of the bottle. The bottom of the inverted cup is loaded to sink it to a proper depth in the mercury, and to keep it steady. This apparatus may be rendered carriageable by a circle of cork passing between the inverted cup and the containing rim, and a piece of leather or bladder tied over the whole.

Among the various uses to which this apparatus is applicable, is that of preserving the muriate of lime, or soil which powerfully attracts humidity; substances which, from their cleanliness, are preferable to sulphuric acid, for the formation of ice, by the process invented by Professor Leslie.

THE OXY-HYDROGEN BLOW-PIPE.

In the hands of the chemist and practical mineralogist, the blow-pipe is an instrument of primary importance, the value of which, as arising from the extent of its application, has only, in recent times, been fully appreciated. In the examination of ores and minerals, it supersedes many of the toilsome and repulsive operations of the furnace. It is an instrument which requires no preparation, and the chemist can operate with it on a small specimen, and can, in a few minutes, obtain a result as precise and satisfactory as was formerly afforded by a process of several hours. The flame of the blow-pipe was always known to be of an intense temperature, though limited to a minute space, and substances which could not be melted by it were pronounced infusible. The forms of this instrument, and the improvements which it has undergone, in order to adapt it to convenience, are numerous. But it was reserved for these two last

years, to bring it to a state of incomparably greater perfection, and to increase its power in an incalculable degree.

A very convenient apparatus for producing a jet of elastic fluid was first suggested by Mr Brookes. The instrument was executed, and afterwards variously improved, by Mr Newman. It consisted of a strong copper vessel, of a parallel piped shape, into which the gas was forced by a condensing syringe. Its elasticity then made it to issue with great force from a narrow orifice, commanded by a stop-cock. A jet of oxygen could, in this manner, be impelled on the flame of a lamp, forming a much more powerful flame than that generated by the blowing of atmospheric air. Or hydrogen could be emitted in the same manner; or the two could be emitted from separate reservoirs, to create an intense heat, by their combustion at their point of contact. Powerful instruments were thus obtained; but they have been infinitely surpassed by an expedient, the suggestion of which strikes us not so much from any ingenuity in the invention, as by the boldness which could conceive it practicable without extreme danger. This consists in introducing into the reservoir now mentioned, the most explosive mixture of hydrogen and oxygen gases, in the same proportion in which they combine to form water, two volumes of hydrogen to one of oxygen. When this mixture, in a condensed state, is made to issue by a narrow orifice, and the jet ignited, a flame is produced of a temperature much higher, and possessed of powers much greater, than any heat previously known. But what prevents it from communicating the combustion to the interior of the reservoir, and creating an explosion which will destroy the apparatus, and endanger the experimenter? This accident is obviated by various means. The force of

the jet opposes, in itself, an obstacle to the retrograde progress of the flame. Its force is greatest at the very orifice of the tube. This, while it affords the materials of the strong combustion, has a cooling power, by which the part of the flame nearest to it is cooler than its other parts, and it is only at a certain distance that the flame exists at all. But it was one imperfection of this instrument, in its original form, that the jet always became weaker the longer it continued after one repletion of the reservoir. When its force is to a certain degree reduced, the flame is very apt to extend inward, and produce a disastrous explosion. One great improvement, therefore, has been given to it, that of fixing the condensing syringe in such a direction, and with such solidity, that the operator can, with the one hand, keep up the supply of the mixed gases to the reservoir, while, with the other, he conducts the experiments at the flame. This also enables him to keep up an experiment for a longer time. It ought, however, to be accompanied with a gage for shewing the degree of the condensation in the interior, by the compression of a portion of air in a glass tube, confined by mercury, that a real uniformity may be commanded.

Another form of the blow-pipe, which has been employed by some of the Italian philosophers, is to supersede the use both of the metallic reservoir and the condensing syringe, by a simple bladder, fitted with a tube and stop-cock, and subjected to pressure by heavy weights laid on a board. The force thus exerted is uniform, till the materials are expended, and if an explosion should happen, it is attended with much less danger. Various expedients have been adopted for averting the consequent danger, in cases of actual explosion; such as, making the side of the reservoir farthest from the operator the weakest, that the direc-

tor of it may not imply exposure of his safety. Another is, the interposition of a strong screen of thick deal between the operator and the reservoir, the tube from which the jet proceeds, and the handle of the syringe being made to pass through holes in this screen. A third expedient is to employ a reservoir of copper, of great thickness, imbedded in a case of thick wrought iron, and altogether so strong as not to give way when the contents are inflamed. These vessels are subjected to proof, before being applied to experimental purposes.

The most important object, however, with regard to security, is to construct the instrument in such a manner, that the risk of internal combustion will be altogether obviated. This is attempted by various expedients. One is to have a small cavity connected with the orifice, from which the mixture issues, which has no gaseous connection with the main reservoir, but allows the transmission of the gas from the latter in successive bubbles, through water or oil. The explosion then will not extend farther than the smallest cavity, and consequently will be much less violent. This plan, however, has sometimes failed, and explosions of the whole contents have taken place where it was employed. The experimenters have not attached the due degree of importance to the *cooling* influence of the bodies intended to arrest the transmission of the exploding flame, otherwise they would not have preferred oil to water; and mercury seems not to have been thought of. The narrowness of the tubes, through which the flame passes, is one great point for security, but it limits the power of the instrument. Plans have therefore been devised, to render these two objects compatible: One was to make the gas pass through a plurality of parallel tubes of very small calibre, on its way to the orifice, which is sufficiently large to

afford an instrument of the greatest power. Another to employ fine wire-gauze, extended across some part of the tube. This is either in a single piece, or several are closely applied to one another. Through the whole of the improvements, however, the cooling power of the substances is as much kept out of view, as if those concerned had never read Davy's *Researches on Flame*, and had satisfied themselves with loose reports of the ultimate efficacy of the safety-lamp in arresting its progress. They recommend a bundle of glass-tubes, of narrow bore, for security, and even *wooden* tubes (for example the natural longitudinal pores of cane) have been proposed. The superior efficacy of the best conducting metals, for such purposes, has not been at all appreciated. This efficacy ought undoubtedly to be employed, and might be greatly increased by keeping such tubes cold by external applications, such as water, snow, or freezing mixtures. If forming a bundle of parallel tubes, they should not be in mutual contact, but held together at the ends by some metallic connection. It would not be difficult to make a set of experiments on the effect of tubes of definite materials, various in their calibre and their length, and cooled in a certain manner. The structure of a blow-pipe, absolutely secure from explosion, might thus be determined. Probably the force of the current of issuing gas, as shewn by the pressure applied, may be overlooked in such experiments, and such a form of the blow-pipe fixed upon as will be secure when that pressure is as small as is consistent with the keeping up of a flame. That such a one might be obtained, there is every reason to believe. There is a discreditable clumsiness in operating with an instrument, with which we are obliged to use precautions to secure our own lives, while we anticipate the risk of having our experiments inter-

rupted by the bursting of the apparatus, and the shattering of the windows of the laboratory. Some crazy pretenders to philosophy seem to delight in these explosions, as adding eclat to their pursuits, but they certainly evince a deficiency in the application of philosophical principles.

But though this instrument admits of improvement, it has even, in its present state, created a new era in physical science. The effects of it are reducible to two general heads—the fusion of substances formerly considered as unalterable by heat, and the decomposition of compounds which had previously not been decomposed, except by the agency of galvanic electricity. The experiments have been chiefly made by Dr Clarke, Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, whose name, consequently, has been particularly associated with this brilliant groupe of discoveries. The most conspicuous instances of these two sorts of effects, are the following.

Gold was volatilized by it, and exhibited a beautiful halo of a lively rose colour.

Brass-wire burned rapidly. Very stout iron-wire was rapidly burned with brilliant scintillations. Copper-wire was rapidly fused, but did not burn. Platinum was fused the instant it was brought into contact with the ignited gas, and the melted metal ran down in drops. The metal even caught fire, and continued to burn with scintillations similar to those of iron-wire in oxygen-gas.

Lime was exposed to the blow-pipe, supported by a spiral piece of platinum wire. The platinum being in this case rapidly fused and burned, the lime was obtained in a state of evident fusion, the upper surface being transparent, and the inferior black. The fusion of lime was always accompanied by a lambent purple flame.

Magnesia was repeatedly fused into light porous glass, or amber-coloured

globules. There were appearances of the reduction of this earth to the metallic state, for, when mixed with oil, it was reduced, by the heat of the blow-pipe, to a slag. This immediately fell into a white powder, probably by reacquiring oxygen. The fusion of this earth, and also of lime and strontites, was accompanied by a purple flame, and the appearance of combustion.

Barytes was easily fused, exhibiting the appearance of a metallic slag, which was again restored to the state of an earthy oxide. Strontites was fused with greater slowness, and a mass of shining metal appeared in the centre, which, after being exposed for a few minutes to the air, assumed a white earthy appearance. During these experiments, the platinum employed became tarnished, as if an amalgam had been spread over its surface. A crucible of carburet of iron was subsequently employed, but the appearances of the fused masses were the same.

Silex and alumina, when submitted to the blow-pipe, were each fused into a yellowish transparent glass. When supported by platinum, they communicated to it no such tarnished appearance as in the case of the preceding earths, and thus afforded no suspicion of the formation of a metallic matter.

These experiments are extremely interesting. It had been already discovered, by means of the voltaic electricity, that lime, barytes, and strontites, were compounds of peculiar metals with oxygen. The success in decomposing magnesia, silica, and alumina, had been more equivocal. With these facts the results of the experiments with the blow-pipe corresponded; but that the reduction of any of the earths to the metallic state could be effected by mere heat, was a fact not anticipated.

Soda and potash, which had been so readily decomposed by the voltaic battery, and subsequently by the affi-

nities of iron aided by the application of a white heat under proper confinement, were submitted to the blow-pipe, but they were fused and volatilized with such rapidity, that they almost instantly disappeared. Would it not be practicable to obtain the pure metals, sodium and potassium, from these alkalis, by making the blow-pipe to act on them while surrounded by hydrogen or azotic gas. Perhaps the reduction would be completed before the volatilization could be produced. Many interesting experiments might, at any rate, be made, by precluding, in this manner, all subsequent combustion.

Some of the most refractory native compounds were submitted to the same powerful agent.

Rock crystal and common quartz were both fused. They lost nothing of their transparency, but were full of bubbles.

Noble opal, flint, and chalcedony, were perfectly fused into a white enamel—Egyptian jasper into a greenish glass.

A fine dodecahedral crystal of blue sapphire, exhibited, during fusion, the singular appearance of greenish glass balloons swelling out in grotesque forms, which remained fixed when the mineral became cool.

Topaz, cymophane, pycnite, andalusite, cyanite, and wavellite, formed each a white enamel.

Talc, of the purest foliated varieties, was fused into a greenish glass.

The American hydrate of magnesia was peculiarly difficult of fusion; but by the utmost intensity of the heat it was fused into an opaque enamel, invested with a thin layer of limpid glass.

Common chalk was fused into a yellowish grey enamel. By continuing the heat, a clear pearly glass was obtained, resembling the silicious pearl of Tuscany.

Plumbago was fused into a magnetic bead.

Grey oxide of manganese, after being exposed to a powerful heat in a crucible, to drive off the water, and prevent decrepitation before the blow-pipe, was fused with great ease into a metallic slag, which admitted the action of the fire, and exhibited a shining metallic surface with the lustre of iron, but somewhat darker.

The metalloidal crystallized oxide of manganese, which is free from iron, was instantly reduced to a brilliant metal, rather whiter than iron.

The black oxide of cobalt was reduced to a silvery white metal, possessed of ductility.

The dark oxide of uranium was reduced to a metal resembling steel.

The siliciferous oxide of cerium was reduced to a metal, which, on cooling, crystallized on the surface. When filed, it exhibited a bright metallic lustre, and preserved its metallic form unaltered by the action of the atmosphere.

Some of the most difficult and interesting of the experiments were repeated, particularly those on barytes and strontites. The pure barytic earth in a pulverized state, was made up into a paste with lamp-oil, which, by its carbon, aided the reduction of the earthy oxide, and the *barium*, or pure metal, was evolved. This, in its purest state, was fully brighter than silver, though soon restored to the state of an oxide, (that is, the original barytic earth,) by exposure to the atmosphere. This metal has not a great specific gravity in proportion to the weight of the earth; and hence some fastidious literary critics pronounce it quite barbarous to retain the name of barium, on the same principle that oxygen, or the acidifying matter, ought to have been deprived of this Lavoisierian name the moment it was found to be also an alkalizing material, not considering that very good

names are often the result of accident ; and that it is by no means necessary that the name should express the nature, or even the most leading property, of a body. It is enough if it expresses some feature of its history which was once remarkable. Barium is not a heavy metal ; but it is the metal of barytes, or the heavy earth : and a correct taste will not imperiously demand, in this instance, a change of nomenclature. The name platinum has been proposed for it. Perhaps some will startle at this term, as threatening us with a vocabulary, which reminds us of that of the old alchemists.

One of the most interesting results is the reduction of boron to the metallic state. Boron is a substance of an olive colour, obtained from the boric acid, and of which, in union with oxygen, that acid consists. Boron was considered in the same light with phosphorus and sulphur, as a simple combustible ; but it now appears to be an oxide, as a metallic globule was obtained from it by the blow-pipe.

The fusion of wood tin ore, found in the veins passing through granite in Cornwall, is considered, as a result of some importance in geology, proving, in opposition to the Huttonians, that the granite rocks had never been in a state of igneous fusion.

One effect of this improved instrument on chemical mineralogy has been, to banish from it the distinction of bodies into the fusible and infusible. The most refractory have been fused by it. The only remaining exception is charcoal,—and glimpses of evidence have been afforded by some experiments, that this substance also may be fused.

Several interesting alloys were formed by this instrument, some of which will probably be turned to account in the arts.

Many of Dr Clarke's most interesting experiments were repeated in Lon-

don by eminent men without success ; and a suspicion arose of some oversight on the part of this gentleman, in estimating the changes produced. On the other hand, these experiments, as performed by him, were witnessed by respectable observers. Their results have been confirmed by the ample testimony of the scientific men of Cambridge, and by the repetition of the same experiments in the hands of Dr Trail of Liverpool and others.

Accidental impurities in the gases employed, or an accidental defect of adjustment of the one gas to the other, will disappoint any experimenter wishing to obtain the most difficult of the results of Dr Clarke. The hydrogen should always be obtained from the decomposition of water by zinc and sulphuric acid, and the oxygen from the hyperoxymuriate (or chlorate) of potash—that obtained from other sources being contaminated. When the experiments fail, it very often happens that success may be obtained by adding to the gas employed a small quantity of hydrogen. The bore of the tube from which the gas issues, requires attention. Dr Clarke, on one occasion of failure, found that he was employing a tube $\frac{1}{80}$ of an inch in diameter, instead of $\frac{1}{60}$, these minute sizes not being easily distinguished by the eye.

We have only mentioned a few of the numerous results which this instrument has afforded. We anticipate the application of important improvements both for perfecting its security, and for extending its power. For this last purpose, we would suggest the expedient of combining the blow-pipe with the burning-glass, by inflaming the mixed gases in the space occupied by the concentrated solar rays.

SECURITY OF STEAM-BOATS.

Mechanical science never appears in so imposing an attitude, as when it illuminates and guides those operations

which are conducted on a large scale ; and, at the same time, involve a complication of principles, and call for ingenuity in the contrivance of practical expedients. On this account, naval architecture forms one of the most interesting branches of practical mechanics ; and, for the same reason, the steam-engine has super-eminent claims to our admiring attention. The application of steam to the impelling of boats and vessels, has, of late years, created a new era in the navigation of rivers, and in coasting. The facilities of local communication which have thus been procured, have been duly prized, and amply employed by the public. This art has received many successive improvements, and is undoubtedly susceptible of many more. But it has given much uneasiness to find, that steam navigation has been occasionally liable to accidents of a most dreadful nature, from the explosion of the boiler. It has therefore been justly reckoned a matter of the highest importance, to inquire into the causes of these accidents, and the means of future security. And, in order that the public might not in this instance be dependent on the characters of individuals, it has called for the interference of the legislature. We have, therefore, the pleasure of noticing the *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider of the means of preventing the mischief of explosion from happening on board steam-boats.* This Report chiefly consists of the information obtained by the examination of the most intelligent and experienced engineers. In the course of the evidence given, some highly interesting matter was contained, throwing a light on the present state of improvement of steam-engines in general, a subject on which we have nowhere any comprehensive dissertation, but what is now in a great measure antiquated. In the preamble of

this Report, after noticing the great advantages arising from the application of steam, it is added, “ Such considerations have rendered your committee still more averse, than when they entered on the inquiry, to propose to the House the adoption of any legislative measure by which the science and ingenuity of our artists might even appear to be fettered or discouraged. But they apprehend that a consideration of what is due to public safety has, on several occasions, established the principle, that where that safety may be endangered by ignorance, avarice, or inattention, against which individuals are unable, either from want of knowledge, or of the power, to protect themselves, it becomes the duty of Parliament to interpose. In illustration of this principle, many instances might be given : the enactments respecting party-walls in building, the qualification of physicians, pilots, &c. the regulations respecting stage-coaches, &c. seem all to be grounded upon it. And your committee are of opinion, that its operation may, with at least equal propriety, be extended to the present case, on account of the disastrous consequences likely to ensue from the explosion of the boiler of a steam-engine in a passage-vessel ; and that the causes by which such accidents have generally been produced, have neither been discoverable by the skill, nor controllable by the power of the passengers, even when they have been open to observation. Your committee find it to be the universal opinion of all persons conversant in such subjects, that steam-engines of some construction may be applied with perfect security, even to passage-vessels ; and they generally agree, though with some exceptions, that those called high pressure engines may be safely used, with the precaution of well constructed boilers, and properly adapted safety-valves ; and further, a great majority

of opinions lean to boilers of wrought iron, or metal, in preference to cast iron." The explosion in the steam-packet at Norwich, is stated to have been occasioned by the improper construction and materials of the boiler, and the over-loading of the safety-valve. Similar explosions have arisen from similar causes. The means of preventing them are stated to be easy, and those recommended are comprised in the following regulations :

" That all steam-packets carrying passengers for hire, should be registered at the port nearest to the place from, or to which they proceed.

" That all boilers belonging to the engines by which such vessels shall be worked, should be composed of wrought iron, or copper.

" That every boiler on board such steam-packet should, previous to the packet being used for the conveyance of passengers, be submitted to the inspection of a skilful engineer, or other person conversant with the subject, who should ascertain, by trial, the strength of such boiler, and should certify his opinion of its sufficient strength, and of the security with which it might be employed to the extent proposed.

" That every such boiler should be provided with two sufficient safety-valves, one of which should be inaccessible to the engine-man, and the other accessible, both to him and to the persons on board the packet.

" That the inspector shall examine such safety-valves, and shall certify what is the pressure at which such safety-valves shall open, which pressure shall not exceed one-third of that by which the boiler has been proved, nor one-sixth of that which, by calculation, it shall be reckoned able to sustain.

" That a penalty shall be inflicted on any person placing additional weight on either of the valves."

The chairman was directed to move

the House, that leave be given to bring in a bill for enforcing the necessary regulations.

To shew that these results were not matters of mere opinion, but founded on minute attention to facts, we here subjoin some particulars which appeared on the evidence.

The preference given to wrought iron, or copper, is founded partly on their greater strength, when compared to cast iron of the same thickness, and partly on their different ways of yielding to a pressure from within, which they are not able to bear. When a cast-iron boiler is exploded, it breaks into numerous fragments, which, like those of a bomb-shell, spread destruction on all sides. A boiler of these more ductile metals very often merely rends at the weakest part, and the issuing of the steam at the rent prevents all farther injury. This, however, may take place with great suddenness, and the steam may scald those who are exposed to it, and thus either kill them, or inflict the utmost misery. Nor are they altogether exempt from flying in pieces by a pressure from within ; at least, they are liable to be separated into two parts, one or both of which may be carried to a great distance, and with irresistible force. This has been the nature of some of the accidents which have occurred. One of the most faulty constructions is that in which one part of the boiler is of wrought, and the rest of cast iron. A long cylindrical boiler of wrought iron, for example, has had flat circular ends of cast iron adapted to it. These two materials being differently expanded by the same heat, the boiler receives a strain by the effort at disjunction, occasioned by the one not yielding to the expanding force of the other which is united to it. It is to be hoped, that no more of this construction will be made. When very strong and large boilers are required, there is a difficulty in construct-

ing them so as to be rendered steam-tight. It is not easy to keep the pieces up to the requisite heat while they are joined. They are made to overlap, and are connected by numerous iron rivets; these being put in hot, contract during the operation of riveting, and no longer fill the hole through which they have been driven. The holes thus made likewise weaken the plates of iron; and sometimes they are so close together, that this becomes their weakest part. The best form of a boiler, is that of a cylinder, with hemispherical ends. Copper is on one account preferable to wrought iron, that it is less liable to waste and lose its requisite strength by oxidation. Cast iron, notwithstanding the disadvantages which have been mentioned, admits of being formed into boilers of such thickness, and so small diameter, as to be secured against the risk of explosion. Such are those of Wolff's engines, which are generally used in the Cornish mines, and have never been known to explode, but probably require too great a weight for the purposes of navigation. One disadvantage of the cast iron is the uncertainty of its thorough solidity, as during the fusion it is liable to have cavities formed by the expansion of volatile matters, which do not escape before cooling. In breaking up pieces of melted iron of this kind, unexpected large cavities have been found. Hence, the strength of cast iron cannot be inferred with any accuracy from its apparent thickness. It can only be ascertained by being put to the proof, and for all boilers this is requisite.

The proof consists of first filling the boiler with water, and then loading the safety-valve to any point required; then injecting the water by a forcing pump, till the safety-valve, with the additional weight upon it, is raised. It is owing to the gradual deterioration, and weakening of the boiler by the heat and

moisture, that the precaution of proving it every six months is required. It is desirable that this operation should be even more frequent, as the rapidity of the deteriorating process cannot be predicted. The operation of proving is conducted without any sort of risk, as the bursting of a vessel from the pressure of water is not attended with an explosion like that arising from an elastic fluid, but is a simple separation at the weakest part.

One cause of explosion that may occur in the high-pressure engines is, when the whole water of the boiler has been expended, and the bottom of it heated intensely. A fresh quantity of water now admitted, may generate a volume of steam of such extent, and with such suddenness, that the boiler flies in pieces with the utmost violence. An ingenious contrivance proposed for obviating this occurrence is, to have one or two holes in the bottom rivetted with lead. When the water is removed, and the temperature subsequently raised, the lead is melted, the steam passes out at the holes and extinguishes the fire, and all danger is prevented.

But the most frequent cause of explosion is the mismanagement of the safety-valves. These have been too frequently under the entire care of persons unfit for such a charge, who have thoughtlessly either fixed the valves immoveably, or loaded them with a much greater weight than the boiler could withstand, from the mere vanity of making their engine move with greater power, and thus increase the velocity of the motion of the boat. The weight is sometimes placed on a lever, on the principle of the steelyard; and having, by a motion of the boat, or by some other accident, slipped to a greater distance from the fulcrum without being observed, has given occasion to one of these melancholy catastrophes. On this account, it is an object to with-

hold this power from any servant, which is very well accomplished by means of an additional safety valve, to which the engine-man has no access, and which, though loaded a little more than the other is intended to be, is in this respect far under the limit of safety, as ascertained by proving. The valves should be of such a construction as never to be obstructed by friction or by oxidation. Conical ones are in this respect objectionable. Those which lie flat, on a circular orifice, are to be preferred. Another has been contrived, of a hemispherical form, the convex surface of which lies on an orifice provided with a corresponding cavity, and the weight is attached to its inferior part, so as to hang within the boiler. The advantage of this form is, that it retains its situation under all varieties of inclination to which the apparatus is liable from the motions of the boat. The valve which is placed out of the power of the engine-man, is within an iron box, or frame, under a lock, of which the proprietor keeps the key. Sometimes a chain is attached to it, which passes through the box, so that any person concerned may, by pulling, ascertain whether or not it moves with sufficient freedom.

The engines are often provided with a mercurial gage, which shews the existing pressure under all its variations, by the rising and falling of a column of mercury contained in a syphon open at both ends, the one being within the boiler, and the other without. If this column is made an inch in diameter, and the height of the tube equal to that of the maximum intended pressure, it will operate as a safety-valve; because, when the pressure rises above this limit, the mercury is forced out, and the steam follows it, relieving the boiler from its pressure.

It is to be hoped that, by the enactments now contemplated, we shall be secured from these dismal accidents

in future. It is of the utmost consequence that, when they occur, the causes of them should be thoroughly investigated; and it is gratifying to find, from the evidence, that the zeal of several intelligent engineers has led them, on different occasions of this kind, to repair as volunteers to the spot, for the purpose of satisfying themselves on the actual causes of them. In the constructing of engines, and in the management of them on the part of the proprietors, so much character is at stake, that we trust the safety of steam navigation will now become infallible.

GEOGRAPHY OF PLANTS.

The natural history of plants, though a highly attractive study, on account of the utility of many of the species, and the beauty and order which prevail among them all, has on those who proceed a certain way in it a discouraging effect, on account of the vast multiplicity of the objects comprehended in it, the slight characteristics by which they are often distinguished, and the difficulty of remembering the numerous terms which are subservient to description and nomenclature. It is therefore a matter of great importance, for adding facility and interest to botanical pursuits, to have landmarks on which the mind can rest, which will serve to guide the student in exploring particular parts, and prevent him from becoming bewildered. Such are many of the natural divisions which the constructors of scientific systems have pointed out. But the science becomes still more interesting, when these divisions are rendered subservient to the elucidation of important laws of the physical world, which preside over the process of vegetation. Plants vary in their adaptation to circumstances; the circum-

stances formed by diversity of situation on the surface of this globe are different, and in every situation they are definite. The diversities of aspect of the vegetable kingdom, as depending on localities, are very great, and they form subjects of study which prove interesting, not merely on their own account, but from the association which they form with physical science. The physical distribution of plants, as regulated by diversities of soil, and the degrees and variation of temperature and of moisture, is a department of botanical study, which not only becomes signally subservient to the arts of life in the culture of the garden and of the field, but has also the merit of giving animation and relief to the task of making ourselves acquainted with the species of plants. This part of botany only begins to be cultivated with the zeal which it so justly claims; and it is our duty, in this place, to take notice of a conspicuous accession which has been made to it by the celebrated Humboldt. This philosopher, along with his travelling companion Bonpland, explored the botany of South America, and they have begun to publish in a splendid form the results of their labours, in a succession of fasciuli of figured plants belonging to equinoctial America. Two volumes of these have appeared, which, though they have not the merit of economy, have that of novelty and splendour in a very high degree. The plants belong to species not previously known, and are figured and coloured in an exquisite manner. It is to the *Prolegomena* accompanying this work, and which have been separately published in Paris in the Latin language in 1817, that the interest of the scientific botanist is most powerfully directed.

The subject of this elegant little work is, the Geographical Distribution of Plants. It contains a pleasing general view of the botanical disco-

veries made by Bonpland and himself in South America. The species which they found, independently of the cryptogamia, amounted to 5500. Of these, 3000 were altogether unknown to former botanists. This great accession arose from the novel field which they occupied. Former naturalists had confined their inquiries to the vicinity of the coast. But these two travelled 11,000 miles in the interior of the continent, in woods, in open plains, and at every variety of altitude. The number of species which have been already discovered in equinoctial America by European botanists, is conceived to amount to 13,000. But, far from being exhausted, this subject is only newly opened, and much remains to be done by botanists resident for years in particular fertile districts. The author enters into some speculations for estimating the total number of species, and the relative fecundity of different zones in the different continents, from data furnished by the partial Floras already in our possession. The Flora of Iceland amounts to 350 Phenogamous species; of Lapland to 500; of Egypt to 1000; of Atlas, in Algiers, to 1600; of Germany more than 2000; of France, Piedmont, Savoy, and Belgium, 3700; that of North America contains only 2900. But when we consider the comparative extent of the latter region, we are obliged to conclude, that the disproportionally small number of its vegetable species is owing to our hitherto limited knowledge of the subject. Certain causes conspire to render the equinoctial parts of America particularly rich. These are chiefly the intense heat and abundant moisture in low situations, and the great diversity of climate in higher elevations. Another interesting circumstance which comes under the notice of Humboldt, is the absence of gregarious plants. In temperate countries, it everywhere hap-

pens that large tracts are occupied by one, or a very few species, to the exclusion of others; as the three species of *Erica*, especially the *Vulgaris*, in our extensive heaths; the *Festuca Ovina* in our moors and mountains; and the *Poa Annua* in our rich pastures. Such an exclusive occupation of the soil seldom occurs in tropical regions; hence, in the latter, the species are liable to be diversified at every step of our progress.

The number of species now known are as follows:—

Agamous Plants,	6000
Phenogamous Plants of Europe,	7000
Ditto of the Temperate Zone in Asia,	1500
Ditto of Equinoctial Asia and its Islands,	4500
Ditto of Africa,	3000
Ditto of Temperate America, (both Hemispheres,)	4000
Ditto of Equinoctial America,	13,000
Ditto of New Holland, and Islands of the Pacific,	5000
	<hr/>
	44,000

When we consider, that of these not more than 1400 were known to the Greek, Roman, and Arabian writers, we perceive what an ample field has been in our days laid open by the labours of the naturalist, and are encouraged to anticipate a rich harvest of additional discoveries.

The following geographical gradation in the aspect of the vegetable kingdom is observed: That Monocotyledonous plants, comprehending the grasses and rushes, form in the torrid zone nearly one fifth of the whole; in the temperate, one-fourth; and in the arigid, one-third of the Phenogamous species. The Palms, Bromæ, Musæ, and Cannæ, scarcely pass the tropics. With regard to the Agamous plants, (*i. e.* the Cryptogamia of Linnæus, with the exclu-

sion of the order of Ferns,) when compared with the Phenogamous, they equal the latter in their number of species in Lapland, Greenland, Iceland, and Scotland. In France, they are to the latter as 1 : 2, in the torrid zone, as 1 : 5. Annual plants are almost peculiar to the temperate zone. In the polar regions, the seeds are generally destroyed by the winter cold; and in the torrid zone, they are prevented from springing by the luxuriant and bushy character of the vegetation with which the soil is perennially covered. In proportion as the mean heat of the climate is diminished, the natural orders of Malvaceæ, Euphorbiæ, Leguminosæ, Compositæ, and Rubiaceæ, are reduced; while the orders Juncæ, Cyperoidæ, Gramineæ, Ericæ, Rhododendra, Caryophyllæ, Amentaceæ, and Coniferæ increase, not in the absolute, but in the relative numbers of their species. In the Gramineæ of Lapland, the tribes of Andropogynæ and Panicæ disappear. Of the Cyperoidæ, no species with distichous squamæ is found. Among flowers of the order Compositæ, the radiatæ are very rare.

Comparing the temperate zones of the two continents, we find in America the Ericæ, Rhododendra, Amentaceæ, Malvaceæ, and Coniferæ, much more numerous in America; the Umbelliferæ, Labiata, Caryophyllæ, and Cruciferæ, much less numerous. Between the tropics, the Labiata and Glumaceæ are diminished in their relation to the whole Phenogamous species; the Cruciferæ and Umbelliferæ are almost entirely wanting. The Leguminosæ, Malvaceæ, and Euphorbiaceæ, are incredibly abundant. New families of unusual aspect here meet our view; as the Proteaceæ, Diosmeæ, Casuarinæ, Dilleniaceæ, and Calceolariæ, which are almost peculiar to the southern hemisphere. Of ninety-eight known species of Palms, forty-

seven belong to the torrid zone of America. In New Holland, only six have hitherto been found. Humboldt and Bonpland added eighteen or twenty new species to the former catalogue, having found this number either in flower or in fruit. On the old continent, the *Chamærops humilis*, or fan-leaved palm, extends to 44° N. latitude. In North America, the *Chamærops Palmetto* extends only to 34° , where the winter-cold is equal to that of 44° in Europe. In the equinoctial regions of the New World, the families which exhibit the greatest number of species, are the *Piperacæ*, *Bignoniæ*, *Urticæ*, *Terebinthinæ*, *Melastomiæ*, *Capparides*, *Passifloræ*, *Solanææ*, *Boragineæ*, and *Rubiaceæ*. Of the *Piper* and *Peperomia*, they gathered 88 species; 80 of *Solanum*; 32 of *Psychotria*; 41 of *Bignonia*; 45 of *Lobelia*; 47 *Baccharides*; 23 *Buddlejæ*; 42 *Convolvuli*; 41 *Lauri*; and 19 *Tournefortiæ*, of which more than three-fifths were new. Adanson had affirmed, that no *Umbellatæ* or *Cruciferæ* occur between the tropics. But thirty species of the former, and nineteen of the latter, were found by Bonpland and Humboldt, although never in low situations, but always at considerable elevations, where the mean annual temperature was under 58° .

When the number of species is considered in relation to that of the genera under which they are arranged, we find the proportion of genera larger as we proceed from the plains of the intertropical countries towards the Poles, or ascend to higher situations. In France, the Phenogamous species are 3645, and the genera 683; *i. e.* as 57 : 10. In Lapland, the species are 497, and the genera 202; *i. e.* as 23 : 10. These facts are in themselves interesting; but we cannot follow the author in his attempts to establish on such data a computation of the number of species that the earth produces,

as it is impossible to anticipate any fixed law to be followed in this particular, in localities hitherto unexplored.

The temperate zone in America, compared to that of the Old World, does not seem to contain a larger number of Phenogamous species, but, as far as the 50^{th} degree of latitude, it excels in the variety and the splendour of its productions. No where on the European continent, at the parallel of 43 or 45 , do we find tall trees bearing flowers from 3 to 8 inches in diameter, and leaves from 1 to 2 feet in length, like those of the *Magnolia tripetala*, and *glauca*. In the zone where the mean annual heat corresponds to that of Paris and of Berlin, grows the *Liriodendron tulipifera*, with a trunk from 80 to 140 feet high; the *Pavia lutea* and *Ohioensis*, *Cornus florida*, and *Rhododendron maximum*, the most conspicuous decorations of the kingdom of Flora. The *Gleditsia Triacanthos*, bearing a striking similarity of character to the Tropical *Acaciæ*, advances as far north as 41° . The Laurels, Passion-flowers, *Cassiæ*, *Cacti*, *Schrankiæ*, *Bignoniæ*, *Crotones*, *Cymbidia*, and *Limodora*, reach Virginia and beyond it.

In the southern hemisphere, where the land is so much less extensive, and the surrounding seas contribute to preserve a greater equality of temperature at different seasons of the year, the productions of the intertropical latitudes extend nearer to the Pole than in the northern. Such are the Arborescent *Filices*, and the *Epidendra*, remarkable for the beauty of their flowers, and which grow at a southern latitude of 46° .

Of the *Coniferæ*, only two of these are found in tropical countries at moderate elevations. These belong to the temperate and the frigid zones. The *Strobiliferæ* and *Galbutiferæ* prefer the northern hemisphere; the *Podocarpus*, *Dacrydium*, *Araucaria*, and *Callitris*.

are partial to the southern. On the mountains of South America, our travellers found a new species of *Podocarpus*, but none of the genus *Pinus*, or *Abies*, although, from the isthmus of Panama northward, the mountains of Mexico, and those of Canada, are covered with close forests of pine, containing the genera *Abies*, *Juniperus*, *Cupressus*, and *Taxodium*, mingled with the *Pinus*.

The author illustrates, by particular enumeration, the observation already mentioned, of the comparative paucity of gregarious species between the tropics. In the forests of Orinoco, there is no prevailing species, or even genus, from which the localities can derive a descriptive appellation. There are hardly any gregarious plants in the plains, except the *Rhizophora* Mangrove, *Sesuvium Portulacastrum*, *Croton argenteum*, *Bambusa Guadua*, *Bougainvillea* and *Godoya*, which abound in the delightful groves at the sources of the Amazons; but, as we proceed northward, or rise higher in the elevated land, the gregarious species become more numerous: Among these are the *Escallonia Myrtilloides*, *Brathis juniperina*, and the different species of *Molina*.

With regard to the differences of actual species which mark the two continents, these are greater than has hitherto been supposed. Of 2890 Phenogamous species described in the *Flora Americæ Borealis* of Pursh, 385 are also natives of Europe,—among which are 76 *Glumaceæ*, 32 *Compositæ*, 21 *Cruciferae*, and 18 *Caryophyllæ*. Some of them are undoubtedly imported from the Old World, and others will, when minutely examined, be found to be distinct species. Some, however, are originally common to the two Continents, as the *Circæa Alpina*, *Iris Sinensis*, *Carex curta*, *Linnea Borealis*, *Stachys Dortmanna*, *Betula nana*, *Saxifraga viride*, *Potentilla anserina*, *Sor-*

lanum Dulcamara, *Polygonum aviculare*, *Anemone nemorosa*, *Arbutus uva ursi*, *Vaccinium religiosum*, several species of *Veronica*, *Rumex*, *Epilobium*, *Chenopodium*, *Cerastium*, *Arcnaria*, and *Ranunculus*.

Even the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere contains species in common with Europe. The *Phleum Alpinum* of Switzerland, is found at the Straits of Magellan. Forty-five Phenogamous species are common to New Holland and Europe, one-half of which are glumaceous; these are found at a distance of 1500 leagues from those parts in which they occur in the northern hemisphere. They are not found even on the highest mountains of the torrid zone, so that there is no continuity of the two habitats.

A question has sometimes been considered as difficult of solution, whether any plants are common to the equinoctial regions of the two continents? With regard to the Agamous species, mosses grow which are quite common in Europe, as the *Funaria Hygrometrica*, *Bryum Serpyllifolium*, and some others. The woods of Orinoco produce the *Octoblepharum Albidum* of Hedwig, which grows also in Africa and New Holland. The case is similar with many of the lichens. It is supposed that the minute seeds of these plants are wafted from one continent to another by the winds. Of the Filices, very few are common to both regions, as the *Lycopodium cernuum* and *Taxifolium*, *Marsilea quadrifolia*, *Salvinia natans*, *Aspidium punctulatum*, and *Asplenium monanthemum*.

But the Dicolyledonous division of the Phenogamous plants, in the two regions, are totally distinct, except such as have been imported. A few Monocolyledonous plants are common to both, such as *Cyperoideæ* and *Gramineæ*. This law of total difference in the Dicolyledonous species is similar to what is observed to take place in

the animals of the same regions, which, as Buffon has pointed out, are totally distinct on the two continents. The law does not apply to the frigid and temperate zones, either in the animal or vegetable kingdom.

The climate of the New World differs remarkably from that of the Old, under the same parallel of latitude. The medium annual heat decreases more in America as the latitude rises to the north. It is between 40° and 45° , that in both continents the decrease is most rapid. In America, the mean temperature is generally the same with what it is 7° farther north in Europe; but the distribution of the temperature between different seasons of the year, is very different. In America, the winters are colder, and the summers warmer. The summer of Philadelphia, lat. 40° , is the same as that of Rome, lat. 42° , while the winter resembles that of Vienna, lat. $48^{\circ} 13'$. At Quebec, the summer is warmer than at Paris, the winter colder than at St Petersburg. In the northern parts of the Chinese empire, the seasons, in this respect, resemble those of America, and even exhibit a still greater contrast at the two opposite seasons. In America, the summers are warmer than even under the same parallel in Europe. This accounts for the extension of the Magnolia, and other magnificent trees, so far to the north. In studying the geography of plants, the mean heat of the whole year must be considered as producing effects quite different from the mean heat of summer. The countries to the west of the Alleghany mountains are warmer than the eastern provinces—hence the same plants extend three or four degrees farther north in Louisiana and the country of the Ohio—such as the *Æsculus Flava*, *Gymnocladus Canadensis*, *Aristolochia Siphio*, and *Gleditsia Monosperma*.

It has been generally believed, that

the tropical regions of Africa and Asia are warmer than those of America. This has partly arisen from the observations having been made in sandy deserts in the old continent, from the colour of the spirit of wine in the thermometers used imbibing additional heat from the solar ray, and from the extremes of heat having been more noticed than the medium. The temperature is so much regulated by local circumstances, that it is not easy to form an accurate comprehensive comparison. So far as 34° of southern latitude, viz. at the Cape of Good Hope, Port Jackson, and Buenos Ayres, the mean temperature is the same as at an equal distance from the equator northward. From that to 59° , the differences between the southern and northern hemispheres are greater in summer than in winter. It is entirely from the greater coldness of the summers that these parts of the southern world can be pronounced colder than the northern. The winters are in fact milder. On this account, the equinoctial evergreens extend farthest into the southern temperate zone. There is no doubt, that, when we go to a very high latitude, we find the polar ice of the southern world much more extensive than that of the north pole. Yet it is equally true, that at 50° south, the cold is less intense than in Russia or in Canada.

That part of the geography of plants which is most minutely illustrated, as being most closely connected with the practical labours of the authors, is a tabular view of the localities in the different zones. Each zone is divided into regions, depending on elevation above the level of the sea.

1. The equatorial zone. This extends 10° on each side of the equator. It is divided into three regions of different elevations, and marked by differences of temperament,—the warm, the temperate, and the cold; the first

reaching 1800 feet above the sea.— Here a perpetual heat prevails; and, where moisture is supplied, there is a perpetual vegetation. The falling leaves have their places supplied at all seasons. The earth abounds with luxuriant arborescent productions, but exhibits none of those flowery meadows, consisting of soft and tender herbs, which are the chief ornaments of northern Europe. The mean heat is from 86° to 73° . The lowest temperature which Humboldt observed at Cumana was 70° , the highest 91° . The shores of the Pacific are kept in perpetual vegetation, principally by the heavy dews. The immense forests of Oronoco have been hitherto deemed impenetrable, for the intense heat, the huge serpents, alligators, jaguares, (a kind of tiger,) and various dangerous animals by which they are inhabited.

Parts a little higher, as Cumanacoa, that fertile valley of New Andalusia, at the commencement of the mountainous country, enjoy an excellent climate; and this district is watered by frequent showers.

We are furnished with a copious list of the vegetable productions by which this warm region is characterised.— Among which are many Palms and Musæ. The Cocos Nucifera, or cocoa-nut; also the Swietenia, or mahogany-tree, Guayacum, Cæsalpina, Bonplandia Trifoliata, (which affords the bark long known under the name of Angustura,) Mimosa, Acacia, Psychotria, and many others which become interesting by the figures which the author has published.

The temperate region of the equatorial zone extends from an elevation of 1800 feet to 6600. Here the climate is perpetually genial and salubrious, uniting the beauties of spring and autumn. The medium annual heat is from 72° to 62° .

In this region is situated Cocollar,

a most healthy mountain of New Andalusia, surrounded by thick and humid forests. Caraccas is a woody valley, which gradually stretches into an open plain, abounding with the Theobroma Cacao, or chocolate-bean. The temperature is mild, but the weather seldom clear, the sky being generally covered with clouds, which, after sunset, reach the ground. Ibague, at the bottom of the Andes of Quindu, abounding in palms, enjoys one of the most serene and delightful climates in the world. In Loxa, in Peru, celebrated for the most valued species of Cinchona, at an elevation of 6300 feet, the climate is pleasant,—the mean temperature 66° .

The plants of this middle region, are the arborescent Filices and Cinchonæ. Some species of this last genus, the lancifolia and ovalifolia, extend to situations as high as 10,000 feet. Also several palms, Psychotriæ, Peperomiæ; Dorstenia, Myristica, and Epidendrum.

Above this is situated the cold region, including all those more elevated parts which are capable of supporting any sort of vegetation, and extending to 14,800 feet above the level of the sea. The lower part of this region is green, with abundant vegetation, while the upper is naked and sterile.

The lower part is cold—generally clear; the winds sharp; the vales are well wooded, and abound in rivulets; the summits of the hills bare and cloud-capped.

In this part is Almaguer, a city of New Granada, on the western side of the Andes, Pasto, and Santa Fe de Bogota. Caxamarca, on an elevated plain, which is fertile in barley, 8800 feet above the sea: The mean temperature is 62° . The city of Quito, about 150 feet higher, where the mean temperature is 59° , ranging during the

day from 63° to 67° —during the night from 48° to 52° , resembling the month of May at Paris.

The middle subdivision of the cold region, which commences at an altitude of 9600, consists of rough solitudes, called by the Spaniards *Paramos*, exposed to great vicissitudes of weather, frequently visited by storms of wind, rain, and hail, and moistened by the melted snow descending from greater heights. Here the immediate influence of the sun is generally obstructed by a cloudy sky. The mean heat is from 53° to 40° . Even in this inhospitable region are situated some large towns, as *Micuipampa* in Peru, near the silver-mines of *Hualgayoc*, where the thermometer at mid-day stands at 40° , or from that to 48° —in the night, between 31° and 34° . *Huancavelica*, formerly celebrated for its mines of cinnabar, at an altitude of 10,800 feet, has, over the whole year, a temperature like that of the month of March at Paris.

The uppermost part of the cold region, reaching from a height of 11,400 to 14,760 feet, the limit of perpetual snow, exhibits naked rocks, clothed with lichen, and here and there some scanty grasses. It is scarcely habitable for the cold, and is often rendered impassable by falls of snow. The mean annual temperature is from 41° to 34° . Even in this region, at a height of 12,600 feet, hovels are found inhabited through the whole year, and surrounded by cattle, mules, and horses, which live on the pasture.

The cold region is that of Oaks, of the *Wintera*, and the *Escallonia*. The *Palma quinduensis*, *Cinchona lancifolia* and *Ovalifolia*, *Rubia nitida*, *Veronica Peruviana*, *Salvia squalens*, *Alchemilla aphanoides*, *Andromeda reticulata*, *Lobelia androsacea*, *Pinguicula calyptrata*, *Plantago rigida*, *Arenaria pauciflora*. In the neighbourhood of the snowy parts grow the *Ri-*

bes frigidum, and *Alchemilla nivalis*. Many others are enumerated belonging to genera which are unknown in this country.

2. The author proceeds to give a similar account of the climate and vegetation of the zone lying between 17° and 21° N. lat. Here, as in the equatorial, the warm region reaches 1800 feet above the sea. The temperate region, from this to 6600. In this the plains on the hills of New Spain are extremely fertile in the *Cerealia*. The cold region reaches to 14,000.

All this part of Mexico is exposed to cold winds from the north, which lower its medium temperature, and make it liable to vicissitudes.

3. The account given of the temperate zone applies chiefly to those parts of the old continent which have been scientifically surveyed, viz. Caucasus, the Pyrennees, and the Swiss Alps. On Caucasus, the inferior limit of perpetual snow is 9900 feet above the sea; the upper limit of the *Rhododendron Caucasicum* is 8280 feet; that of the *Pyrus aucuparia*, or mountain ash, and *Salix caprea*, 7500; of the *Betula alba* and *Azalea pontica*, 6300; of the *Cerealia*, oats and barley, 6120; of the *Pinus silvestris*, (the Scotch fir,) 5470; of the oak, 2700.

On the Pyrennees, the limit of perpetual snow is at 8400 feet. The upper limit of the *Pinus uncinata* and *rubra*, at 7500. The silver fir, at 6000. The yew, at 5400. The Norway spruce, which on the Alps reaches the limit of trees, is not found at high elevations in the Pyrennees. The *Saxifraga oppositifolia*, *Gentiana acaulis* and *Ranunculus glacialis*, grow above the snow line. Close to this line beneath, are found the *Ranunculus parnassifolius*, *Gentiana verna*, *Silene acaulis*, *Draba hibernica*, and *Azalea procumbens*.

In the Swiss Alps, the snow line is at 8220 feet. The upper limit of the

Salix herbacea, *retusa* and *reticulata*, at 7620; of the *Rhododendron ferrugineum* and *hirsutum*, at 7020; of the Norway spruce, at 5520; of the Scotch fir and the Larch, at 5220; of the white birch, at 4400; of the *Cerealia*, at 3300; of the vine, at 1680.

4 The laws of temperature and vegetation, as applied to the frigid zone, are remarkably interesting. The difference of mean heat, when compared to temperate countries, is much greater in winter than in summer. The winter cold increases much more than the summer heat diminishes. The deciduous trees and herbaceous plants are nearly the same as at 48°. There is much less diversity found in the aspect of vegetation when we proceed from Paris to the arctic circle and beyond it, than in rising from the sea shore to the summits of the Andes, where, at every season of the year, the temperature is so different. At St Petersburg the temperature in July is equal to that of August in London. At 68½° N. Lat., in the hills of Lapland, at Enontekis, the temperature in July is equal to that of Edinburgh, but this warmth is of shorter duration. In equinoctial countries, at high elevations, there is no day throughout the year that can be compared in point of temperature to lower lying situations. The tropical plants kept in hot-houses in the south of Europe admit of being exposed for a month to the open air, but none of them admit of being moved from the tropical plains, at any time, to the higher regions. Hence the number of plants which are common to the hills and the plains in equinoctial countries, is very small. In Lapland, the number of Phenogamous plants, which are common to both situations, is, according to the estimate of DeCandolle, 500. From this cause tropical plants are delicate, and easily destroyed by change of temperature, while those of the temperate zone on-

ly suffer a diminution of their vegetative vigour by an unfavourable exposure.

Lapland is the principal country belonging to the frigid zone which has been botanically and philosophically surveyed. In that country the inferior limit of perpetual snow is 3300 feet above the sea; the upper limit of the *Rhododendron lapponicum*, 2880; of the white birch, 1680; of the *Pinus silvestris*, or Scotch fir, 900. Above the snow line are found the *Ranunculus glacialis*, *Saxifraga oppositifolia*, *Silene acaulis*, *Ranunculus nivalis*, *Saxifraga nivalis*, and *Draba alpina*. Between the snow line and the superior limit of the *Rhododendron lapponicum*, are found *Rumex digynus*, (a plant common in the Highlands of Scotland,) *Empetrum nigrum*, or crowberry, *Pedicularis hirsuta*, *Andromeda tetragona*, and *hypnoides*. The bilberry and common heath, which, in the Alps, extend as high as the snow line, grow at no higher elevation than 1980 feet in Lapland. In that country the first warm weather of the season of vegetation, rouses the plants with incredible celerity, from the long sleep of winter. It is found, that in all places under the snow-line, the heat of the earth is greater than that of the surrounding air. The covering of snow prevents the winter cold from penetrating the soil. This circumstance contributes to the vegetative process in summer. The heat in summer being six times greater immediately under the snow-line in the frigid zone, than it can ever be in equinoctial countries, the trees grow within a much shorter distance beneath it. This is owing chiefly to the length of the days in the vicinity of the poles. The weather in summer is clear and steady, and numberless bees feed on the blossoms of the *Salix herbacea*. The length of time that the sun remains above the horizon compensates for the greater

obliquity of his rays. The earth round the marshy places is dry, and covered with the rein-deer lichen, affecting the feet of the traveller with a burning heat, and inducing a local disease in the feet of the rein-deer.

After these accounts, Humboldt gives an enumeration of the plants which grow in the neighbourhood of the snow-line of each zone. This enumeration is interesting, although we cannot here introduce it. Some general observations alone can be stated. In each zone, the tribes of plants which grow in the plains, have some congeners in the higher regions. It appears somewhat singular, that of two species of the same genus, and otherwise very similar to one another, the one should flourish in the cold mountains, and the other in the plains, near the level of the sea. On the whole, the same tribes prevail on the tops of the mountains within the tropics, and in the cold countries surrounding the pole. Towards the snow line of the Andes, the Labiatae, Rubiaceae, Malvaceae, and Euphorbiaceae, are almost wanting, and the same orders become rare under the polar circle. The Ericinae and Gramineae become more frequent in both situations. This law of consentaneity is not, however, universal. The Compositae (the class Syngenesia of Linnaeus) abound on the heights of the Andes, though they become rare in northern climates. When the distance between the limit of perpetual snow and the upper limit of trees or woody plants is compared in the different zones, it differs widely, being seven and a half times greater in the torrid zone than in the frigid, and four times greater in the temperate. It farther appears that the kinds of trees found in the highest situations, in the different zones, by no means belong to the same tribes. The Amentaceae and Coniferae are the highest in the Caucasus, the Alps, and the Pyrennees. In the An-

des, the high corresponding situations can only maintain shrubs with coriaceous leaves, such as the Escalloniae, Alstoniae, Thibaudiae, Araliae, Gualtheriae, and Vaccinae, which can bear a nocturnal cold of 29° , without being destroyed, while they do not require, in the day, a higher temperature than 50° or 53° . Hence they are in flower, and in fruit, at all times of the year. The Pines, and other Coniferae, which grow at considerable heights in the temperate zone, do not thrive so near the snow line in Lapland, because they require summers rather long than warm. Hence, the Beech, which does not grow so high on the Alps as the Pines, is much above them in Lapland. The diminution of heat, as we ascend from the level of the sea, is not equally rapid at all heights. Under the equator, it suffers much less diminution between 3000 and 6000 feet, than within any equal interval either above or below. Hence the great extent of the temperate region. This is not owing to the form of the Andes; the extended plains on the mountains are at much greater heights, about 7000 or 8000 feet.

Humboldt gives a statement of the kind of temperature most favourable for certain plants, which are important in the arts, as the chocolate plant, the indigo plant, the Platano harton, which affords a leading article of food in South America, the sugar cane, the coffee shrub, which is a tropical subalpine plant, the cotton plant, the date tree, the orange tree, the olive, the chesnut, and the vine. "This last gives good wine where the medium heat of the year is between 52° and 50° , being in winter 31° , and in summer 66° or 68° . This takes place as far north as 50° in Europe, but not farther than 40° in America."

The cerealia, wheat, rye, barley, and oats, are cultivated advantageously, though the mean annual heat should

be under 29° , provided that of summer is 52° or 53° . Hence barley gives good crops in Lapland, wherever the medium summer heat is not under 47° or 48° . This plant and the potatoe, are found as far north as $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, near Lynge, in the low plains, and at 68° , near Munierka, 600 feet above the level of the sea. The alleged celerity of the growth of the *Cerealia* in that country, applies to oats and barley, but not to rye or wheat.

Mr Wahlemberg has also contributed much to this new and interesting branch of botany, by the dissertations which he has published on the climate and vegetation of Lapland, of Switzerland, and the Carpathian mountains; and Mess. Engelhardt and Parrot, in their Travels on Mount

Caucasus. But Humboldt has made much greater exertions than any other to lay down principles of general application. Yet, notwithstanding his transcendent merit, it cannot be expected that all his results will prove accurate, when applied to every situation. He does not always explain the manner in which his data are procured, so that his conclusions may sometimes be just, where the reader does not find them satisfactory. It is by extending the local Floras of countries, and of districts, and then comparing them extensively with one another, that this delightful branch of Natural History will be best improved, and it offers at present a rich field for the labours of the practical and scientific botanist.

CHAPTER IV.

VIEW OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES, AND OBSERVATIONS
OF TRAVELLERS, DURING THE YEAR.

Present State of Discovery—Regions yet unexplored. AFRICA.—*Expedition to the Congo—Description of this part of Africa—Expedition to the Niger—Mission to Ashantee—Leigh's Travels in Nubia—Excavated Temples—Notices from Abyssinia.* ASIA.—*Embassy to China—Coast of Corea—The Loochoo Islands—Estimate of the height of the Himalaya Mountains—Moorcroft's Journey into Thibet.* SOUTH SEA.—*Expedition into the Interior of New Holland—Complete Examination of its Coasts—Van Diemen's Land—Mission to New Zealand—Revolution in Otahcite—Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.* THE NORTH SEA.—*Scoresby's Description of the Polar Ice, and Plan of an Expedition to the Pole.*

THERE is no channel by which modern Europeans have more extended both their power and their knowledge, than by the wide exploration of those distant regions of the globe, the very existence of which was unknown to antiquity. For this they are chiefly indebted to the improvement in the art of navigation, and to the maritime enterprizes, which this has enabled them to undertake. These began by disclosing new worlds, almost equal in extent to the old, and profusely covered with the most brilliant forms of wealth. Nor did they cease, till they had traced a path across the most vast oceans, and surveyed the outline of the most remote and inaccessible coasts. The circumnavigation of the globe, which formed the glory of Drake and

Magellan, forms now an easy voyage for a common trading vessel. Since the adventurous career of Cook, the general arrangement of the earth's surface, and the grand divisions of land and sea, may be considered as finally fixed. Yet are there not wanting important and extensive features, which continue still withdrawn from our observation. Although the great outlines of Asia and Africa be pretty accurately ascertained, there are vast tracks in the interior of these continents, which mountains, deserts, the violence of the climate, and the head of its savage occupants, have hitherto barred against European approach. The north still erects her barrier of ice, whose wide circle awfully guards the circumpolar regions; and if it ever

opens to the adventurous navigator, opens perhaps only to shut him in for ever. To force these last entrenchments, within which nature has enclosed herself, is the ambition of the present age. It cannot indeed hope the discovery of unknown worlds and golden realms, such as crowned the enterprize of the early navigators. Yet the expeditions to which it prompts, derive still a deep interest from the grandeur of the objects of nature amid which they are carried on, and the formidable dangers with which they are beset. Britons displayed not higher courage when, in Egypt or Spain, they charged the invincible legions of France, than when they seek knowledge across the burning sands of Africa, and over the steep and eternal snows of the Himalaya. Nor is the aspect of nature less terrific in that northern world,—

‘Where winter holds his unrejoicing court,
And in his airy hall the loud misrule
Of driving tempest is for ever heard,’

and where elements are continually at work, by which the adventurer may be dashed in a moment to pieces. The exploratory expeditions which have been, and are to be made, possess thus a character of peril and adven-

ture, fully equal to those of the earliest navigators, and greatly surpassing what their successors have for a long time encountered.

It is now a considerable time since, whether in the wide career of maritime enterprize, or in the bold pursuit of nature into her last recesses, Britain has taken the lead of all other nations. The names of Cook and of Park have eclipsed those of the adventurers, though eminent, sent forth from the other countries of Europe. The spirit which produced them seems still as active as ever, not only in the nation, but more particularly in the administration, some members of which seem animated with the most laudable zeal in this cause. There is, therefore, every prospect of farther accessions to the glory which Britain has already gained in this career. It appears advisable, therefore, to devote a chapter to the record of what has been done in this department, whether it be of countries newly discovered, or those already known observed with greater precision. Even in those which have been formerly the most fully explored, the narrative of the recent traveller may enable us to trace the changes which time has effected in the state of society and civilization.

AFRICA.

AMONG the regions which, from the mysterious darkness that surrounds them, have excited curiosity and interest, Africa has long stood pre-eminent. Rumour has conveyed impressions, perhaps exaggerated, of kingdoms in its interior, greatly surpassing in wealth and civilization the semi-barbarous regions on its coast. But the grand subject of curiosity has al-

ways been the course of its interior rivers. The direction which a river, never to be navigated by us, may take through savage and unknown regions, may be represented as a matter in which we are very little concerned. But there is in the human mind a laudable desire of completed knowledge, which makes it rest uneasily in any partial or truncated view of a grand

object. The course of the Nile, that main object of ancient curiosity, is now considered as at least approximated. With the moderns, the great question has been about the Niger. Park indeed settled the long disputed question, whether it flowed east or west; but this discovery, which exhibited it pouring its immense stream into the unknown depths of interior Africa, not towards any natural or usual termination, only deepened the mystery in which its course was involved. Under these circumstances was formed the grand double expedition, one part of which was destined to ascend the Congo, and the other to descend the Niger, hopes being entertained that a meeting would take place at some point of the mighty stream of the Niger-Congo; for it was upon Park's hypothesis of these two great rivers being one, that the plan was founded. None, in modern times, has been more completely equipped, or supplied with more ample means of becoming both effectual and useful. The command was given to Captain Tuckey, an experienced naval officer, who had acquired a greater measure of information than usually falls to the lot of his profession. Along with him, for scientific purposes, were Mr Smith, an eminent botanist, not unacquainted with geology, and Mr Cranch, a self-taught but able zoologist. On the 30th June, the expedition arrived off Malemba. The natives gave them at first a most cordial reception, believing it their object to make up a cargo of slaves, of which they assured them they had a complete assortment. On being slowly and reluctantly convinced of the contrary, the chiefs burst into furious invectives against the crowned heads of Europe, calling our own most gracious sovereign "the Devil," on account of the stop put to the profits derived by them from this infamous traffic. After sailing a few

days, they found themselves in the deep channel of the Congo, where the line of 150 fathoms could not reach the bottom. The party felt much disappointment at the first view of this river, which, instead of the stupendous magnitude they had been taught to expect, scarcely presented the appearance of a river of the first class. Besides its being then at the lowest, they do not seem to have made sufficient allowance for its extraordinary depth, which being to them absolutely unfathomable, rendered it impossible to limit the mass of waters which it might bear into the ocean. It was bordered with immense swamps, overgrown with mangrove trees, which grow in the very stream; and a solemn impression was produced by the deep silence and shade of those watery forests. They now made for Embomma, the emporium of the Congo. On landing here, a striking incident occurred. A negro, who officiated as cook's mate, proved to have been a prince of the blood, formerly entrusted to a Liverpool captain, who promised to give him an European education; but, true to his calling, chose rather to convey him to St Christopher's, and sell him as a slave. A rapturous meeting took place between the father and son, and the event was celebrated as a festival by the whole village. Next day their *ci-devant* cook appeared in all the pomp of African loyalty, with a tarnished silk-embroidered coat, silk-sash, and a black glazed hat, with an enormous feather. Captain Tuckey was now introduced to the Chénou, or sovereign, who presented an appearance similar to that of Punch in a puppet-show. He wore a jacket of crimson-plush, with huge gilt buttons, pink sarsenet stockings, red morocco half-boots, and an immense high crowned hat, embroidered with gold. It was found wholly impossible to convey to this august per-

sonage any idea of the objects of the expedition. The terms of science and curiosity did not excite in his mind a single idea. He could put only two questions: "Are you come to trade?" and "Are you come to make war?" upon which, during several hours, he rung continual changes, without being able to conceive the possibility of a third alternative. At length, however, he became so far satisfied of their peaceable intentions, as to be willing at least to accept of a large present of brandy.

Captain Tuckey now sailed up the river, here bordered by high ridges of rocky hills, till he approached the Yellala, or great cataract. Hoping to gain information about it, and the tracts above, he visited the Chenoo of Noki, whom he found seated in savage pomp, the floor covered with lion and leopard skins, and dressed in a laced red cloak, and a high cap, ornamented with the feathers of the heron. It behoved the chiefs to approach this personage with the utmost caution, since once to tread on the skins with which the floor was strewn, incurred, even for the highest, the penalty of slavery. The party did not obtain much courtesy, but succeeded in hiring guides. They were all struck with much surprise at the view of the Great Cataract or Yellala, of the magnitude and force of which they had formed very exaggerated ideas. Captain Tuckey says, that instead of a new Niagara, they saw "only a comparative brook bubbling over its stony bed;" and Dr Smith describes it as "a pond of water only, with a fall of a few hundred yards. The river here has forced a passage between two high hills of naked granite, huge fragments of which still block up the stream, amid which the water roars furiously. It appears probable that, disappointed as to the expected appearance of the cataract, they underrated its real magnitude, for

we cannot attach great probability to the hypothesis of part of it finding its way by subterraneous channels. Such as it was, it rendered it impossible for the vessels to ascend higher; and the nature of the country, intersected by rugged precipices and deep ravines, rendered it impossible to convey the boats overland. They were thus obliged to undertake the land journey, which, through so rugged and broken a country, without a path or a guide on whom they could rely, was attended with immense labour. The villages, of which the principal were Cooloo, Inga, and Mavoonda, occurred at great intervals, which obliged them often to sleep in the open air. At length the river began to widen, and they reached a point, where all obstacles to the navigation ceased, and they were assured that it continued unobstructed for a great way. Just, however, as their voyage was beginning to assume a prosperous aspect, the presages began to be felt of its fatal termination. Their constitutions were sensibly sinking under the accumulation of fatigue. Mr Tudor, a scientific volunteer, was first taken ill, and obliged to return down the Congo. Mr Cranch and Mr Galwey, an intelligent friend of Captain Tuckey, were soon obliged to follow the example. The commander himself, felt the approach of disease, after struggling for some time against which, and the increasing obstacles to the journey, he determined to proceed no farther. Dr Smith, who was still well, expressed deep disappointment at this resolution, but he himself became soon so ill, that he could with difficulty be conveyed down the river. On Captain Tuckey's arrival at the Congo, he found Tudor, Cranch, and Galwey already dead. Smith soon followed, and he himself, though not affected with fever, at length sunk under a total exhaustion and depression, both of mind and body. Such was the fatal termi-

nation of an expedition, which appeared to offer so fair a promise of important and valuable results.

Although the original object of this expedition failed, it was yet the means of gaining a much more accurate knowledge, both of the physical and moral qualities of this part of Africa than we before possessed. From the able Summary appended to the Narrative of the Voyage, we shall extract the passages tending to throw the most important light upon these particulars.

“The country named Congo, of which we find so much written in collections of Voyages and Travels, appears to be an undefined tract of territory, hemmed in between Loango on the north, and Angola on the south; but to what extent it stretches inland, it would be difficult to determine; and depends most probably on the state of war or peace with the contiguous tribes. All that seems to be known at present is, that the country is partitioned out into a multitude of petty states or Che-nooships, held as a kind of fiefs under some real or imaginary personage living in the interior, nobody knows exactly where. Captain Tuckey could only learn that the paramount sovereign was named *Blindy N' Congo*, and resided at a banza named Congo, which was six days journey in the interior from the Tall Trees, where, by the account of the negroes, the Portuguese had an establishment, and where there were soldiers and white women. This place is no doubt the St Salvador of the Portuguese. These chiefs have improperly been called kings; their territories, it would seem, are small in extent, the present expedition having passed at least six of them in the line of the river; the last is that of Inga, beyond which are what they call bushmen, or those dreadful cannibals whom Andrew Battel, Lopez, Merolla, and others, have denominated Jagas, or Giagas, ‘who consider human flesh

as the most delicious food, and goblets of warm blood as the most exquisite beverage;’ a calumny, which there is every reason to believe has not the smallest foundation in fact. From the character and disposition of the native African, it may fairly be doubted whether, throughout the whole of this great continent, a negro cannibal has any existence.

“That portion of the Congo territory, through which the Zaire flows into the Southern Atlantic, is not very interesting, either in the general appearance of its surface, its natural products, or the state of society, and the condition of its native inhabitants. The first is unalterable; the second and third are capable of great extension and improvement, by artificial and moral cultivation; but with the exception of the river itself, there are probably few points between the mouth of the Senegal and Cape Negro, on that coast, which do not put on a more interesting appearance, in a physical point of view, than the banks of the Zaire. The cluster of mountains, though in general not high (the most elevated probably not exceeding two thousand feet,) are denuded of all vegetation, with the exception of a few coarse rank grasses; and the lower ranges of hills, having no grand forests, as might be expected in such a climate, but a few large trees only, scattered along their sides and upon their summits, the most numerous of which are, the *Adansonia*, *Mimosa*, *Bombax*, *Ficus*, and palms of two or three species.

“Between the feet of these hills, however, and the margins of the river, the level alluvial banks, which extend from the mouth nearly to Embomma, are clothed with a most exuberant vegetation, presenting to the eye one continued forest of tall and majestic trees, clothed with foliage of never-fading verdure. Numerous islands are also

seen to rise above the surface of the river, some mantled with the thick mangrove, mingled with the tall and elegant palm, and others covered with the Egyptian papyrus, resembling at a distance extensive fields of waving corn. Perhaps it may be said, that the great characteristic feature of the banks and islands of the lower part of the Zaire is the mangrove, the palm, the *adansonia* and the *bombax*, with intermediate patches of papyrus; and after the alluvial flats have ceased, naked and precipitous mountains, resting on micaceous slate, which, through an extent of at least fifty miles, forms the two banks of the river; the only interruption to this extended shore of slate being a few narrow ravines in which the villages of the natives are situated, amidst clumps of the wine-palm, and small patches of cultivated ground. On the summits of the hills, also, which Captain Tuckey distinguishes by the name of plateaus, there is a sufficiency of soil for the cultivation of the ordinary articles of food; and here too, numerous small villages occur amidst the *bombax*, the *mimosa*, the *adansonia* and the palm; but the soil on the tops and sides is of a hard clayey nature, incapable of being worked in the dry season, but sufficiently productive when mellowed by the heavy rains, and with the aid of a heated atmosphere.

“The country however becomes greatly improved in every respect, beyond the narrows of the river. Hitherto the general characteristic features of the geology of the country were mica-slate, quartz, and syenite; but here the rock formation, though not entirely, was considerably changed; the granite mountains and hills of pebbly quartz having given way to clay and ferruginous earth, and the mica-slate to lime-stone. The banks of the Zaire are now no longer lined with continued masses of mica-slate,

but many rocky promontories of marble jut into the river, with fertile vales between them; and the reaches of the river itself stretching out into broad expanded sheets of water, resembling so many mountain lakes. The greater part of the surface was now fit for cultivation, and towns or villages followed each other in constant succession, far beyond the limits of the Congo territory. Vegetation was more generally diffused, as well as more varied; and rills of clear water trickled down the sides of the hills, and joined the great river. It was just at the commencement of this improved appearance of the country, where, from the sickly state of the party, and the loss of their baggage, Captain Tuckey was reluctantly compelled to abandon the further prosecution of the objects of the expedition; and in some respects it was fortunate he did, as had he proceeded two or three days longer, the whole party must unquestionably have perished in the interior of Africa, and might perhaps never more have been heard of.

“The account which the missionaries have given of the climate, corresponds exactly with that which was experienced by Captain Tuckey. ‘The winter,’ says Carli, ‘of the kingdom of Congo, is the mild spring or autumn of Italy; it is not subject to rains, but every morning there falls a dew which fertilizes the earth.’ None of the party make any complaint of the climate; they speak, on the contrary, in their notes and memoranda, of the cool, dry, and refreshing atmosphere, especially after the western breezes set in, which they usually do an hour or two after the sun has passed the meridian, and continue till midnight; and when calm in the early part of the day, the sun is said so seldom to shine out, that for four or five days together, they were unable to get a correct altitude to ascertain the latitude.

“ The alimentary plants are very various, and for the most valuable of them, the natives are indebted to the Portuguese. The staple products of the vegetable world consist of manioc or cassava, yams, and maize or Indian corn; to which may be added sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet of two or three species, and calavanses; they have besides cabbages, spinach, pepper, capsicum, the sugar-cane, and tobacco. Of fruits they have the plantain or banana, papaw, oranges, limes, and pine-apples. The latter fruit was met with by Captain Tuckey growing on the open plains near the extreme point of his journey, and far beyond where any Europeans had advanced. This fruit, therefore, as well as the bananas, the one being from the West, the other from the East Indies, (or both perhaps from the West,) must have been carried up into the interior by the natives. The only beverage used by the inhabitants, except when they can get European spirits, is the juice of the palm-tree, of which there are three distinct species. It is usually known by the name of palm wine, and was considered by the whole party as a very pleasant and wholesome liquor, having a taste when fresh from the tree, not unlike that of sweetish cyder; is very excellent for quenching the thirst, and for keeping the body gently open. When tapped near the top, the juice runs copiously out during the night, but very little is said to exude in the day time. One of the species yields a juice sweeter than the rest, and this being suffered to ferment, is said to produce a liquor of a very intoxicating quality. The trees are remarkably tall, and are ascended by means of a flexible hoop which encloses, at the same time, the body of the person intending to mount and the stem of the tree, against the latter of which the feet are pressed, while the back rests against the hoop.

At each step the hoop is moved upward with the hand, and in this way they ascend and descend the highest trees with great expedition: should the hoop give way, the consequence must be fatal.

“ They have no want of domestic animals to serve them as food, though very little care appears to be bestowed on them. They consist chiefly of goats, hogs, fowls, the common and Muscovy duck, and pigeons; a few sheep, generally black and white, with hair instead of wool. The Chenoo of Embomma had obtained from the Portuguese a few horned cattle, but no pains whatever were taken to increase the breed. They have no beasts of burden of any description. Of wild animals the country produces great variety, but the natives are too indolent and inexpert to convert them to any useful purpose. They have elephants, leopards, lions, buffaloes, large monkeys with black faces, and numerous species of antelopes, with which Africa every where abounds; wild hogs, porcupines, hares, and a great variety of other quadrupeds, from which an active people would derive important advantages. Guinea fowl and red legged partridges are also abundant, large, and fine; and wild pigeons, of three or four species, very plentiful.

“ The country appears to be remarkably free from teasing and noxious insects, excepting bugs and fleas in the huts, and the black ants, which erect those singular mushroom-shaped habitations, some of which have two or three domes, and sometimes occur in whole villages. The party suffered no annoyance from scorpions, scolopendras, mosquitoes, which are almost universally swarming in warm climates. From the abundance of bees, and the hills being well clothed with grass, Congo might be made a land ‘flowing with milk and honey.’

“ None of the banzas or villages

seen by the party were of great extent; the largest probably not exceeding one hundred huts. Embomma, Cooloo, and Inga, are each the residence of a Chenoo; the first was supposed to consist of about sixty huts, exclusive of the Chenoo's enclosure, and about five hundred inhabitants; the second, one hundred huts, and from five to six hundred inhabitants; and the third, being the last in the line of the river within the kingdom of Congo, of seventy huts, and three hundred inhabitants. The party stationed at this banza understood, that the Chenoo could command about two hundred fighting men, one hundred of whom he can arm with musquets; and with this force he conceives himself to be the dread and terror of his enemies. These banzas are usually placed amidst groves of palms and adansonias.

“ Leaving out the paramount sovereign of Congo, whose existence seems to be rather doubtful, the component parts of a tribe or society would appear to consist of—1. the Chenoo; 2. the members of his family; 3. the Mafooks; 4. Foomos; 5. fishermen, coolies and labouring people; 6. domestic slaves.

“ The title and authority of the Chenoo are hereditary, through the female line, as a precaution to make certain of the blood-royal in the succession; for although the number of the Chenoo's wives is unlimited, none but the offspring of her who is descended from royal blood, can inherit; and in default of issue from any such, the offspring of any other princess married to a private person, lays claim to the chiefship, and the consequences are such as might be expected; feuds and civil broils arise, which terminate only in the destruction of the weaker party. A Chenoo's daughter has the privilege of chusing her own husband, and the person she fixes upon is not at liberty to refuse; but it is a perilous distinc-

tion which is thus conferred upon him, as she has also the privilege of disposing of him into slavery, in the event of his not answering her expectations. Aware of his ticklish situation, he is sometimes induced to get the start of her, and, by the help of some poisonous mixture, with the efficacy of which the people of Congo are well acquainted, rids himself of his wife and his fears at the same time.

“ When a Chenoo appears abroad, one of his great officers carries before him his sceptre, or staff of authority, which is a small baton of black wood, about a foot in length, inlaid with lead or copper, like the worm of a screw, and crossed with a second screw, so as to form the figures of rhomboids. What their native dresses may be beyond the sphere of communication with European slave-dealers, is not exactly known; but little more, probably, than an apron of some skin-cloth, or grass-matting; the lion's skin to sit upon, was said to be sacred to the Chenoo, the touching of which by the foot of a common person, is death or slavery. From the cataract downwards, the ridiculous cast-off dresses of French and Portuguese generals, form no part of the native costume of Congo, which, with the exception of an apron, anklets, bracelets, and necklaces, may be presumed to be neither more nor less than sheer nakedness.

“ The members of the Chenoo's family are his councillors, by whose advice he acts in all matters of importance; and it is remarkable, that their consultations are generally held under the boughs of the *ficus religiosa*. In case of war, the elders remain behind to take care of the village, while the brothers, sons, or nearest relations of the Chenoo, are usually selected to conduct, under him, their warlike expeditions.

“ The Mafooks are the collectors of the revenues, which are chiefly derived

from trade ; towards the lower part of the river, they begin by acting as linguists or interpreters between the slave dealers of the interior, and the European purchasers ; but, having made a fortune, which was frequently the case in this once lucrative employment, they purchase the rank of Mafook, and from that moment are said to be dumb, and utterly unable any longer to interpret.

“ The Foomos are composed of that class of the society who have houses and lands of their own, two or three wives, and perhaps a slave or two to work for them ; they are, in fact, the yeomanry of the country.

“ The fishermen, coolies, and labouring people, appear to consist of those who have no fixed property of their own, but act as the labourers and peasantry of the country, and are very much at the disposal of the Chenoo or chief, though not slaves.

“ Domestic slaves do not appear to be numerous, and are not considered as common transferable property, and only sold for some great offence, and by order of the council, when proved guilty. Saleable slaves are those unhappy victims who have been taken prisoners in war, or kidnapped in the interior by the slave-catchers, for the sake of making a profit of them ; or such as have had a sentence of death commuted into that of foreign slavery.

“ The worst feature in the negro character, which is a very common one among all savage tribes, is the little estimation in which the female sex is held ; or rather, their esteeming them in no other way than as contributing to their pleasures and to their sloth. Yet, if this was the extent to which female degradation was subject, some palliation might perhaps be found in the peculiar circumstances of the state of the society ; but the open and bare-faced manner in which both wives and daughters were offered for hire, from the Chenoo or chief, to the private

gentleman, to any and all of the persons belonging to the expedition, was too disgusting to admit of any excuse. Some of the Chenooos had no less than fifty wives, or women, and the Mafooks from ten to twenty, any of which they seemed ready to dispose of, for the time, to their white visitors ; and the women most commonly, as may well be supposed, were equally ready to offer themselves, and greatly offended when their offer was not accepted. It would seem, however, that whether they are lent out by their tyrants, or on their own accord, the object is solely that of obtaining the wages of prostitution : the heart and the passions had no share in the transaction. It is just possible, that this facility in transferring women to the embraces of strangers, is confined to those parts of the country where they have had communication with Europeans, who have encouraged such connexions ; though it must be admitted, that, on the present occasion, very little difference, in this respect, appears to have been observed on the part of the women, in places beyond where slave-dealers are in the habit of visiting. Captain Tuckey, however, says, that in no one instance, beyond Embomma, did they find the men *allant en avant* in their offer of the women ; but the Embomma men said, falsely, it is to be hoped, that it was only their ignorance, and the little intercourse they had with white men, that prevented it ; and that any of them would think themselves honoured by giving up his wife or daughter to a white man.

“ No such licentious conduct, it would seem, is sanctioned among themselves ; where natives are the only parties concerned, an intrigue with another man's wife entails slavery on both the offenders ; and if the wife of a Chenoo should go astray, he inflicts what punishment he may think fit on the lady, but the paramour must suffer

death. Mr Fitzmaurice states, that an instance of this kind occurred while he was stationed at Embomma. The man was first carried to Sherwood, the mate of a slave-ship then trading in the river, and offered to him for sale ; but, on being rejected, those who had charge of him bound his hands and feet, and, without farther ceremony, threw him into the river.

“ It is a strange inconsistency of human feeling, that, in all uncultivated societies, the weaker sex should be doomed to perform the most laborious drudgery. In Congo, the cultivation of the land, and the search after food in the woods and on the plains, frequently the catching of fish, devolve wholly on the women ; while the men either saunter about, or idle away the time in laying at full length on the ground, or in stringing beads, or sleeping in their huts : if employed at all, it is in weaving their little mats or caps, a kind of light work more appropriate to the other sex, or in strumming on some musical instrument.

“ Their indolent disposition, however, does not prevent them from indulging an immoderate fondness for dancing, more especially on moonlight nights. No feats of activity are displayed in this species of amusement, which consists chiefly in various motions of the arms, and gesticulations of the body, not altogether the most decent. The pleasure it affords is announced by hearty peals of laughter. They are also fond of singing ; but it is only a monotonous drawling of the voice, not very well calculated to delight the ears of the auditors. Their musical instruments are, a sort of guitar, or lyre, of the rudest kind, horns, shells, and drums ; and sometimes calabashes, filled with small stones, to make a rattling noise. They have songs on love, war, hunting, palm wine, and a variety of subjects, some of which have been attempted to be written down

and translated by Captain Tuckey, but in so imperfect a manner, and so much defaced, as not to admit of being made out.

“ In all the memoranda of the gentlemen employed on the expedition, the natives of Congo are represented as a lively and good-humoured race of men, extremely hospitable to strangers, and always ready to share their pittance, sometimes scanty enough, with the passing visitor. In one of the notes only, they are characterized as shrewd, cunning, and thievish. Men living in a state of society like theirs, have occasion for all their shrewdness and cunning ; but, with respect to their thievish propensity, though common to almost all savage and half-civilized tribes, the testimony of Captain Tuckey is rather in favour of their honesty. It is true, that when returning down the river in a sickly and helpless condition, and in great haste and anxiety to reach the vessels, some trifling advantage was taken to pilfer part of their baggage ; but it is in favour of these people, that, considering all the circumstances of the distressed situation of the party, they were able to bring away with them any part of their scattered property.

“ The stature of the men of Congo is that of the middle size ; and their features, though nearest to those of the negro tribe, are neither so strongly marked, nor so black as the Africans are in general. They are not only represented as being more pleasing, but also as wearing the appearance of great simplicity and innocence. Captain Tuckey could not discover among the people any national physiognomy ; but few mulattoes ; and many had the features of southern Europeans. The discovery, by the party, of burnt bones, and of human skulls, hanging from trees, might have led to the injurious idea of their being addicted to the eating of human flesh, had no further inquiries been made concerning them : accounts

of cannibalism have been inferred by travellers on appearances no better founded than these ; and it is probable, that the many idle stories repeated by the Capuchin and other missionaries to Congo, of the Giagas and Anzicas, their immediate neighbours, delighting in human flesh, may have had no other foundation than their fears, worked upon by the stories of the neighbouring tribes, who always take care to represent one another in a bad light, and usually fix upon cannibalism as the worst.

“ Ignorance has always been accounted the prolific mother of superstition. Those of the negroes of Congo would be mere subjects of ridicule, if they were harmless to society, which, however, is not the case. Every man has his *fetiche*, and some at least a dozen, being so many tutelary deities, against every imaginable evil that may befall them. The word is Portuguese, *feitico*, and signifies a charm, witchcraft, magic, &c. ; and what is remarkable enough, it is in universal use among all the negro tribes of the Western Coast.

“ There is nothing so vile in nature, that does not serve for a negro’s *fetiche* ; the horn, the hoof, the hair, the teeth, and the bones of all manner of quadrupeds ; the feathers, beaks, claws, skulls, and bones of birds ; the heads and skins of snakes ; the shells and fins of fishes ; pieces of old iron, copper, wood, seeds of plants, and sometimes a mixture of all, or most of them, strung together. In the choice of a *fetiche*, they consult certain persons whom they call *fetiche-men*, who may be considered to form a kind of priesthood, the members of which preside at the altar of superstition. As a specimen of these senseless appendages to the dress and the dwelling of every negro, the following represents one which the wearer considered as an infallible charm against poison ; the materials are, an European

padlock, in the iron of which they have contrived to bury a cowrie shell, and various other matters, the bill of a bird, and the head of a snake ; these are suspended from a rosary consisting of the beans of a species of *dolichos*, strung alternately with the seeds of some other plant. Others, with some little variation, are considered as protections against the effects of thunder and lightning, against the attacks of the alligator, the hippopotamus, snakes, lions, tigers, &c. &c. And if it should so happen, as it sometimes does, that, in spite of his guardian genius, the wearer should perish by the very means against which he had adopted it as a precaution, no blame is ascribed to any negligence or want of virtue on the part of the *fetiche*, but to some offence given to it by the possessor, for which it has permitted the punishment. On this account, when a man is about to commit a crime, or do that which his conscience tells him he ought not to do, he lays aside his *fetiche*, and covers up his deity, that he may not be privy to the deed. Some of the persons of the expedition shewed to one of the chief men a magnet, which he said was very bad *fetiche* for black man ; he was too lively, and had too much *savey*.”

We cannot forbear adding the very learned observations of Mr Brown, on the botanical character of the Congo territory, as compared with that of other tropical regions.

“ The relation which the vegetation of the eastern shores of equinoctial Africa has to that of the west coast, we have at present no means of determining ; for the few plants, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Mozambique, included in Loureiro’s *Flora Cochinchinensis*, and a very small number collected by Mr Salt on the same part of the coast, do not afford materials for comparison.

“ The character of the collections of Abyssinian plants, made by Mr Salt

in his two journeys, forming part of Sir Joseph Banks's herbarium, and amounting to about 260 species, is somewhat extratropical, and has but little affinity to that of the vegetation of the west coast of Africa.

“ To the Flora of Egypt, that of Congo has still less relation, either in the number or proportions of its natural families : the herbarium, however, includes several species which also belong to Egypt, as *Nymphæa lotus*, *Cyperus papyrus* and *articulatus*, *Sphenoclea zeylanica*, *Glinus lotoides*, *Ethulia conyzoides*, and *Grangea maderaspatana*.

“ Of the many remarkable genera and orders characterising the vegetation of South Africa, no traces are to be found in the herbarium from Congo. This fact is the more worthy of notice, because, even in Abyssinia, a few remains, if I may so speak, of these characteristic tribes, have been met with ; as the *Protea Abyssinica*, observed by Bruce, and *Pelargonium Abyssinicum*, and *Geissorhiza Abyssinica*, found by Mr Salt.

“ Between the plants collected by Professor Smith in the island of St Jago, and those of the Congo herbarium, there is very little affinity ; great part of the orders and genera being different, and not more than three species, of which *Cassia occidentalis* is one, being common to both. To judge from this collection of St Jago, it would seem that the vegetation of the Cape Verd Islands is of a character intermediate between that of the adjoining continent and of the Canary Islands, of which the Flora has, of course, still less connexion with that of Congo.

“ It might perhaps have been expected, that the examination of the vicinity of the Congo would have thrown some light on the origin, if I may so express myself, of the Flora of St Helena. This, however, has not proved to be the case ; for neither has a single

indigenous species, nor have any of the principal genera, characterising the vegetation of that island, been found either on the banks of the Congo, or on any other part of this coast of Africa.

“ There appears so be some affinity between the vegetation of the banks of the Congo, and that of Madagascar and the Isles of France and Bourbon. This affinity, however, consists more in a certain degree of resemblance in several natural families and extensive or remarkable genera, than in identity of species, of which there seems to be very few in common.

“ The Flora of Congo may be compared with those of equinoctial countries still more remote.

“ With that of India, it agrees not only in the proportions of many of its principal families, or in what may be termed the equinoctial relation, but also, to a certain degree, in the more extensive genera of which several of these families consist ; and there are even about forty species common to these distant regions.

“ To the vegetation of equinoctial America it has certainly much less affinity. Several genera, however, which have not yet been observed in India or New Holland, are common to this part of Africa and America : and there are upwards of thirty species in the Congo herbarium, which are also natives of the opposite coasts of Brazil and Guiana.”

A fate similarly and equally fatal attended the military part of the expedition, which, under Major Peddie, was destined to descend the Niger. Instead of following the traces of Park, and ascending the Gambia, he determined upon the route by the Rio Nunez, and the country of the Foulahs, which was shorter, indeed, but difficult and unexplored. On reaching Kacundy, at the head of the Rio Nunez, he was seized with fever, and

died. The command then devolved on Captain Campbell, who, on the 1st February, set out from Kacundy. By this time they had lost so many of their beasts of burden, that it was necessary to employ, in transporting the baggage, the fine Arabian horses designed for the use of the officers, who proceeded on foot to the great peril of their health. After a painful march of about twelve days, the party arrived at Panietta, about 150 miles beyond Kacundy. Although Captain Campbell, in commencing his journey, had held a communication with the King of the Foulahs, and obtained protestations of friendship, the natives were struck with evident alarm when they saw so great a body of foreigners about to enter their territory. Under various pretexts the party were detained at the frontier for four months, during which they had to struggle with all the hardships of an unhealthy climate. At length the prevalence of disease, and the exhaustion of all their equipments and supplies, placed them under the necessity of returning. By this time nearly all their animals were dead, and they were obliged to have their baggage transported by the natives, a system which exposed them to constant vexation, and frequent pillage. They arrived at Kacundy, with the loss of only one man, but in a very exhausted state, and Captain Campbell, two days after, sunk under the pressure of disease and distress of mind.

During the present year, a narrative was published, which excited considerable interest, though doubts still exist as to the degree of credit due to it. It is from the pen of James Riley, master of the brig Commerce, who, in 1815, was wrecked on the desert coast of Western Africa. He gives the usual description of the dreary and desolate character of that vast plain, of the rude character of the in-

habitants, and the inhuman traffic made of those whom the frequent chance of shipwreck on this unknown shore delivers into their hands. But the chief interest arises from his meeting with Sidi Hamet, an extensive travelling merchant, who, in that capacity, had visited Tombuctoo and other parts of Soudan. The particulars of his journeys were taken down by Riley from his own verbal narrative. He described Tombuctoo as six times more populous than Mogadore, which would make it contain upwards of 200,000 inhabitants. The population appeared to him, as it had done to Adams, to be entirely negro; and he says, "the people of Tombuctoo do not fear or worship God like the Moosel-mans, but like the people of Soudan." According to him, there is a separate town, divided off from the other by a strong wall, in which Mahometans are permitted to reside. Like Adams, he described the ordinary houses as built of earth and reeds, but those of the great men as built of stone; that of the king, as large and lofty. There is only a small river in the immediate vicinity of the town, whence the inhabitants are supplied with water, and when it dries up, as it occasionally does, they are obliged to go to the great river, situated about an hour's ride of a camel to the south.

Besides his journeys to Tombuctoo, Sidi Hamet gave an account of another, which, if genuine, extends still further our knowledge of interior Africa. He accompanied thence a caravan, sent by the King or Shegar, to a great city called Wassanah, situated far to the east and south. Two hours ride brought them to the banks of the great river, (Niger), which he calls Zolibib, (evidently the Joliba of Park), and they followed its course. For six days its direction continued a little to the south-of-east, then a high mountain turned it more to the south-

east. They afterwards left the river, but, after travelling fifteen days through a rocky and hilly country, again joined it. They now continued their journey for thirty-six days, all of which, except six, were along the banks of the river, which flowed constantly south-east, and at last nearly south. At last they came to Wassanah, a great city, containing twice the population of Tombuctoo, and situated in a highly-cultivated country. The river is so broad that a man can with difficulty be seen on the opposite bank. On each side is a ridge of mountains, with plains intervening. The city is environed with a very large wall, built of stones without cement; the houses of the same materials, roofed with reeds and palm leaves. The king was a tall young man, called Oleeboo, who resides in a large and lofty palace, built of stone, with a species of cement. He was said to have a hundred and fifty wives, and ten thousand slaves; he rides on an elephant, attended by two hundred guards. The people had boats made of large trees hollowed out, holding from ten to twenty persons; and the king's brother told one of Riley's companions, that they were in the habit of carrying slaves down the river, first south and then west, when they came to *the great water*, where they sold them to a pale people, who, by the commodities they gave in exchange, were evidently Europeans. The voyage would occupy three moons. The Wassanese, who had been down the river, added, that the pale people lived in great boats, and had guns, making a noise like thunder. The importance of this information, if genuine, with a view to the great question of the termination of the Niger, is sufficiently obvious.

Amid the disastrous result of all the preconceived attempts to explore Africa, this year was marked by the un-

expected opening of a communication with an African kingdom, surpassing in splendour and civilization any of the hitherto-discovered native states. Rumours had, indeed, been received of Asiente, Asiante, or Ashantee, as a great country, situated behind those states on the Gold Coast with which the Europeans were accustomed to hold intercourse. Even the Tripoli merchants mentioned this place to Mr Lucas as the termination of their great caravan route across Africa. It remained, however, to Europeans little more than a name till, in 1808, a tragical series of events conveyed the most formidable impression of its power and existence. A war having broken out between this nation and that of the Fantees, the most powerful state on the Gold Coast, the Ashantes, with a great force, invaded the territories of the latter. The Fantees, totally routed, fled into Anamaboe, whither they were pursued by the victors, who put all to the sword except those who escaped into the English fort. It too was besieged, but was successfully defended by a handful of the British against the immense force of the enemy. The Ashantes, struck with admiration at the valour displayed by their new opponents, shewed a desire to open a communication with them. The British, on the other hand, were struck, not only with the wealth and splendour, but even with the orderly deportment, polished manners, and correct moral feeling displayed by this new people. The Ashantes, in return, eager for improvement, and particularly for opening an intercourse with the sea, shewed every disposition to cultivate European connexion. Two subsequent invasions, in 1811 and in 1816, drew closer the intercourse between the two nations, and at length it was determined to send a mission to Cummazee, the capital of Ashantee. Mr James, Mr Bow-

dich, and Mr Hutchison, were placed at its head. The detailed narrative of this mission was not given to the public till some time after the period of which we are treating. Meantime, the following letter, published at the time, gives a good idea of the first impression made on the English by the view of this vast and barbarous capital.

“Cummazee, June 1817.—Our journey hither by roads almost impassable, and through wilds seldom traversed (having, in our passage through one forest, been four days deprived, by its impervious foliage, of the light of the sun,) has been additionally lengthened by the indisposition of one of our party on the road, and our detention within thirty miles of this place a whole week, during the deliberation of the king on the propriety of our admission into his capital. We are, however, at length safely arrived within Cummazee, and have scarcely yet recovered from our surprise at the grandeur and decorum which it exhibits. The limits of my time will not permit more than a hasty description of a few of the leading objects which have here arrested our attention. On our entrance into the city, containing a population of 200,000 souls, we were most graciously received in full state by the king, whom we find a prince liberal in his sentiments, dignified in his deportment, and of a generous disposition. His court is most splendid, and when he appears in state, he is usually attended by 2000 persons; among his numerous attendants, we notice his cook, who is preceded by a massy service of plate. Our reception was highly flattering. After saluting his Majesty, we passed along a line of vast extent, consisting of the caboseers of the countries and towns tributary to Ashantee and their troops, and were then placed beneath a large tree to receive their compliments in return; the whole ceremony of introduction lasting from two till

eight o'clock. Our party has been also honoured with a visit by the mother and sisters of the king; they are women of dignified and affable manners, and appear totally free from that curiosity common to the lower classes of the natives: the easy and elegant manner in which they were ushered in and out of our abode by the captain in waiting, might have raised a blush in many a modern European courtier. A short sketch of the palace and its decorations may not be uninteresting. On our first visit we waited, according to the custom of the place, a considerable time in one of the outer courts. The buildings consist of a variety of oblong courts and regular squares, the former presenting arcades along one side, some of round arches symmetrically turned, having a skeleton of bamboo; the architraves and bases exuberantly adorned with very bold fan and trellis work of Egyptian character; they have a suite of rooms over them, with small windows of wooden lattice, of intricate but regular carved work, and some with frames of gold. The squares have a large apartment on each side, open in front, with two supporting pillars, which break the view, and give it all the appearance of the proscenium of the stage of the older Italian theatres: they are lofty and regular, with cornices of a very bold fanwork in alto relievo; a drop curtain of curiously plaited cane is suspended in front, and in each we observed splendid furniture—such as chairs embossed with gold, stools and couches of rich silk, or scattered regalia. The most ornamented part of the Palace is that appropriated to the women,—we have passed through it once. Except two open door ways, the front of some of these apartments is closed by pannels of curious open carving, conveying a striking resemblance at first sight to a florid Gothic skreen; one front was entirely closed,

and had two curious doors of a low Saxon arch, and strengthened or battened with wood work, carved in high relief and painted red. Doors changing to open as we passed through this quarter of the palace, surprised us with a glimpse of large apartments in corners we could not have imagined—the most secret appearing the most superb. In our daily course through the palace there is always a delay of several minutes before the door separating the squares is opened: the inmost square is the council chamber. To-day, after a delay of nearly an hour (which seems an indispensable ceremony) in the outer court, where we were amused with a constant variety of parade and bustle, from the passing to and fro of the different dignitaries and their retinue, we were conducted to a large inner court, where the king, encircled by a varied profusion of insignia, even more sumptuous than we had yet witnessed, sat at the end of two long files of counsellors, caboseers, and captains. They were all seated under their umbrellas of scarlet and yellow cloth, silks, shawls, cotton of glaring variety, and decorated with carved and golden pelicans, panthers, baboons, crescents, &c. on the top; their shape generally that of a dome. Distinct and pompous retinues were placed around, with gold elephant tails to keep off the flies, gold-headed swords, embossed muskets, and many other splendid novelties, too numerous for insertion. Each chief was supported by the dignitaries of his own province to his right and left, and it was truly *concilium in consilio*. We have observed only one horse here, which is kept by the Chief Captain, more for state than use; the great people all riding bullocks. The presents from the Company to his Majesty called forth a surprise, only equalled by his warm and dignified acknowledgment of them; his feelings are evidently most auspicious towards us, and

we have only to dread the jealousy of the Moors, many of whom are tributary to this monarch; or the intrigues of other neighbours, more dangerous, as they are more civilized and artful."

The friendly footing in which Britain stood with Mahomed Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, gave an opportunity to the enterprize of her travellers to push their researches in that direction. Egypt itself being one of the most frequented routes of modern travellers, and carefully examined by the *savans* employed in the French expedition, was supposed to present little novelty, though more diligent research has shewn otherwise. Curiosity was first attracted by Nubia, the region situated on the upper part of the Nile. With the exception of a limited excursion by Norden, it had not been traversed by modern travellers, who could not venture themselves unprotected among its barbarous inhabitants; yet Nubia presents monuments almost rivalling those of Egypt in grandeur, and of a character so distinct, as to be objects of curiosity even to those who have most fully surveyed the latter. While the temples of Egypt are edifices raised above ground, those of Nubia are excavated rocks, and some almost of mountain magnitude have been hewn into temples, and chiselled into sculpture. Mr Legh was the first adventurer in this career. After leaving Syene, the southern boundary of Egypt, the first striking object consisted in the cataracts, which did not appear to answer the fame of antiquity. They were merely formed by the river forcing its way in a contracted channel, among rocks of granite, or rather syenite, which formed several ledges across it; yet "the wild disorder of the granite rocks, which present every variety of grotesque shape, the absence of all cultivation, the murmur of the water, and the savage and deso-

late character of the whole scene, form a picture that exceeds all power of description." The mountains on both sides, which, in Upper Egypt, had left a valley of a few miles in breadth, now entirely closed in, leaving scarcely a few patches, on which dates could be planted. The varied population of Egypt was supplanted by the Barabras or Berbers, who are described as a harmless, frank, and honest people, though rigid Mahometans. Mr Legh penetrated, without difficulty, to Dehr or Derri, but was there somewhat roughly treated by the Cacheff, who exacted from him a fine Damascus blade, worth 500 piastres. This adventure deterred him from advancing further than Ibrim, which he found destroyed by the Mamelukes. He thus did not penetrate deep into Nubia, nor to Ipsambul, its most striking and remarkable monument. The following details, however, will be found interesting :—

"On the 28th we arrived at Dakki. The Propylon and Temple here are quite perfect, and the hieroglyphics are much better preserved than any we had seen above Essouan ; they are in high relief.

"The Temple consists of four apartments, two of which seem to have been restored, or of more recent date than the others ; at their junction on the outside, on the western wall, is an inscription relating to Adrian, but we could not decipher it. Two columns form the entrance into the Temple, and in the last apartment, where the hieroglyphics are most beautiful, there is a pedestal of red granite.

"The height of the Propylon is about fifty feet, its front ninety feet, and its depth at the base is eighteen feet.

"The space between it and the Temple is forty-eight feet, and the Temple itself measures eighty-four

feet in length, thirty in breadth, and twenty-four in height.

"There are many Greek inscriptions on the Propylon, which, like the two we copied, because they were the most legible, seem only to record the devotion of those who have visited these sacred buildings.

"There were very few of the Roman Emperors who lived so long as the period mentioned in the inscription.

"Guerfeh Hassan is about nine miles below Dakki, and here we found an excavated temple that far surpasses any thing we had witnessed above or below Essouan, and is indeed a stupendous monument of the labour bestowed by the ancients on their places of devotion. The area or outer court (*δρῶμος*) is formed of six columns on each side, attached to which columns are statues of priests, rudely sculptured, as at Sibhoi. This area is sixty-four feet in length, and thirty-six in breadth. The width of the door into the temple is six feet, and the passage is formed by three immense columns on each side, to which are attached colossal statues of priests. They stand on pedestals three feet three inches high, and are themselves eighteen feet six inches high. They are scarcely injured, are ornamented with girdles, carry each a crosier in his hand, and their rich dress, formerly covered with paint and gold, and gigantic proportions, have a most imposing appearance. On entering the first chamber of the temple, we found in each of the side-walls four niches, containing each of them three figures, which have formerly been painted, and all of them have some reference to the attributes of Isis and Osiris : though a little mutilated, they are, upon the whole, in good preservation—the niches in which they stand are six feet six inches square.

"The first chamber is forty-six feet

six inches long, thirty-five feet three inches wide, and twenty-two feet three inches high.

"The hieroglyphics are considerably defaced.

"From the second chamber, which measures thirty-four feet six inches wide, and fifteen feet six inches long, we passed into four smaller apartments that resemble those we had found in the excavated temple at Dehr. At the end of the two largest of these apartments, we observed blocks of stone standing in recesses in the walls, which, from the hollow sound they gave on being struck, we endeavoured to raise, but, from our inadequate means, were obliged to give up the attempt;—they are most probably sepulchres.

"The third chamber, that may properly be called the Sekos, is eleven feet in breadth, and fifteen in length. At the farther end of it stands the altar, three feet three inches high, and three feet broad; immediately behind the altar are four statues sitting on a kind of bench eleven feet long, which, like the figures themselves, is cut out of the solid rock. We asked ourselves—Whom do they represent—Isis, Osiris, Apis, and Serapis? They greatly resemble one another. We found no inscription in this temple, which is a most astonishing monument of labour and ancient magnificence. The various apartments we had explored, together with the statues that ornament them, are all hewn out of the living rock.

"On the 2d March we visited the ruined temple of Kalaptshi. Close to the water's edge is a quay or landing-place, from which an elevated stone-pavement, about eighteen feet wide, led to the temple.

"The front of the Propylon is a hundred and twenty feet, its depth at the base about twenty-four, and we estimated its height at fifty feet. It

was joined to the Temple by two colonnades, of which one column alone is now standing.

"There is a portico of four beautiful columns, each with different capitals, in front of the Temple, and the intercolumniations are half-walled up with ornamented stones. The pronaos was decorated with two columns on each side, and its dimensions are sixty-six feet in length, and thirty-six feet in breadth.

"Beyond we found three chambers of the following dimensions—

"First chamber, thirty-six feet in length and twenty feet in breadth.

"Second chamber, thirty feet in length and eighteen feet in breadth.

"Third chamber, thirty-six feet in length and eighteen feet in breadth.

"The entrance into the first is ornamented with a large square slab, with hieroglyphics most beautifully sculptured. We could discern the figure of Isis with Orus at her breast, and various other representations of the Egyptian gods. The hieroglyphics in the second and third chambers have, on the contrary, been painted, and wherever the plaster with which they had been concealed by the religious zeal of the early Christians has fallen off, they are observed in a state of great preservation. Many smaller apartments lead out of the three great chambers thus described; and there are also several situated above them. In the interior or body of the Propylon we counted at least twelve rooms, into which the light is admitted by oblong niches cut in the outside wall.

"The Temple of Kalaptshi is in a state of so much greater dilapidation than the other ancient buildings we examined, that it is probable it has been ruined by some violent means. The quarries which furnished the stone with which the Temple is built, are close to it, and are of a very fine sand-stone.

“ We left Kalaptshi, and about five o'clock the same evening landed under the mountains of El Umbarakat. The rock consists of red and grey granite. The whole plain is covered with ruins, consisting chiefly of inclosures about fifty feet square, formed by walls which are built with a slope from the angles to the middle. It is impossible to conjecture for what purpose they were intended, but we counted no less than twelve of them in the plain. Among the fragments lying about are to be observed several stones richly ornamented, and many with the common representation of the Winged Globe. Besides the square-inclosures mentioned above, are two small Temples, one of which is converted into a house, and is in a state of great preservation. Within it are four beautiful columns with rich capitals, and the other ornaments without are well sculptured. The Temple is about eighteen feet square, and the diameter of the columns three feet six inches.

“ The second Temple, which has been used as a church, is much ruined, and two columns only are standing.

“ At Sardab, about fourteen miles below, we met with another square-inclosure, similar to those at El Umbarakat, but much larger. In the centre of the north wall is a gateway, from which, at the distance of about four hundred yards, is an elegant small Temple of Isis. Six beautiful columns of three feet diameter are standing. The capitals of the two to the north are square, with faces on each front, similar to those at Koum Ombos and Dendera; the two next have the common capitals (the lotus) of Egyptian temples; and the two to the south are ornamented with vine leaves and grapes. There are hieroglyphics only on one of the columns; they represent the offering of the lotus to Isis, whose figure is well sculptured;—near her are sheaves of corn. These columns and

capitals are in good taste—the Temple itself measures twenty-two feet by thirteen.

“ On the morning of the 4th, we went to the ruins of Debodé, consisting of a small Temple with three gateways. An inclosed pavement has led from the water side to the Temple, in front of which is a portico of four columns.

“ The intercolumniations are half-walled up. Out of the first and second chamber you pass into four or five smaller ones, in the last of which are two large blocks of granite, with niches cut into them about eighteen inches deep; they are similar to those described by Denon at Philæ and Gaw el Keber, supposed to be the cages of the sacred birds, and called by him Monolithic Temples.

“ Having satisfied our curiosity in examining the remains at Debodé, we returned to our boat, and arrived at the island of Philæ about eleven o'clock.

“ The excavated Temple of Guerfeh Hassan, and the ruins of Dakki, and Kalaptshi, appeared to us to rival some of the finest specimens of Egyptian architecture.

“ The same character of massive solidity is common to both, but, upon the whole, the stones which formed the walls of the Nubian temples did not appear to be so well wrought, nor so nicely joined together, as they are in those we had seen in Egypt. On the other hand, the style of execution in some of the hieroglyphics and other ornaments, indicates a degree of perfection in the arts, which renders it difficult to discover their comparative antiquity.”

A letter from Mr Salt, our British consul in Egypt, states thus the most recent intelligence respecting Abyssinia.

“ My last letters from that country (or rather last intelligence, for it was

brought, together with some letters of old date, by a Coptic Christian) informed me of the death of my old friend, Ras Welled Selassé; and of great disturbances having taken place among the chiefs, as might be expected, in contest for the supreme power. Mr Pearce, I understand, remains with a nephew of the late Ras; a young man of some talent, who commands the province of Enderta: but Axum, where the king resides, Andows, and the rest of Tigré, have submitted to a young chieftain whom I have frequently had occasion to mention in my travels, named Subyadis,—the same who, on one occasion in battle, stood upon a rock, and cried to Pearce, ‘Do not come too near, for I am afraid for your life!’—his followers having had it in their power to kill him at their pleasure.

“In Mr Pearce’s last letters, he informs me of a sad change in his situation. A short time previous to the Ras’s death, it appears that the old man had become nearly childish, and had permitted himself to be ruled by a Coptic priest, who had a short time before entered into the country to take on himself the office of Abuna. This man, biassed against Pearce by some of his enemies, had the cruelty, not

only to rob poor Pearce of his house and garden, become endeared to him by six years’ labour for its improvement, but he even proceeded so far as to denounce both him and his companion Coffin; to interdict the priests from opening the churches or administering the sacrament, and the Ras from hearing or giving council, until our two Englishmen should have had every thing in the world taken from them, should be stripped naked, excepting a rag round their middle, and be led round the market place, flogged, and driven by beat of drum out of the dominions ‘of his children.’ This, as Pearce adds, ‘struck him like thunder,’ and he prepared for resistance and death, sooner than submit to such horrible indignity. Happily, he was not put to the dreadful test; for, after ‘two days had elapsed, (during which they neither eat nor drank, and the churches had been shut, and all the orders fulfilled,) every chief that was then in Chelicut attended on the Ras, went before the Ras and the Abuna, and assembled priests of the Trinity Church, and solemnly declared that the Abuna should go back to Egypt, rather than they would be guilty of such barbarity to persons who had behaved so well among them.’ ”

ASIA.

THIS year was distinguished by a rare event, from which considerable expectations were formed—an embassy to the court of China. The plan originated in an interruption experienced by the British trade, which has long been carried on exclusively in the river and port of Canton. The local authorities had taken considerable umbrage at some proceedings of the British vessels, particularly at the capture

of several American ships within the Chinese limits. This dissatisfaction was clearly manifested by repeated insults to the Company’s agents, and by depriving them of many of their usual accommodations. These injuries became at length so serious, that the committee managing the Company’s affairs, had recourse to the step of putting a sudden and entire stop to all commercial intercourse. This bold

measure was successful. In losing the British trade, Canton lost its principal support, and saw even a great part of its inhabitants deprived of their daily bread. The people murmured loudly, and were preparing remonstrances to the Imperial Court, which invariably makes the governors responsible for any evil which befalls their province. The local authorities took the alarm, and judged it necessary to prevent such an issue, by unconditional submission to the British demands. Although this storm had blown over, the Company were led to conceive the wish of establishing their intercourse on a more solid basis, by obtaining for it the imperial sanction. They applied, therefore, to the British administration, for an embassy, the expence of which they undertook to defray. The application was readily granted; Lord Amherst was placed at the head of the mission, and was to be joined at Canton by Sir George Staunton and Mr Elphinstone, whose local knowledge rendered their aid of the greatest importance. Mr Elphinstone's place as secretary, however, was ultimately supplied by Mr Ellis. At Canton unfavourable rumours were spread; but before leaving that city, they received friendly communications, and assurances of welcome. They set sail, and, entering the Yellow Sea, landed, in the end of July, at the mouth of the Pei ho. They were received and conducted to the capital by three mandarins of considerable rank, who, though they shewed occasionally symptoms of haughtiness, behaved upon the whole in a tolerably polite manner. In the course of the journey, however, it became incumbent on them to declare positively, whether the ambassador was prepared to perform the ko-tou, or act of prostration, nine times repeated, with the head knocked against the ground. The embassy, which we think rather odd, had not fully made up their

minds upon this essential point. The government at home had told Lord Amherst, that, though the ko-tou was to be avoided if possible, yet, in case the objects of the embassy could not be otherwise obtained without it, they did not prohibit compliance. Lord Amherst and Mr Ellis were inclined to have yielded, and not to have thrown away upon a point of ceremonial a voyage of 2000 miles, and an expence of 200,000*l*. But Sir George Staunton, and the members of the Canton mission, took the most decided part on the other side. They maintained, that compliance would degrade the English character in the mind of the emperor, and would thus do much more injury to the national interests, than they could derive of benefit from any favour which this humiliation could purchase. The Canton members ought certainly to have been good judges upon the subject, although we should be ourselves inclined to go along with the ambassador and secretary. However, this consultation ended in announcing a decisive and final determination against the performance of the ko-tou. The mandarins used every means of persuasion; they asserted even the most scandalous falsehoods, pretending that Lord Macartney had really performed the ko-tou, and producing an imperial edict to that effect; nay, they had even the effrontery to appeal to Sir George Staunton, who had been present, trusting that he would not give them the lie to their face. However, when all would avail nothing, they at length said, that the emperor would see them upon their own terms, which consisted in kneeling upon a single knee. The Chinese were now eager for dispatch, and, setting out on the 28th of August, from Tong-chon, the port of Peking, they arrived before night, in view of that city. They did not enter, however, but were driven, during the whole night, round the

walls, till they found themselves, by daybreak, at the imperial palace of Yuen-Mien. They were ushered into a small antichamber, which they found filled with mandarins and princes of the blood. The scene which now ensued was so curious and important, that we shall give it in the words of Mr Ellis.

"Mandarins of all buttons* were in waiting; several princes of the blood, distinguished by clear ruby buttons, and round flowered badges, were among them: the silence, and a certain air of regularity, marked the immediate presence of the sovereign. The small apartment, much out of repair, into which we were huddled, now witnessed a scene, I believe, unparalleled in the history of even oriental diplomacy. Lord Amherst had scarcely taken his seat, when Chang delivered a message from Ho, (Koong-yay,) stating, that the emperor wished to see the ambassador, his son, and the commissioners, immediately. Much surprise was naturally expressed; the previous arrangement for the eighth of the Chinese month, a period certainly much too early for comfort, was adverted to, and the utter impossibility of his excellency appearing in his present state of fatigue, inanition, and deficiency of every necessary equipment, was strongly urged. Chang was very unwilling to be the bearer of this answer, but was finally obliged to consent. During this time the room had filled with spectators of all ages and ranks, who rudely pressed upon us to gratify their brutal curiosity, for such it may be called, as they seemed to regard us rather as wild beasts than mere strangers of the same species with themselves. Some other messages were interchanged between the Koong-yay

and Lord Amherst, who, in addition to the reasons already given, stated the indecorum and irregularity of his appearing without his credentials. In his reply to this it was said, that in the proposed audience, the emperor merely wished to see the ambassador, and had no intention of entering upon business. Lord Amherst having persisted in expressing the inadmissibility of the proposition, and in transmitting, through the Koong-yay, an humble request to his Imperial Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till to-morrow, Chang and another Mandarin finally proposed that his excellency should go over to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the emperor. Lord Amherst having alleged bodily illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience, readily saw, that if he went to the Koong-yay, this plea, which, to the Chinese, (though now scarcely admitted,) was in general the most forcible, would cease to avail him, positively declined compliance. This produced a visit from the Koong-yay, who, too much interested and agitated to heed ceremony, stood by Lord Amherst, and used every argument to induce him to obey the emperor's commands. Among other topics, he used that of being received with our own ceremony, using the Chinese words, "ne mun tih lee," your own ceremony. All proving ineffectual, with some roughness, but under pretext of friendly violence, he laid hands upon Lord Amherst, to take him from the room; another mandarin followed his example. His lordship, with great firmness and dignity of manner, shook them off, declaring, that nothing but the extremest violence should induce him to quit that

* The buttons in the order of their rank are as follows: Ruby red, worked coral, smooth coral, pale blue, dark blue, crystal, ivory, and gold.

room for any other place but the residence assigned to him ; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness, as absolutely to require repose. Lord Amherst further pointed out the gross insult he had already received, in having been exposed to the intrusion and indecent curiosity of crowds, who appeared to view him rather as a wild beast than the representative of a powerful sovereign. At all events, he entreated the Koong-yay to submit his request to his Imperial Majesty, who, he felt confident, would, in consideration of his illness and fatigue, dispense with his immediate appearance. The Koong-yay then pressed Lord Amherst to come to his apartments, alleging that they were cooler, more convenient, and more private : This Lord Amherst declined, saying, that he was totally unfit for any place but his own residence. The Koong-yay having failed in his attempt to persuade him, left the room for the purpose of taking the emperor's pleasure upon the subject.

“During his absence, an elderly man, whose dress and ornaments bespoke him a prince,* was particularly inquisitive in his inspection of our persons, and inquiries ; his chief object seemed to be to communicate with Sir George Staunton, as the person who had been with the former embassy ; but Sir George very prudently avoided any intercourse with him. It is not easy to describe the feelings of annoyance produced by the conduct of the Chinese, both public and individual : of the former I shall speak hereafter, of the latter I can only say, that nothing could be more disagreeable and indecorous.

“A message arrived soon after the Koong-yay's quitting the room, to say that the emperor dispensed with the ambassador's attendance ; that he had

further been pleased to direct his physician to afford to his excellency every medical assistance that his illness might require. The Koong-yay himself soon followed, and his excellency proceeded to the carriage. The Koong-yay not disdaining to clear away the crowd, the whip was used by him to all persons indiscriminately ; buttons were no protection ; and, however indecorous, according to our notions, the employment might be, for a man of his rank, it could not have been in better hands.”

According to the emperor's promise, his physician was speedily in attendance ; but this proved a fatal kindness to the embassy. The mandarins, habituated to a system of despotism, had grounded the non-appearance of Lord Amherst solely upon his being seized with a sudden illness. The physician, therefore, was not a little surprised to find him in perfect health, and with no visible impediment to have prevented him from making his appearance. This observation he immediately reported to the emperor, who, seized with violent indignation, determined upon the immediate dismissal of the embassy. In two hours they received an order to set out for Canton, without a moment's delay. Their treatment, which was at first very indifferent, improved in the course of the journey through China, and hopes of recall were even held out ; but these were not fulfilled ; and, on their arrival at Canton, they found an edict, bitterly reproaching them for the disrespect shewn to the emperor, and directing them to be sharply reprimanded by the viceroy.

We are disposed to make every allowance for the sudden and critical situation in which Lord Amherst was placed ; at the same time we think he decidedly erred in refusing the proffered audience. To a monarch accus-

* They are distinguished by round badges.

tomed to have his presence considered as an honour almost divine, it could not fail to prove highly offensive. The deficiency in dress and equipment would have been excused by the circumstances of the case, upon which there was an immediate opportunity of personal explanation. As to his "own" "fatigue and inanition," the discomfort arising from these ought not surely to have been considered on so very serious an occasion. There seems no ground for conjuring up, by anticipation, imaginary wrongs; or for supposing that compulsion would have been used to make them perform the ko-tou. An outrage so violent, and attended with so much indecorum, was never in any case very likely, but least of all on a hurried and uncereemonious occasion like the present. As to the being stared at like wild beasts, this could not be considered as an official proceeding, or as at all sanctioned by the emperor, and ought not, therefore, to have influenced the conduct held in regard to him. After all, it seems very clear, that without a full compliance with the usages and ceremonial demands of this semi-barbarous court, no favour is to be hoped. It does not, indeed follow, that much is to be expected, even from the most unlimited compliance. On the contrary, we incline to think, that a mistake was committed in expecting any benefit from this or from any embassy. To so vast an empire, the trade of England cannot be a great object; and the national pride causes it to be viewed as much less than it really is. A timid government, therefore, averse in its nature to foreign commerce, would never hesitate, on the slightest alarm or caprice, to subject it to unqualified prohibition. The only real hold that England has, is upon the local government, to whom the trade is a very considerable object; and accordingly, experience has shewn that they will be very slow in proceed-

ing to extremities against it. It seems therefore the safest course to deal, in preference, with them, and to avoid, rather than court, any notice from the head of the empire.

This embassy made scarcely any sensible addition to our knowledge of China. This empire, indeed, is not much the subject of discovery. Time and place make little change upon it;—its usages remain from age to age, and every city throughout the empire can scarcely be distinguished from another, unless by magnitude. Mr Ellis, indeed, seems to have felt particularly little curiosity on the subject, and to belong rather to the class of travellers, who may travel from Dan to Beersheba, and say it is all barren. He declares himself to have arrived at the positive conclusion, that the Chinese are a most uninteresting nation; and observes, "millet-fields, willow-groves, junks, half-clothed inhabitants, with little eyes and long tails, women with prettily dressed hair, but ugly faces,—these are the daily and unchanging objects." The little favour with which they were treated, prevented any opportunity of seeing the interior of Pekin, or of the other great cities. They caught, however, a hasty view of Nankin,—and we shall extract Mr Ellis's view of the present state of this great southern capital.

"Three gentlemen of the embassy and myself succeeded in passing completely through the uninhabited part of the city of Nankin, and reaching the gateway visible from the Lion hill; our object was to have penetrated through the streets to the Porcelain Tower, apparently distant two miles; to this, however, the soldiers who accompanied us, and who, from the willingness in allowing us to proceed thus far, were entitled to consideration, made so many objections, that we desisted, and contented ourselves with proceeding to a temple on a neigh-

bouring hill, from which we had a very complete view of the city. We observed a triple wall, not, however, completely surrounding the city. The gateway which we had just quitted would seem to have belonged to the second wall, that in this place had entirely disappeared. The inhabited part of the city of Nankin is situated towards the angle of the mountains, and even within its precincts contains many gardens. I observed four principal streets intersected at right angles by smaller; through one of the larger a narrow canal flows, crossed at intervals by bridges of a single arch; the streets were not spacious, but had an appearance of unusual cleanliness. Another gateway, and the Porcelain Tower itself, are the only buildings of sufficient height to fix the eye. Our elevated position at the entrance of the temple attracted the notice of the inhabitants, and we perceived a tide of population flowing from the city towards us. We at this moment ascertained that the distance either from the gateway or the temple hill to the streets was scarcely a quarter of a mile, so that if we had at once proceeded to the streets we might have effected our object before the crowd collected; as it was, we were obliged to make all haste in using our eyes before we were overwhelmed. Unfortunately we had not brought a telescope with us, which deprived us of the advantage that we otherwise should have derived from our proximity to the Porcelain Tower.

"This building has been described by so many authors in all languages, that it would be equally useless and unpleasant both to myself, and to those who may chance to toil through these pages, to make extracts. My own observation only extends thus far, that it is octagonal, of nine stories; of considerable height in proportion to its base, with a ball at the very summit,

said to be gold, but probably only gilt, resting immediately upon a pinnacle with several rings round it. The colour is white, and the cornices appear plain. Its Chinese name is Lew-lee-Paou-ta or Pao-ling-tzu, and it is said to have occupied nineteen years in building, and to have cost twenty-four hundred thousand taels, or eight hundred thousand pounds of money. The date answers to A. D. 1411. I should suppose, judging from Lin-tsin tower, that the facing is probably white tile, to which the title of porcelain has been given, either by Chinese vanity or European exaggeration. The temple, near which we stood, is remarkable for two colossal dragons winding round the pillars, mentioned, I believe, by old travellers.

"I was much pleased with the whole scene; the area under our view could not be less than thirty miles, throughout diversified with groves, houses, cultivation, and hills; this expanse might be said to be enclosed within the exterior wall, and formed an irregular polygon. The horizon was bounded by mountains, and by the waters of the Yang-tse-kiang. Our gratification was not a little heightened by the thought that we were the first Europeans in their national dresses, who had been so near this city for more than a century."

Dr Abel seems to have looked on with a more observant eye, and gleaned some particulars with regard to the domestic economy of the nation, which are not uninteresting.

"Whilst the embassy remained at Tung-Chow, we were not permitted to enter the city, but to visit its suburbs at pleasure. These were composed of long dirty streets, lined with paltry shops and houses of public entertainment. Much the greater number of the former were filled with the winter-dresses of the Chinese. The skins of every species of animal within

their reach, from the ermine to the mouse, had been converted into apparel. The most common were deer, dog, goat, and squirrel skins. Rat and mouse skins sewn together, and formed into long cloaks, were also frequent, and had in the eyes of a stranger a very singular effect. Indeed, there was nothing that gave so peculiar a character to the streets, as the fur-cloaks with long sleeves hanging up before the doors, and looking like so many decapitated Chinese. Many of these dresses had been handsome; the ermine-cloaks having sometimes collars of sable, and linings of silk richly figured. They were all, however, second-hand, and possessed the true Chinese smell. It was impossible to obtain their common prices, as the salesmen, through the influence of our attendant soldiers, always asked of us more than their real value. I gave fourteen Spanish dollars for a deer-skin cloak.

“These furs were formerly chiefly brought from Siberia in caravans. These, according to Mr Bell, were allowed by the emperor’s favour to remain in free quarters during their stay at Peking, and have the liberty to dispose of their goods, and buy others, without the exaction of any impost. The value of one of them was reckoned to amount to four or five hundred thousand roubles, and yielded a return of at least double that sum. The Chinese also obtained a large supply of sables from the Tongutse, who inhabit the southern branch of the river Amoor. They still derive them from these sources, but also obtain a large supply from North America.

“Next in number to the fur-shops, were those of the druggists. These were remarkable for their superior cleanliness; and, in the arrangement of their various drawers and jars, greatly resembled those of Europe. The me-

dicines vended in them appeared to be all from the vegetable kingdom.

“The public-houses were large open sheds, fitted up with tables and benches, and afforded the means of gambling and drinking to the lower class of the Chinese; and were generally filled with players at dominos or cards, who seemed to enter with intense earnestness into their game. The cards were small pieces of pasteboard, about two inches in length, and half an inch in width, having black and red characters painted upon them. The beverage most largely partaken of in these houses was tea and wine; but sam-tchoo was also drunk. This liquor, which, from the quantity we met with in China, must be in general use, more resembles alcohol in flavour and strength than any other spirit with which I am acquainted. It sometimes, indeed, has a smoky flavour, resembling that of whisky. It is distilled from rice or millet, and flavoured, the Chinese said, by the seeds of the bamboo. The wine, according to De Guignes, is nothing more than water in which rice or millet has been fermented. All the guests in these houses were smoking from pipes of various length, from two to five feet, formed of the young and slender twigs of bamboo, fitted with bowls of white copper, about the size of a thimble.

“Having seen so many people on the banks of the Pei-ho exhibiting all the exterior marks of sordid poverty, we felt no surprise that many of them should be driven to mendicancy for the means of existence. At Tung-Chow we met with the first of the many proofs which occurred to us in China, that it extensively prevails in that country. Beggars frequented the suburbs, some of whom were miserable objects of deformity, and all exhibited the marks of extreme penury. One man, who occasionally crossed my

path, was withered in his thighs and legs, which he writhed about for the purpose of extorting charity. Those who were not prevented by disability of body, followed us through the streets and into shops, not quitting us till they were relieved, or driven back by the soldiers. On some occasions they prostrated themselves before us, exhibiting vile examples of human degradation, and, knocking their heads to the earth, exemplified the nature of the *koton*.

“ My observation on the extent of mendicity in China is, I am aware, at variance with the remark of the learned author of ‘ Travels in China,’ that he ‘ did not observe a single beggar from one extremity of China to the other, except in the streets of Canton.’ Our opportunities of visiting the cities of China being more frequent than those possessed by that gentleman, may perhaps explain the contrariety of experience; or the opposite characters of Kien-Lung and Kea-king, the emperors who filled the Chinese throne at the respective periods of Lord Macartney’s and Lord Amherst’s embassies, may have occasioned a very different management of the internal affairs of their empire. Kien-Lung, of an active mind and enlarged policy, making frequent journeys through his empire, examining in his own person the state of his people, or employed in his palace in scrutinizing the reports and actions of his ministers, would be infinitely more competent to prevent the extremes of poverty among his subjects, than Kea-king, the victim of jealous fear, struggling against rebellion, and unacquainted with the condition of his people, except through the representation of his favourites, whose falsehood or truth he is from all accounts too weak to estimate.”

“ The Chinese are less fastidious than perhaps any other people in the

choice of their food, feeding on those animals which amongst other nations are considered unclean, and upon the parts of animals which are usually rejected with disgust. They prove indeed that the means of human sustenance are much more numerous and widely diffused than is commonly supposed. The wealthy, indeed, live upon food which all over the world would be considered wholesome and luxurious; and, of the kinds of meat consumed by other nations, like beef the least, and pork the most; to these they add venison, sharks’ fins, *bêche de mer*, and birds’ nests bought at enormous prices. The middling classes live chiefly upon rice and on pork, which we found the best meat in China; horse-flesh is eaten by the Tartars, and is sold in the markets at a higher price than beef. It has been justly remarked by some writer, that it would be much more difficult to say what the lower class of Chinese do not, than what they do eat. Dogs, cats, and rats, are exposed for sale in the markets, and eaten by those who can afford to purchase other food. In a shop at Ta-tung, the same price, about eighteen-pence, was asked of one of the embassy for a pheasant and a cat. In a country where a dreadful destruction of vegetable food is sometimes produced by the ravages of locusts, it is fortunate if the inhabitants can find nourishment in the bodies of their plunderers; and that such is the case in China, where, according to the statement of various writers, swarms of locusts in some provinces often eat up every “ green thing,” is not improbable, as our boatmen considered grasshoppers roasted alive a very delicate repast. The ordinary nutriment of these people, like that of all the lowest class of Chinese, was what Adam Smith has fitly called the ‘ nastiest garbage.’ They fattened on the blood

and entrails of the fowls killed in our boats, and eagerly seized the vilest offals that could be rejected from a slaughter-house; and when these could not be obtained, ate rice or millet, seasoned with a preparation of putrid fish that sent forth a stench quite intolerable to European organs. The Chinese, as De Guignes has remarked, are utterly insensible to bad smells.

“ Before I take leave of China, I should be glad to state what is the impression on my mind with regard to the natural character of its people; but find it very difficult to form any conclusion respecting it, even to my own satisfaction. Persons travelling in a country in which they are looked upon by the government as objects of jealousy, and by the people as beings in all respects inferior to themselves, must have continually to contend with prejudices likely to defeat their attempts at forming a correct estimate of the inhabitants. With the higher or better informed classes of society, for they are essentially the same in China, we had very little intercourse that was not purely official or ceremonious; and on all these occasions found them so cased in the armour of form, that it was impossible to reach their natural character, or to depend on their information as the simple statement of matters of fact. My own opportunity of conversing with a man of rank, I have already had occasion to mention in the course of this work, and at the same time to point out his proneness to falsify. He seemed only anxious to please the person he was conversing with at the time, with very little regard to veracity. Our most extensive intercourse was with the trading part of the community, of whom I have little to add to what I have before stated, namely, that in their dealings with the embassy they generally proved themselves cheats, when their interest did not compel them to

be honest. It is but fair, however, to remark, that the principle of cheating is so legitimated amongst them by the general practice and toleration of their countrymen, as to be considered rather as a necessary qualification to the successful practice of their calling, than as an immoral quality. In some instances, I found the love of gain curiously contrasted with a ready disposition to give. Those who had exacted from me with the greatest pertinacity all they could obtain whilst bargaining with me in their shops, would freely give me their much valued plants that decorated their courtyards. On the banks of the Pei-ho, after purchasing of an itinerant salesman, under the usual circumstances, some trifling article, I stopped to examine a well wrought chain, apparently of silver, from which his little apparatus was suspended. He immediately unfastened, and begged me to accept, and was evidently much mortified at my refusing, it.

“ Of the middling class of people, if such there were distinct from that of the mereantile, we had no opportunity of judging, excepting as they might form a part of the crowds which surrounded us in the neighbourhood of towns and cities. In these assemblages, an eager curiosity assimilated the characters of the whole mass.

“ Amongst the lowest orders of Chinese, abject penury appeared to have extinguished most of the qualities which distinguish man from inferior animals, save that of national importance; for even these people prided themselves on being members of the ‘celestial empire.’

“ In the peasantry alone, were we likely to find any approach to what might be called the radical character of the people; and as far as my experience has gone respecting it, it is all in favour of its simplicity and amiableness. Before my unlucky illness, I

was often enabled to get amongst them, apart from my friends and usual attendant soldiers, and always found them mild, forbearing, and humane."

After all, the main contribution made by this expedition to our information respecting the world, was afforded by the return voyage of the *Aleeste* and *Lyra*, made, not along the coast of China, but by Corea and the Loochoo Islands. The particulars of this voyage are narrated in an interesting manner by Mr M'Leod, surgeon of the *Aleeste*, and particularly by Captain Hall of the *Lyra*. After making the northern circuit of the Yellow Sea, where they saw the great wall majestically sweeping over the mountains, they came upon the coast of Corea, where they discovered, in latitude $26^{\circ} 14'$ north, longitude $127^{\circ} 52' 1''$ east, a groupe of islands, to which Captain Hall gave the name of his father, Sir James Hall. In passing along the Corcan coast, they experienced a good deal of curiosity and courtesy, but at the same time the most eager anxiety to prevent their landing, and alarm when they attempted it. One old chief came on board, with a beard reaching below the middle, an immense robe flowing round him, and a hat, whose brim reached more than three feet across. He was hauled on deck, with his bulky appendages, behaved with great gaiety and courtesy, and curiously examined every quarter of the vessel. The English at length urged so strongly the proposal of returning his visit on shore, that he could not with decency refuse. His distress, however, was evidently extreme; and, no sooner were they landed, than he burst into tears, and becoming always more agitated, at length sobbed, and even bellowed aloud. The English were at length obliged in pity to return to the ship; and they were deprived in this manner of all opportu-

nity of making observations upon the country. In the course of their voyage they made the important discovery, that a great part of what had been laid down in the maps as part of Corea, consisted of an immense archipelago of small islands. The number of these was beyond calculation; and, during a sail of upwards of one hundred miles, the sea continued closely studded with them. From one lofty point, a hundred and twenty appeared in sight; and probably such an archipelago of islets is not to be found in any other part of the world.

The most interesting part of the expedition, however, consisted in the visit to the Loochoo, or, as they are called by Mr M'Leod, Lewehew islands, a favoured spot, where nature and society appear under one of their most pleasing aspects. The English, though their landing was guarded by jealous restrictions, enjoyed the most intimate social intercourse with several of the chiefs, who were constantly on board, and gave them occasional entertainments on shore. From what he thus saw, Mr M'Leod is enabled to give the following particulars.

"The island of Lewehew is about fifty miles long, and from twelve to fifteen broad; Napa-kiang, our position, (and within five miles of Kintehing, the capital,) lying in latitude $26^{\circ} 14'$ north, longitude $127^{\circ} 52' 1''$ east. This is its south-west point, the main body of the island extending from hence north a little eastwardly. It is washed on the one side by the Northern Pacific Ocean, and on the other by the Tung-hai, or Eastern Sea.

"The rocks about it are all of the coral kind, and immense masses, some assuming very odd shapes, were seen every where along the sea-shore; and many of the same formation were found on the higher land, at some distance from the beach, whose situation is not

easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose them to have been elevated by the force of volcanic fire.

“It is the principal island of a group of thirty-six, subject to the same monarch, and the seat of the government. The natives trace their history back to a period long anterior to the Christian era; but their first communication with the rest of the world, when their accounts became fully corroborated and undisputed, was about the year 605, when they were invaded by China, who found them at that time—a time when England and the greater part of Europe were immersed in barbarism—the same kind of people they are at the present day, with the exception of a few Chinese innovations; or, at least, they appear to have altered but in a very slight degree. Indeed, it is very obvious that a revolution in manners, and alteration of habits, are by no means so likely to occur with a people thus living in an obscure and secluded state, as among those who have a wider intercourse with other nations. The only connection which the Lewchewans have had with their neighbours, and that but very limited, has been with Japan and China, from neither of whom they were likely to receive any example of change.”

“The island of Lewchew is situated in the happiest climate of the globe. Refreshed by the sea-breezes, which, from its geographical position, blow over it at every period of the year, it is free from the extremes of heat and cold, which oppress many other countries; whilst from the general configuration of the land, being more adapted to the production of rivers and streamlets than of bogs or marshes, one great source of disease in the warmer latitudes has no existence; and the people seemed to enjoy robust health; for we observed no diseased objects, nor beggars of any description, among them.

“The verdant lawns and romantic scenery of Tinian and Juan Fernandez, so well described in Anson’s voyage, are here displayed in higher perfection, and on a much more magnificent scale; for cultivation is added to the most enchanting beauties of nature. From a commanding height above the ships, the view is, in all directions, picturesque and delightful. On one hand are seen the distant islands, rising from a wide expanse of ocean, whilst the clearness of the water enables the eye to trace all the coral reefs, which protect the anchorage immediately below. To the south is the city of Napafoo, the vessels at anchor in the harbour, with their streamers flying; and in the intermediate space appear numerous hamlets scattered about on the banks of the rivers, which meander in the valley beneath; the eye being, in every direction, charmed by the varied hues of the luxuriant foliage around their habitations.” Turning to the east, the houses of Kint-ching, the capital city, built in their peculiar style, are observed, opening from among the lofty trees which surround and shade them, rising one above another in gentle ascent to the summit of a hill, which is crowned by the king’s palace; the intervening grounds between Napafoo and Kint-ching, a distance of some miles, being ornamented by a continuation of villas and country-houses. To the north, as far as the eye can reach, the higher land is covered with extensive forests.

“About half a mile from this eminence, the traveller is led by a footpath to what seems only a little wood; on entering which, under an archway formed by the intermingling branches of the opposite trees, he passes along a serpentine labyrinth, intersected at short distances by others. Not far from each other, on either side of these walks, small wicker doors are observed, on opening any of which, he is

surprised by the appearance of a courtyard and house, with the children, and all the usual cottage-train, generally gambolling about; so that, whilst a man fancies himself in some lonely and sequestered retreat, he is, in fact, in the middle of a populous, but invisible, village.

“Nature has been bountiful in all her gifts to Lewchew; for such is the felicity of its soil and climate, that productions of the vegetable kingdom, very distinct in their nature, and generally found in regions far distant from each other, grow here side by side. It is not merely, as might be expected, the country of the orange and the lime; but the banyan of India and the Norwegian fir, the tea-plant and sugar-cane, all flourish together. In addition to many good qualities, not often found combined, this island can also boast its rivers and secure harbours; and last, though not least, a friendly, and a happy race of people.

“Many of these islanders displayed a spirit of intelligence and genius, which seemed the more extraordinary, considering the confined circle in which they live; such confinement being almost universally found to be productive of narrowness of mind. Our friends here were an exception to the general rule.—*Madera Cosyong*, one of our most constant and intimate friends, acquired such proficiency in the English language, in the course of a few weeks, as to make himself tolerably understood. He evidently came on board, in the first instance, as a spy upon our conduct, before they were satisfied that we meant no harm; and no man was ever better adapted for this duty; for, as his conciliatory and pleasing manner won upon all hearts, he had therefore a natural access every where; and, had ‘stratagems or schemes’ existed, he of all others was the most likely to have discovered them.

“Not assuming his proper character, which was that of a man of some distinction, until his mind was satisfied about us, and then doing so with frankness, is a proof that such were his original motives. To acquire our tongue, he marked the sound of any English word for the most familiar articles of the table, or terms of conversation, and noted them in symbols of his own language, with their signification, which enabled him, with slight reference to his vocabulary, to manage without having recourse to the interpreter. If he happened to be walking on shore with any of the officers, he would not lose the sound or meaning of a word because he had not his book with him, but scratched it on the leaf of a tree, and transcribed it at his leisure. His first attempt to connect a sentence was rather sudden and unexpected. Rising to go away one evening after his usual lesson, he slowly articulated, ‘You give me good wine,—I tank you,—I go shore.’—He delighted in receiving information, and his remarks were always pertinent. The map of the world, with the track of the ship across the various oceans from England to Lewchew, with the different intervening continents and islands, were pointed out and explained to him, which he, as well as others, seemed to trace with peculiar care, and at last, in a great degree, to comprehend, although the subject was, in the first instance, entirely new to them; for they certainly had no idea of the vast extent or figure of the globe. He was gay or serious, as occasion required, but was always respectable; and of *Madera* it might be truly said, that he was a gentleman, not formed upon this model, or according to that rule, but ‘stamped as such by the sovereign hand of Nature.’

“They all seemed to be gifted with a sort of politeness which had the fair

est claim to be termed natural ; for there was nothing constrained, nothing stiff or studied in it.

“ Captain Maxwell having one day invited a party to dine with him, the health of the King of Lewchew was drank in a bumper.—One of them, immediately addressing himself with much warmth and feeling to the interpreter, desired him to state how much they felt gratified by such a compliment ; that they would take care to tell it to every body when they went on shore ; and proposed, at the same time, a bumper to the King of the *Engelees*. A Chinese mandarin, under the like circumstances, would, most probably, have *chin-chinned* (that is, clenched his fists) as usual ; he would have snivelled and grinned *the established number* of times, and bowed his head in slavish submission to the bare mention of his tyrant’s name ; but it never would have occurred to him to have given, in his turn, the health of the sovereign of England.”

“ The Lewchewans are a very small race of people, the average height of the men not exceeding five feet two inches at the utmost. Almost the whole animal creation here is of diminutive size, but all excellent in their kind. Their bullocks seldom weighed more than 350lbs., but they were plump and well-conditioned, and the beef very fine ; their goats and pigs were reduced in the same proportion, their poultry seeming to form the only exception. However small the men might be, they were sturdy, well-built, and athletic. The ladies we had no opportunity of measuring, but they appeared to be of corresponding stature.

“ These islanders, most probably, originated from Japan or Corea, having a good deal of the Corean lineaments, but rather milder, and softened down. They are obviously not of Chinese origin, having nothing what-

ever of that *drowsy* and elongated eye which peculiarly distinguishes the latter ; nor would it seem that the few Chinese and their descendants settled on the island freely mixed with the Lewchewans, the national features and the natural disposition of the two people being perfectly distinct, and differing in every respect. Neither have they any mixture of Indian blood, being quite as fair as the southern Europeans ; even those who are most exposed being scarcely so swarthy as the same class of society in Spain or Portugal.”

The narrative of Captain Hall is still more interesting ; but as it consists of a lively dramatic picture of the successive scenes which passed between the two nations, it does not so easily admit of abridgment. We cannot, however, forbear inserting the account of the scene which took place at parting, between the English officers and this amiable people :

“ At day-break on Sunday the 27th of October, we unmoored ; upon which the natives, seeing us take up one of our anchors, naturally thought we were going to get under weigh immediately, and give them the slip, without bidding them adieu ; which was very far from our intention. The alarm, however, spread immediately, and brought the chiefs off to the ships in a great hurry ; not in a body, in their usual formal way, but one by one, as they could find separate canoes to paddle them from the shore. Old Jeema called on board the *Lyra* on his way to the frigate ; he was a good deal agitated, and the tears came into his eyes when I drew a ring from my finger and placed it on his, in exchange for his knife, which he took from his girdle to present to me.

“ The other chiefs called alongside on their way to the frigate, but they went on when I told them that I was just going to the *Alceste* myself. In

the mean time Maddera came on board, with the sextant in his hand; he was in such distress that he scarcely knew what he was about. In this distracted state he sat down to breakfast with us, during which he continued lighting his pipe, and smoking as fast as he could; instinctively drinking and eating whatever was placed before him. After a time he recovered his composure in some degree, and asked me what books it would be necessary for him to read in order to enable him to make use of the sextant; I gave him a nautical almanack, and told him that he must understand that in the first instance: he opened it, and attentively looking at the figures for a few minutes, held up his hands in absolute despair, and being at last forced to confess that it was a hopeless business, put the sextant into its case, and bade us farewell. Before he left the *Lyra*, he gave Mr Clifford his pipe, tobacco-pouch, and a crystal ornament; saying, as he held them out, 'You go Ingeree, you give this to your child.' Mr Clifford gave him a few presents in return, and expressed his anxiety to be always remembered as his friend. Maddera, with great earnestness, and with the tears streaming down his cheeks, placed his hand several times upon his heart, and cried, 'Eedooshee, eedooshee!' My friend, my friend!

"To me he gave a fan, and a large picture of a man looking up at the sun, drawn, he said, by himself: he probably meant in his picture some allusion to my usual occupation at the observatory. After he had put off in his boat, he stood up and called out several times, 'Ingeree noo choo sibittee yoo-toosha,' I shall ever remember the English people. When he went to the *Alceste*, one of the chiefs remarking that he had neither his hatchee-matchee on nor his robes, told him that it was not respectful to wait upon Captain Max-

well, for the last time, in his ordinary dress; particularly as all the others were in full array. Maddera, who, poor fellow, had been too much concerned about other matters to think of dress, was shocked at this apparent neglect of propriety, and went immediately to apologize to Captain Maxwell, who took him by the hand, and gave him a present, telling him, at the same time, that he was always too happy to see him, to notice what dress he had on.

"On going to the *Alceste*, I found the chiefs seated in the cabin, and all looking very disconsolate. We tried in vain to engage them in conversation; but their wonted cheerfulness had quite deserted them; and, indeed, it was natural that they should be so affected, for (unlike their visitors!) these simple people could have had little experience of parting scenes.

"I took this opportunity of giving each of the chiefs some trinket, as a farewell present, and they in return gave me their pipes, fans, and knives, accompanied by many friendly expressions.

"Mutual assurances then passed between us, of being long and kindly remembered, and they rose to take leave; upon which Ookooma, who, as well as the others, was much agitated, endeavoured to say something, but his heart was full, and he could not utter a word. The rest did not attempt to speak; and before they reached their boats, they were all in tears!

"Maddera, who was the last to quit the ship, cried bitterly as he wrung the hands of his numerous friends, who crowded round him, and loaded him with presents.

"While we were heaving up the anchor, the natives assembled not only in canoes round the ships, but in vast crowds upon the neighbouring heights; and, as we sailed away, they all stood

up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs, till they could be no longer distinguished."

To Captain Hall's habits of geological observation, we are indebted for a description of the coral reef, that remarkable production, so widely diffused over the Pacific :

"The examination of a coral reef during the different stages of one tide, is particularly interesting. When the tide has left it for some time, it becomes dry, and appears to be a compact rock, exceedingly hard and ragged; but as the tide rises, and the waves begin to wash over it, the coral worms protrude themselves from holes which were before invisible. These animals are of a great variety of shapes and sizes, and in such prodigious numbers, that, in a short time, the whole surface of the rock appears to be alive and in motion. The most common worm is in the form of a star, with arms from four to six inches long, which are moved about with a rapid motion, in all directions, probably to catch food. Others are so sluggish, that they may be mistaken for pieces of the rock, and are generally of a dark colour, and from four to five inches long, and two or three round. When the coral is broken, about high-water mark, it is a solid hard stone, but if any part of it be detached at a spot which the tide reaches every day, it is found to be full of worms of different lengths and colours, some being as fine as a thread, and several feet long, of a bright yellow, and sometimes of a blue colour. Others resemble snails, and some are not unlike lobsters in shape, but soft, and not above two inches long.

"The growth of coral appears to cease when the worm is no longer exposed to the washing of the sea. Thus, a reef rises in the form of a cauliflower, till its top has gained the level of the highest tides; above which the worm

has no power to advance, and the reef of course no longer extends itself upwards. The other parts in succession reach the surface, and there stop, forming in time a level field, with steep sides all round. The reef, however, continually increases, and being prevented from growing higher, extends itself laterally in all directions. But this growth being as rapid at the upper edge as it is lower down, the steepness of the face of the reef is still preserved. These are the circumstances which render coral reefs so dangerous in navigation; for, in the first place, they are seldom seen above the water; and, in the next, their sides are so steep, that a ship's bows may strike against the rock before any change of soundings has given warning of the danger."

The *Alceste* having taken on board the ambassador at Canton, closed her voyage by a signal disaster, which yet tended to render conspicuous the discipline and good conduct of British seamen. In passing through the rocks and shoals of the Straits of Banca, the last dangerous passage they had to encounter, notwithstanding the strictest precautions, the ship, about half-past seven one morning, struck on a reef of sunken rocks, and remained immovable. As it was soon evident, that any attempt to move her would be attended with the most fatal consequences, the only object was to land the passengers and cargo. The boats employed for this purpose had great difficulty in effecting a landing, in consequence of the mangrove trees growing to a considerable distance out of the water; and it was three miles before a small opening appeared, through which, by scrambling from rock to rock, they at length obtained a footing on land. It was necessary, then, to cut away the jungle before finding a spot on which they could rest, and which exhibited now a singular scene

of wreck :—Numerous books, or as it was termed, a “ literary manure,” were spread on the ground in all directions, whilst parliamentary robes, court dresses, and mandarin habits, intermixed with check shirts and tarry jackets, were hung around, in wild confusion, on every tree. They had not boats sufficient to convey the whole crew to a place of safety, and after serious consultation, Captain Maxwell judged it best, that Lord Amherst and suite should be conveyed to Batavia, whence vessels could be sent to bring off those that remained. The party thus left, however, were in a very serious predicament, having only a limited amount of provisions, and water not more than sufficient to last for five days. This last want was a subject of great alarm, till, by digging very deep, they found a well of sweetish water, which afforded a pint daily to each man. This danger was soon succeeded by the appearance of a number of Malay proas, which took hostile possession of the ship, and placed themselves in a menacing attitude towards the party on shore. It was soon announced that they were landing. Under all the depressing circumstances attending shipwreck—of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and menaced by a ruthless foe, it was glorious to see the British spirit staunch and unsubdued. All armed themselves, though some only with pikes made of large trees, pointed with spike-nails. After hovering round for some time, two of the proas at length came so near, that an encounter took place. They fought with desperation, and, when they found themselves routed, disdaining quarter, plunged into the sea and drowned themselves. Their number, meantime, constantly increased, and at length they had mustered sixty proas, with from eight to twenty men each, with which they kept the English in a state of the closest blockade. “Awful as our situation now was,

and every moment becoming more so, starvation staring us in the face on one hand, and without hope of mercy from the savages on the other, yet were there no symptoms of depression or gloomy despair—every mind seemed buoyant.” At length a person in the loftiest lookout tree descried a distant sail, which appeared to him larger than a Malay vessel. After twenty minutes of anxious expectation, the news was confirmed, and that it was a square-rigged vessel. The Malays, on discovering it, raised the blockade and made off; and it was soon discovered to be a cruizer sent by Lord Amherst, having on board Messrs Ellis and Hoppner. The sufferings of the crew were now terminated, and they were happily conveyed to Batavia.

In India, very important intelligence was this year communicated to the Asiatic Society, respecting that remarkable chain of mountains which forms the northern boundary of that extensive region. In his paper upon that subject, Mr Colebrooke begins by observing, that when he formerly presented to the Society, the narrative of the journey of Messrs Webb and Raper, he had stated his conviction, that the chain of the Himmalaya is one of the most elevated on the globe, and only rivalled or surpassed by the Cordilleras or the Andes. Since that time, he had been prosecuting the same inquiry, and considered the evidence to be now sufficient to authorise the unqualified assertion, that “the Himmalaya is the loftiest range of Alpine mountains which has yet been noticed; its most elevated peaks greatly exceeding those of the Andes.” This had been long suspected, or, indeed, believed, in India, by those who observed, that, from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of upwards of 150 miles, the Himmalaya were seen extending, in a continued line, through more than two

points of the compass, appearing, in clear weather, like white cliffs, with a very distinctly defined outline. Captain Turner, too, in crossing the mountains of Bootan into Thibet, had passed a range of mountains covered with everlasting snow, among which Chamalari forms a conspicuous peak. It appeared evident from the peculiar form of this peak, from bearings of the range, and from these being the only snow-covered mountains in Bootan, that this must be the range seen from Purnea, Rajmahl, and other stations in Bengal, at the distance of not less than 232 miles. The possibility of being seen at this distance implies a height of not less than 28,000 feet. Mr Colebrooke, himself, twenty years ago, had taken the altitude of a conspicuous peak of the Himalaya at $1^{\circ} 1'$, from a station which, according to Major Rennell's map, was distant not less than 150 miles. This gives an altitude of not less than 26,000 feet. As the distance was, however, too great, more weight was placed on the observations made by Colonel Crawford, in 1805, along the northern frontier, from Behar to Rohilcund. Bearings were there taken, of every remarkable peak of the snowy range which could be seen from more than one station, and an elevation was inferred at least equal to the above. The drawings and journal of the survey were unfortunately lost. Further observations were afterwards made by Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke in his survey of Rohilcund. At Pilibit, the elevation of a peak, distant 114 miles, was taken at $1^{\circ} 27'$, and at Jet'hpur, where it was distant 90 miles, at $2^{\circ} 8'$. These data, after a very large allowance for refraction, give a height of upwards of 20,000 feet. More recently, and nearly, Lieutenant Webb had made a series of observations upon the remarkable peak of Jamunavatari, or the mountain which

gives rise to the Jumna. He had taken its elevation from the positions of Nagun-ghati and Chandrabadani, at the respective distances of 54 and 63 geographical miles. The observations gave a height of somewhat more than 20,000 feet; and as the stations were 5000 feet above the plain of Bengal, the elevation of Jamunavatari above that plain might be estimated at more than 25,000 feet. As observations among mountains, however, were liable to many difficulties and inaccuracies, it was thought that a very careful and elaborate survey made from the plain, though at a greater distance, might be more satisfactory. This was made by Lieutenant Webb from Gorakhpur, with regard to the remarkable peak of *Dwahalagiri*, (the white mountain of the Indian Alps.) The result gave, on the lowest computation, 26,462 feet; to which is to be added 400, being the height of the station itself above the sea. Although all these observations, from their distance, were by some represented as at least doubtful, yet subsequent observation seems to have fully confirmed them.

At the same time with these important observations of Mr Colebrooke, was communicated to the public, the narrative of an enterprising traveller, who had penetrated into the very heart of this immense chain. Mr Moorcroft, accompanied by Captain Hearsay, undertook a journey into Thibet, with the view of obtaining specimens of the celebrated shawl-goat, peculiar to that country. His object was also to survey the lake of Manasarowara, an object of religious veneration in India, and from which the great streams of the Ganges and the Brahmapoutra have been supposed, though erroneously, to derive their source. Mr Moorcroft found nothing new till after passing the vicinity of the celebrated shrine of Bhadrinath, to which Mr Webb had penetrated in 1808. He then entered

a narrow and tremendous pass formed by the mountain-stream of the Dauli, and bordered by almost perpendicular cliffs rising to an amazing height. On the declivity of these were vast forests of pine-trees, some of which might have made masts for a ship of war. Many of them, from their height and the magnificence of their foliage, were mistaken by him for cypress and cedar. The tracks made through the broken precipices of this tremendous pass seem to have been of the most rude and perilous nature. The mountaineers were indeed bound to keep them in repair; but they considered it quite enough if they preserved a track by which goats and sheep could scramble. These are the only animals who are ever attempted to be conveyed by this route. Sometimes vast masses of rock are detached from the precipices above, and descend, burying all the roads, tracks, and bridges, beneath; and such a disaster is always slowly and imperfectly repaired. Sometimes large stones descend in showers, to the serious danger of the traveller who is traversing a narrow path on the edge of a precipice. The few little hamlets that occur serve merely as summer habitations to the natives, who retire to lower grounds during the winter. The people were extremely rude and filthy, and though professing the Hindoo religion, laid themselves under no restrictions as to any food they were able to procure. They were dressed in coarse clothes, made of the wool of their own sheep, neither bleached nor dyed. As the party approached Niti, which forms the summit of the pass, they felt strongly that difficulty of respiration, which is produced by the thin air on the summit of the highest mountain chains. It was experienced only in ascending, or in attempting to sleep; neither in sitting, nor in walking downward. Sometimes the whole frame was affected, and a giddiness in the head appear-

ed to threaten apoplexy. The parts of the skin exposed to the air became sore and very red, and blood burst from the lips. An extraordinary variation of temperature was felt in the course of the day. In the morning, all the coverings they could obtain were scarcely sufficient for warmth; but, as the day advanced, coat after coat was thrown off, till at mid-day they could scarcely endure a single robe; but, in the course of the afternoon, the process was entirely reversed. In the morning, all the neighbouring mountains were seen covered with new-fallen snow, which melted in the course of the forenoon. At length they reached the summit of the pass separating Hindostan from the northern world of Asia—a naked tract, from which all trace of vegetation had disappeared. They now saw to the east the mighty Caillas, which raised its snow-capped summit over the lake of Manasarowara. At Niti, however, they found considerable difficulty in being allowed to proceed. An order had arrived from the Chinese government, to prevent all persons who were white, or wore white clothes, from entering their territory. The members of the expedition, however, having gained the friendship of some of the villagers, succeeded in getting an interpretation put upon these words, which did not include them, and were allowed to proceed. They came to Daba, the first town of the Undes, as this part of Thibet is called, a place oddly perched on the top of a number of irregular eminences, with narrow chasms intervening, and a lofty hill rising behind. The natives of this country, whenever they can, build their towns in such a situation. The hill behind shelters them from the cold blast, and the ravines carry off the melted snows and superfluous moisture. The temple here, dedicated to Narayan or Vishnu, contained the greatest assemblage of Hindoo deities that Mr Moor-

croft had ever seen. The principal object of worship was represented by an image of gilded copper, about twenty feet high. Although poverty reigned among the people, the *gelums*, or monks, appeared to enjoy abundance. They were a dirty, greasy, good-humoured, happy set of persons, carrying on a good deal of trade, and received the English very hospitably. The governor at first expressed great displeasure at their having been allowed to come so far; but, having been somehow convinced that they were neither Gorkhalis (inhabitants of Nepal) nor Firingis (Europeans), he allowed them to proceed on to Gertope, the emporium of the Undes, particularly for the shawl wool. On the 17th, they arrived at Gertope, which they found to consist merely of a multitude of black tents, made of blankets, fastened by hair, and having flags of coloured silk and cloth fixed to the top. A vast surrounding plain appeared, covered with sheep, goats, and *yaks*, or Tartarian oxen, in the most prodigious numbers, not less, it was thought, than forty thousand head. They found the Deba, or governor, in a house built rudely of sods, and roofed with branches of trees. On being convinced that they were neither Gorkhali nor Firingi, and on a good price being offered for the shawl wool, he stated the directions of his government, that none should be sold unless to Ladak, for the Cashmirian market; but, as they appeared to be persons of consequence, and had come from so great a distance, he would give it to them for the same price that he got from the Cashmirian merchants. He gave them permission also to visit the Manasarowara, on condition, however, of their returning into India by the way they had come, instead of a different one which they had intended. The Tartars of Ladak, it seems, had been in the custom of lay-

ing waste this country, till the Chinese government assigned it in jaghire to the Grand Lama, in reverence of whom they entirely desisted, only stipulating as above for the monopoly of the wool. Mr Moorcroft here learned, that the Russians, called Ooroos, came frequently to Yarcund, a commercial town about fifteen days' journey north, and that a party of them had even reached Gertope.

On the 25th, July, Mr Moorcroft left Gertope, and, on the 5th August, came in view of the celebrated and sacred waters of the Manasarowara. They form an irregular oval, about fifteen miles long, and eleven broad. Immense crags hang over the lake; behind which rise to an amazing height, the snow-clad summits, on one side of the Himnalah, and on the other of the Caillas mountain. The water is clear, unencumbered by weeds, and frequented by vast numbers of grey wild-geese, and by aquatic eagles. All the rocks are studded with convents, which appeared to be the abode of recluses of both sexes, and derived a picturesque appearance, from the streamers of various coloured cloth and hair which floated from poles fixed to the roofs and corners of the buildings. After the most diligent examination and inquiry, Mr Moorcroft was convinced that no river flowed out of this lake. As ill health, however, prevented him from making the entire circuit himself, some uncertainty still hangs on the question. There appears even to be an opposite report prevalent in the country; and it seems scarcely probable, that a mountain-lake, fed by such vast snows, should dispose of all its waters by mere evaporation. Mr M. could only see at a distance the blue waters of the Rawanirad, reported as a lake four times larger than the other, and enclosing some lofty mountains in the form of an island. After this, as

the season was advancing, he lost no time in recrossing to Himmaleh.

That part of the world where a cluster of immense islands forms a species of continent, under the name of Australasia, acquired, about this time, a greater importance than formerly. Only a corner of New Holland had been selected by Britain as a receptacle for the secondary class of her convicts; and this very destination pointed it out as a forlorn and desolate region, whither no European would voluntarily repair. Now, however, when commerce had bound so closely the most distant regions, and when the pressure of want was felt so severely at home, no part of the globe where good unoccupied land could be had, was considered too distant to go in search of it. The coast of New South Wales, therefore, and the neighbouring island of Van Diemen, began to be the object of spontaneous emigration, even for the respectable classes of society. In this view, as well as in that of geographical inquiry, it became important to explore the interior contents of this vast mass of continent. The precipitous range of the Blue Mountains, running parallel to the coast, was for some time supposed to present an impenetrable barrier. At length, through the exertions of Governor Macquarrie, an opening was discovered, and a new township, called Bathurst, founded on the opposite side. Following up this discovery, the Governor despatched Mr Evans upon a farther expedition, the result of which was communicated in Britain during the present year. The official account is given as follows:—

“ On the 13th of May, (1815), Mr Evans commenced his tour of discovery, and on the 2d of June, finding his provisions would not enable him to proceed farther, he began to retrace his

course back to Bathurst, where he arrived on the 12th June, having been absent thirty-one days.—In the course of this tour, Mr Evans has been so fortunate as to travel over a vast number of rich and fertile vallies, with successions of hills well covered with good and useful timber, chiefly the stringy bark and the pine, and the whole country abounding with ponds and gullies of fine water; he also fell in with a large river, which he conceives would become navigable for boats at the distance of a few days’ travelling along its banks: from its course he conjectures that it must join its waters with those of the Macquarrie River; and little doubt can be entertained, that their jointstreams must form a navigable river of very considerable size. At a distance of about 60 miles from Bathurst, Mr Evans discovered a number of hills, the points of which ended in perpendicular heads, from 30 to 40 feet high, of pure limestone of a misty grey colour. At this place, and also throughout the general course of the journey, kangaroos, emues, ducks, &c. were seen in great numbers, and the new river, to which Mr Evans gave the name of the *Lachlan*, abounds with fish; although, from the coldness of the season, he was not able to catch any of them. In the course of this tour Mr Evans also discovered a very unusual and extraordinary production, the proper or scientific name of which cannot at present be assigned to it. It possesses much of the sweetness and flavour of manna, but is totally different in its appearance, being very white, and having a roundish irregular surface, not unlike the rough outside of confectioner’s comfits, and of the size of the largest hailstones. Mr Evans does not consider it to be the production of any insect, tree, or vegetable of the country; and from hence the most probable conjecture appears to be, that it is a production of the same nature

with that which is found in Arabia, and there called 'wild honey,' or 'the Almighty's sugar plums,' and there supposed to be a dew. Where this substance was found most plentiful, Mr Evans saw the kangaroo in immense flocks, and wild fowl equally abundant.

"The natives appeared more numerous than at Bathurst; but so very wild, and apparently so much alarmed at the sight of white men, that he could not induce them to come near, or to hold any intercourse whatever with him.

"At the termination of the tour, Mr Evans saw a good level country, of a most interesting appearance, and a very rich soil; and he conceives that there is no barrier to prevent the travelling farther westward, to almost any extent that could be desired. He states, that the distance travelled by him on this occasion was 142 measured miles out; which, with digressions to the southward, made the total distance 155 miles from Bathurst. He adds, at the same time, that, having taken a more direct line back to Bathurst than that by which he left it, he made the distance then only 115 miles; and he observes, that a good road may be made all that length without any considerable difficulty, there not being more than three hills which may not be avoided.

"From the entire tenor of Mr Evans's narrative of this tour, it appears, that the country over which he passed, has even exceeded the country leading to, and surrounding Bathurst, in richness, fertility, and all the other valuable objects for the sustenance of a numerous population."

The voyages of Cook, Peron, and Flinders, had very nearly completed the circuit of the coast of New Holland; but there remained still a considerable tract of its western coast,

which was supposed to be so obstructed by shoals and coral reefs, as to render navigation impracticable. This desideratum was supplied by a British officer in the course of a common voyage, undertaken without any view to discovery. We shall give the narrative as it was transmitted from New Holland.

"His Majesty's armed brig Kangaroo, commanded by Lieutenant Jeffries, sailed from Port Jackson the 19th of April, 1815, for the island of Ceylon, for the purpose of conveying to their regiment the various detachments of the 73d that had remained, and who, with their families, amounted to about one hundred persons in number. Intending to make the passage through Torres Straits, Captain Jeffries ran along the coasts as far as Harvey's Bay, which lies in about $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. latitude; when finding the weather grow thick and unfavourable as he approached Wreck Reef, he formed a resolution to try the passage inside the Great Barrier Reefs, which commence in about 25° , and extend as far as lat. 10° S. Captain Jeffries followed Captain Cook's track along the coast of New Holland, considering it in all respects preferable to the outer passage, in which almost every vessel that has adopted it has fallen in with unknown reefs and shoals. Having observed that officer's track as nearly as was possible, until he reached that part of the coast which lies off Endeavour River, Captain Jeffries was left to his own judgment in running down an immense track that had been hitherto unexplored. On the 28th of April at noon, he rounded Breaksea Spit, Harvey's Bay, and hauled in towards the coast to the westward; passed the Keppel island, and anchored at Point Bowen, for the purpose of getting fresh water, as her old stock, which had been taken on board at Port Jackson during an extremely dry sea,

son, had become putrid. The launch, upon her watering expedition, was driven fifteen miles to leeward of Port Bowen, by an unexpected gale of wind, and this accident detained the vessel several days. After leaving Port Bowen, Captain Jeffries continued as nearly as possible in the track of our celebrated but unfortunate countryman, and always ran down in the day-time such parts of the coast as Captain Cook had passed by night, deriving thence an occasion of describing places, which, in Captain Cook's unlimited extent of observation, have unavoidably escaped his more minute attention.

“ Having passed Northumberland and Cumberland islands, Captain Jeffries made Whitsunday Passage upon Whitsunday, as Captain Cook had previously done in the Endeavour, thirty-five years before, from which circumstance the passage took its name. There is something pleasingly coincident in the circumstance of two British commanders having upon that particular day anchored in the same remote and unfrequented spot — the knowledge of which brought to recollection the immortal Cook, and filled the mind with reverential awe and sympathy.

“ At Cape Sandwich, Captain Jeffries had communication with the natives, who were very friendly, and conveyed fruits to the vessel. The men are rather stouter than the natives of this southern part of the coast; but in point of industry, or apparent genius, there is scarcely any difference. They have a fruit among them in shape and colour resembling the mangosteen of the east, and in taste the English medlar. By the 28th of May, Captain Jeffries had proceeded as far as Captain Cook's track extended, he having there borne away, from a consideration that the coast beyond that strait was an impracticable labyrinth.

In the evening Captain Jeffries hove to off Turtle Island, intending to examine the coast to the northward before he went outside the reef; and as the inshore passage had never been tried, it was examined with the most minute attention, and found to be all clear as far as the eye could traverse. By so encouraging a prospect, Captain Jeffries was led to determine on the experiment, and more particularly so from the recollection, that whenever Captain Cook stood off he had mostly met with difficulties.

“ From this day (the 29th) till the 1st of June, Captain Jeffries continued by day to sail along that unexplored coast, and at night bringing up under the lee of some rock, reef, or shoal, which were numberless. On the night of the 30th of May, Captain Jeffries anchored under a large group of islands, to which he gave the name of Flinders' Group. Ascending a high mountain, at daylight, he examined the coast, and perceived a chain of reefs along it as far as the eye could penetrate. Weighed, and standing along the coast close in shore, arrived at the entrance of an amazingly extensive bay, or gulph, at least thirty miles in depth, to which he gave the name of *Princess Charlotte Bay*; the land about this part of the coast appeared much finer than any other Captain Jeffries had seen, presenting a fine green, moderately wooded, and bearing a considerable resemblance to the interior of this (Van Diemen's Land) island.

“ Captain Jeffries found a safe and clear passage from three to five miles off the shore, and from seven to nine miles appeared a continuation of the reef and sand banks commencing off Endeavour River, or rather from Cape Grafton, from whence the chain was first discovered.

“ On the 1st of June, at half past twelve, the vessel fell in suddenly with a dark red coloured water, which, from

the vertical position of the sun, was not perceived until within fifty yards; the helm was instantly put hard at port, and the vessel going between five and six knots, cleared a coral shoal which had given the red colour to the water, within the narrow distance of ten yards. This danger was first observed by the captain, who was fortunately at the mast-head with three seamen, employed for the look out. Upon examination, the changed colour of the water was found to have been occasioned by a bed of mushroom coral rock, about four feet under water. The latitude of this dangerous rock is $13^{\circ} 32' 5''$ S. and the longitude, by lunar observation, $143^{\circ} 47'$ E."

The vessel came now upon the part of the coast explored by Captain Bligh in the *Bounty's* launch. In passing Cape York, he discovered it to belong to an island, not to the main land, as heretofore supposed.

About the same time, the following account was received of the progress of discovery and improvement in the new colony of Van Diemen's Land.

"The resources of the isle of Van Diemen are daily developing; two harbours, by the bold and enterprising perseverance of an individual, in a whale boat, have been discovered on the bleak and western shore of the isle. The southernmost of those harbours, named Port Davey, is of the utmost importance to the navigator, as it lies about nine miles to the northward of South West Cape; and is a most excellent harbour, divided into two arms extending some miles into the country. On the shores of this harbour are great quantities of the timber named Huon Pine. The superior value of this wood for every purpose of joiners and cabinet work, from the closeness, regularity, and beauty of its grain, is generally acknowledged; it will also be eminently

serviceable in building of boats, especially whale-boats, from its lightness, buoyancy, and indestructibility from worms; it thus becomes a valuable article to the architect, boat-builder, and merchant.

"To the northward of Port Davey, in latitude $48^{\circ} 10'$ S. and longitude $145^{\circ} 30'$ E., is another harbour named Macquarrie Harbour, of very considerable extent, into which a river, that runs a considerable distance through the country, disembogues itself. Unfortunately at a small distance from the mouth of the harbour, or rather at the harbour's mouth, is a bar that extends across its entrance, having no more than nine feet water over it, which will for ever render it impossible to be navigated but by very small craft. Mr M'Carty gave the following description of the harbour:—

"To gratify my own mind respecting the harbour and river lately discovered on the west coast of Van Diemen's Land, known by the names of Macquarrie Harbour, and Gordon River, I for the second time sailed in my brig (*the Sophia*) for that harbour. On the fifth day we came to anchor outside of the bar in seven fathom water, to wait for the tide, as the current runs at the rate of six and seven knots an hour, and there not being more than one and a half fathom water over the bar. Captain Feen conceiving he could make out a channel, kept the starboard shore on board close in shore; the soundings, after passing the bar, were seven fathoms, then ten, and regularly decreasing to two fathoms at the distance of twenty miles from the bar, where we were obliged to bring up; not having sufficient water to proceed further. From the entrance of the harbour we encountered shoals for the first ten miles, having a very narrow channel between them. We then continued our course up the harbour in a whale-boat; ha-

ving advanced about two miles further, we found on the northern shore a quantity of coal; the first we observed was on the beach, and washed by the salt water; an immense bed, but how deep we could not ascertain. On further inspection, we found the bank from the river was nearly all coal, in strata of six feet thick, then a few feet strata of clay, and then coal again. We much lamented the impossibility of proceeding with the brig to this place. On the following day we continued our course up the harbour, to the entrance of Gordon River; we computed the distance from the mouth of the harbour to Gordon River to be about fifty miles. Pursuing our course up the river, we arrived at the First Falls, (similar to the Falls of Derwent,) and which we considered to be fifty miles further in land, through, as we supposed, the western mountains, as it runs nearly due east from the harbour's mouth. We then procured our cargo by drifting the wood down to the brig; and on our return down the river, Captain Feen made another attempt to sound a passage, in which he happily succeeded; so that there is no doubt but any vessel that can cross the bar at the entrance, may go within half a mile of the Falls, and lay at anchor within ten yards of the coal mine. The mountains on the northern shore, where the coal is, are barren, but the rest are generally covered with myrtle and pine.

“ In addition to the above great discovery of an inexhaustible mine of coal, coal has been found at various places on the isle; and more is likely to be discovered on continuing our researches. Good slate has been found, and a limestone quarry has been opened and worked within a mile and a half of Hobart-town, the mortar from which is extremely good for mason's work; but not so good as shell-lime (which is to be had in the greatest

abundance) for the plaisterer's use. For the benefit of the farmer, most excellent marle abounds everywhere; and limestone has been discovered in various parts of the country. On Mr Gunning's beautiful estate at the coal-river, lime of a very good quality has been made, and might be carried on to any extent. From these two natural productions, limestone and marle, we derive immediate and future advantages; immediate, from the facility with which lime can be obtained for erecting buildings on the newly settled farms, and for the improvement of the buildings on the old; the future advantage is, that when the general, rich, and highly fertile soil of the isle should be exhausted by a succession of crops, or a system of bad husbandry, then the lime and marle will be manures of incalculable value. But so very rich and productive is the soil, and so genial the clime to every species of husbandry, that it will be a long series of years before recourse must be had to either one or the other. These are natural advantages the country of Port Jackson doth now possess, and which will enable the agriculturists of Van Diemen's Land to carry on their concerns with much greater success than the inhabitants of Port Jackson will ever be enabled to do, as neither marle nor limestone have hitherto been found on the eastern side of the Blue Mountains.”

To the east of New Holland are found the two islands which compose New Zealand; an extensive tract, equally favoured by nature, but the ferocity of whose inhabitants seemed to forbid the approach of all civilized neighbours. Yet even here, missionary zeal has adventured, and has devoted itself to the conversion of these rude savages. An opening was afforded by a remarkable incident. Duaterra, a New Zealand chief, formed the reso-

lution of visiting Britain, professing a peculiar anxiety to see King George. To effect this purpose, he entered as a common sailor on board a British vessel, and worked his way to England. Here, however, he was extremely ill treated by the sailors, could obtain no information as to the country, nor even a sight of King George. He considered himself fortunate in meeting with Mr Marsden, who was going out as principal chaplain to New Holland, and undertook to convey him to his native country. Mr Marsden laid hold of this opportunity to obtain permission for the establishment of a mission in New Zealand. Duaterra assigned him a grant of land, and did every thing possible to render his situation comfortable. This chief made now extraordinary efforts to improve and civilize his native country. He said triumphantly to Mr Marsden, "I have now introduced the cultivation of wheat into New Zealand; New Zealand will become a great country in two years more; I shall be able to export wheat to Port Jackson, to exchange for hoes, axes, spades, tea, sugar," &c. He had actually laid down the plan of a little town to be built after the European fashion, when a premature death unfortunately put an end to his projects. Another chief, Tippahee, who spent some time at Port Jackson, shewed an equal capacity of improvement. "The colonists," says Mr Nicholas,* "still hold in remembrance many of his remarks, which equally shew the solidity of his understanding and the justness of his conceptions. On our remonstrating with him on the absurdity and inconvenience of his customs, he immediately censured some of our own as far more ridiculous, and many of his arguments were both rational and convincing. Like most of

the New Zealand chiefs, he was highly tattooed, a mode of disfiguring the face which is generally practised by all the savage tribes in the Pacific Ocean. The barbarous process consists in pricking on the face with a sharp instrument, a variety of semicircular and other figures, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of blue paint, or sometimes charcoal, which gives to the countenance a most disgusting appearance, and makes it truly hideous to the eye of an European. On being laughed at one day by a gentleman for having disfigured his face in so unnatural a manner, the sagacious chief immediately retorted with pointed sarcasm; telling him he was quite as much an object of derision himself for having put powder and grease in his hair, a practice which he thought was much more absurd than the tattooing.

"He could not reconcile the rigour of our penal code with his own ideas of justice, which were certainly regulated by strong feelings of humanity. A person who had been sent out to the colony as a convict, having stolen some pigs during the time the chief happened to be there, was condemned to death, and Tippahee, on being made acquainted with the crime and the punishment, inveighed against the latter as unnecessarily cruel and unjustly severe. Reasoning on the subject with a great deal of natural logic, he said, if the man had stolen an axe or any thing else of essential utility, he ought to suffer death, but not for stealing a pig, to which he was prompted most probably by hunger. He interested himself very warmly in favour of the culprit, and earnestly pressed the governor for his pardon, while dining one day with a large party at his excellency's table; but he was told it was impossible it could be granted, as the

* Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1817.

man had acted in direct violation of the laws of his country, which secured to each individual the safe possession of his property, and punished with death all those who would deprive him of it by theft or robbery. 'Then,' said Tippahee, 'why you not hang Captain — ?' pointing to the commander of a vessel, whose name I do not immediately recollect, but who was then sitting at table;—'Captain, he come to New Zealand, he come ashore, and *tihī* (stole) all my potatoes—you hang up Captain —.' The company were much pleased with this strong and pointed reasoning of Tippahee, and the captain appeared quite abashed at so sudden an exposure of his conduct, for he had in reality acted as the chief represented; having sent a boat's crew on shore with orders to dig up his potatoes, which they did, without offering to make the least remuneration for them.

"Tippahee, however tenacious at first of his own manners and customs, becoming, during his short residence, more habituated to ours, and acquiring a clearer knowledge of their convenience and utility, gave them a decided preference. He also evinced an anxious desire to profit by them as much as possible; while he held the habits in which he had been educated himself in the most sovereign contempt. Being taken one day to see a rope-walk, and shewn the method of making small twine, some of which was spun before him and the process explained, he was so affected by the contrast of our enlightened knowledge with the barbarous ignorance of his own countrymen, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed in the bitterness of his regret, 'New Zealand no good!' Had this chief made a longer stay at Port Jackson, and been properly instructed in agriculture, there is no doubt but he would on his return have made considerable improvements among his people, and

given them a turn for habits of industry and laudable exertion, which are the first and most necessary steps towards a state of humanized culture. Gratitude is a prominent feature in the character of the New Zealander; and Tippahee, on his return to his own country, did not fail to evince it, for he rendered essential services to the different ships that afterwards touched at the Bay of Islands."

The missionaries continued to be well treated by the New Zealanders, and found the domestic character of that people quite different from that which they displayed when inflamed by hostile passions. "In his peaceful pursuits," says Mr Nicholas, "the New Zealander appears social, cheerful, friendly, and hospitable, disposed to kind offices, and faithful to his engagements; but war effects a total transformation in the man, and it is then only that he becomes a cruel, ferocious, and untameable savage." He adds, that Mr Marsden and he slept amid this race of ferocious combatants, with a feeling of as full security as if they had been in the heart of their friends in England. Yet it was not long since this spot had been the scene of a dreadful tragedy. A New Zealand chief, called George, who had been at Port Jackson, wishing to obtain a passage home, engaged himself as a sailor on board of the *Boyd*, Captain Thomson. The captain, dissatisfied with his work, and thinking George pretended sickness, caused him to be tied to the gangway and flogged. As George urged his character of a chief as a protection, the captain treated this claim with disbelief and derision. George was heard muttering, with dreadful emphasis, that he would find it to be true; but from that time he concealed all appearance of resentment. As soon, however, as the vessel arrived in Wang Arroa Bay, he hastened to his friends, and opened to

them the tale of his wrongs. The resolution of vengeance was instantly formed. A great number having insinuated themselves on board the vessel, watched the moment of the captain going on shore, when he was instantly seized, and an attack commenced on the sailors. The ship was speedily taken, when a general massacre commenced, terminated by a frightful scene of cannibal festivity. Only a woman and three children were saved, who were afterwards brought home by Captain Berry of the ship *City of Edinburgh*.

At this time, the agency of British missionaries produced an important change in the state of Otaheite and the neighbouring islands. Christianity had been embraced by Pomarrie, the king; but the party attached to the ancient idolatry having gained the ascendancy, he, with his adherents, were exiled to the island of Eimeo. A violent civil war then ensued between the insurgent chiefs, till, one party having gained the mastery, the fugitives were invited back from Eimeo. Pomarrie returned, though not without fear, and his friends were reinstated in the possession of their lands; but the idolatrous party still annoyed them with secret hostility, and felt a desire to avenge the cause of their gods. At length they formed a scheme to attack their adversaries on Sunday, while engaged in devotional exercises, when it was supposed they would be in no condition to make any effectual resistance. The Christians, however, were aware of their situation, and like the old Scottish Covenanters, attended worship with arms in their hands, so that the assailants were quite deceived in their expectations. They met with a sharp repulse, which, as their chief happened to fall, was soon converted into a total defeat. This victory re-established Pomarrie in the sovereignty of the island; and as, by the advice of

the missionaries, he was induced to use his victory with moderation, and to abstain from the cruelties usually practised on such occasions, the adverse party were entirely conciliated. They renounced their gods, who, they thought, had deceived them, and agreed to the general establishment of Christianity in Otaheite. This was speedily followed by the founding of schools, the extension of useful culture, and of all the forms of European civilization. A similar change had taken place to a great extent in the islands of Huahine, Raiatea, Tahaa, and Borabora. Should this state of things continue undisturbed, it will improve, in every respect, the condition of these islands; at the same time, we cannot applaud the conduct of the missionaries in urging the converted chiefs to persecute the idolaters, by destroying their gods, and demolishing their *moraes*. Such proceedings are inconsistent with every principle of toleration, and have been the source of sanguinary wars, the seeds of which are by no means extinguished.

Some interesting particulars were this year communicated by a peculiar channel respecting the Tonga, or, as we were taught to call them by Captain Cook, the Friendly Islands, in the Pacific Ocean. They were taken from the deposition of William Mariner, who, in the manner to be now related, had been detained in them for several years. He had sailed in 1806 in the *Port-au-Prince*, a vessel destined for the southern whale-fishery. On arriving at Lefooga, a dispute between the master and crew prevented due precautions from being taken. A body of 300 natives having got on board the vessel, seized it, after massacring all the crew, except Mariner and another, who were below in the magazine. After much dismay, and seeing no hope of escape, Mariner determined to come up and get himself killed at once; but on

his presenting himself in an unresisting posture for that purpose, he was told that they were now masters of the ship, and that he would not be hurt. He was carried before several chiefs, and at length to Finow, the How or king of the island, who being a man of an active and curious mind, took much pleasure in the conversation of the stranger. He was ordered, however, to deliver up his books and papers, as no witchcraft was allowed to be practised in the island. This led to an explanation of the fate which had overtaken the missionaries left there by Captain Wilson, from the ship *Duff*. It had been from the first observed, that they built a house, in which they shut themselves up to sing and perform ceremonies. This, however, would not have led to any serious consequence, had there not been on the island one Morgan, a convict escaped from Botany Bay. The missionaries having represented this person in unfavourable, and doubtless true colours, excited his resentment, which he gratified in the most criminal manner. He informed the natives, that these strangers had come among them with the sole view of introducing the pestilential disease, which was then raging; that their books were instruments of magic; and their secret assemblies held for the purpose of carrying on incantations to produce this effect. The chiefs took these statements into serious consideration, and became more and more persuaded of their truth, from the loud noise which took place at these ceremonies, and from the care taken, we know not why, to exclude the natives. At length it was represented, that if the strangers continued singing in this manner, the whole island would soon be depopulated. Inflamed with fury, they at length rushed in and made a general massacre.

In the course of the communication between Mariner and the king, the cu-

riosity of the latter was strongly exerted on the subject of writing, particularly after he had seen Mariner write a letter for any European captain, who might touch at Tonga.

“ This mode of communicating sentiments was an inexplicable puzzle to Finow; he took the letter again and examined it, but it afforded him no information. He thought a little within himself; but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr Mariner, and desired him to write down something: The latter asked what he would choose to have written; he replied, put down me. He accordingly wrote, ‘*Keenom*,’ (spelling it according to the strict English orthography); the chief then sent for another Englishman, who had not been present, and commanding Mr Mariner to turn his back, and look another way, he gave the man the paper, and desired him to tell what that was: he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and, with astonishment, looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions. At length he exclaimed, ‘ This is neither like myself nor any body else!—where are my eyes?—where is my head?—where are my legs?—How can you possibly know it to be I?’—And then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he impatiently ordered Mr Mariner to write something else; and thus employed him for three or four hours in putting down the names of different persons, places, and things, and making the other man read them. This afforded extraordinary diversion to Finow, and to all the men and women present, particularly as he now and then whispered a little love anecdote, which was strictly written down, and audibly read by the other, not a little to the confusion of one or other of the ladies present; but it was all taken in

good humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the prevailing passions. How their names and circumstances could be communicated through so mysterious a channel, was altogether past their comprehension. Finow had long ago formed his opinion of books and papers, and this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing he had ever seen or heard of. Mr Mariner in vain attempted to explain. He had yet too slender a knowledge of their language to make himself clearly understood; and, indeed, it would not have been an easy matter to have explained the composition of elementary sounds, and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a people whose minds were already formed to other modes of thinking, and whose language had few expressions but what concerned the ordinary affairs of life. The only rational mode would have been, to have invented a system of spelling, and to have gone through the usual routine of teaching it. Finow, at length, thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him that it was very possible to put down a mark or sign of something that had been seen both by the writer and reader, and which should be mutually understood by them; but Mr Mariner immediately informed him, that he could write down any thing that he had never seen. The king directly whispered to him to put Toogoo Ahoo (the king of Tonga, whom he and Toobo Nienba had assassinated many years before Mr Mariner's arrival). This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished, and declared it to be the most wonderful thing he had ever heard of. He then desired him to write 'Tarky,' the chief of the garrison of Bea, whom Mr Mariner and his companions had not yet seen; (this chief was blind in one eye). When 'Tarky' was read, Finow inquired

whether he was blind or not; this was putting writing to an unfair test! and Mr Mariner told him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered to write, 'Tarky, blind in his left eye,' which was done, and read to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr Mariner then told him, that, in several parts of the world, messages were sent to great distances through the same medium, and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer could know nothing of the contents; and that the histories of whole nations were thus handed down to posterity, without spoiling by being kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands; that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month."

The discourse on the subject of money appears also very characteristic.

"Mr Mariner was going on to shew the convenience of money as a medium of exchange, when Filimoeatoo interrupted him, saying to Finow, I understand how it is; money is less cumbersome than goods, and it is very convenient for a man to exchange away his goods for money; which, at any other time, he could exchange again for the same or any other goods that he might want; whereas the goods themselves might have spoilt by keeping (particularly if provisions) but the money he supposed would not spoil; and although it was of no true value itself, yet being scarce and difficult to be got without giving something useful and really valuable for it, it was imagined to be of value; and if every body considered it so, and would readily give their goods for it, he did not see but what it was of a sort of real

value to all who possessed it, as long as their neighbours chose to take it in the same way. Mr Mariner found he could not give a better explanation, he therefore told Filimoeaton that his notion of the nature of money was a just one. After a pause of some length, Finow replied that the explanation did not satisfy him; he still thought it a foolish thing that people should place a value on money, when they either could not or would not apply it to any useful (physical) purpose.—‘If,’ said he, ‘it were made of iron, and could be converted into knives, axes, and chisels, there would be some sense in placing a value on it; but as it was, he saw none. If a man,’ he added, ‘has more yams than he wants, let him exchange some of them away for pork or gnattoo; certainly money was much handier, and more convenient, but then as it would not spoil by being kept, people would store it up, instead of sharing it out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become selfish; whereas, if provision was the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, as being both the most useful and the most necessary, he could not store it up, for it would spoil, and so he would be obliged either to exchange it away for something less useful, or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior chiefs and dependents, for nothing.’ He concluded by saying, ‘I understand now very well what it is that makes the Papalangis (English) so selfish;—it is this money!’

“When Mr Mariner informed Finow that dollars were money, he was greatly surprised, having always taken them for playing-counters, and things of little value; and he was exceedingly sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of the Port-an-Prince, before

he had ordered her to be burnt — ‘I had always thought,’ said he, ‘that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, perhaps to King George’s cook;* for Captain Cook’s ship which belonged to the king, had plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on board, whilst yours had nothing but iron-hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand playing-counters, as I thought them; but if every one of these were money, your ship must have belonged to a very great chief indeed.’”

After some years’ residence, Mr Mariner was enabled to make his escape on board the *Favourite*, Captain Fish, from Port Jackson, who was coming to take up a cargo of sandal-wood at the Feejee islands. Finow, the old king, was dead; but his successor was so delighted with the view of the ship, that he petitioned to be conveyed to England, a request which the Captain, unluckily we think, refused.

At the commencement of the present year, the attention of the public had been almost exclusively fixed upon central Africa. In proportion as repeated disappointment damped the hopes which that quarter had excited, their eyes were attracted towards another region and element. In the early periods of naval discovery, the Polar Seas had afforded a grand theatre for the display of British courage. It was there that the Hudsons, the Frobishers, and the Baffins, acquired a fame scarcely surpassed by that of any modern navigators. For more than two centuries, however, the spirit of exploration had withdrawn itself in a great measure from that field. All attempts to proceed to the north and to the east, had been stopped by barriers of impenetrable ice; and the sea,

* At these islands a cock is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of

into which Davis's Straits affords an entrance, was supposed to be established by Baffin as a bay, shut in on every side by land. About fifty years ago, however, Mr Daines Barington collected, and laid before the Royal Society, a number of facts tending to prove the possibility of approaching, or even reaching, the pole. These made so great an impression, that Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, was despatched upon an attempt to penetrate to that farthest boundary of the world. He was stopped, however, by the ice in the neighbourhood of Spitzbergen, and the enterprize was never resumed. The public attention was now called afresh to this subject; and Mr Barrow set on foot that series of expeditions which have issued in such important discoveries, and promise others still more important. This, however, belongs to the following year. At present we shall only introduce the observations on the polar regions submitted by Mr Scoresby to the Wernerian Society. These, made by an intelligent and scientific navigator in the course of many years experience in the whale-fishery, convey much more accurate ideas, than can be derived from the hasty and superficial remarks of former navigators. His account of the formation of ice, and the varied forms and aspects under which it presents itself, is so extremely interesting, that we shall take the liberty of extracting entire a large portion of it. ●

“Greenland is a country where every object is strikingly singular, or highly magnificent. The atmosphere, the land, and the ocean, each exhibit remarkable or sublime appearances.

“With regard to the atmosphere several peculiarities may be noticed, viz. its darkness of colour and density; its frequent production of crystallised snow in a wonderful perfec-

tion and variety of form and texture; and its astonishing sudden changes from calm to storm,—from fair weather to foul, and *vice versa*.

“The land is of itself a sublime object; its stupendous mountains rising by steep acclivities from the very margin of the ocean to an immense height, terminating in rigid, conical, or pyramidal, summits; its surface, contrasting its native protruding dark-coloured rocks, with its burthen of purest snow; the whole viewed under the density of a gloomy sky, forms a picture impressive and grand. Its most remarkable inhabitant is the White or Polar Bear, which indeed also occurs on the ice. This ferocious animal seems to be the natural lord of those regions. He preys indiscriminately on quadruped, fowl, reptile, and fish; all behold him with dread, and flee his presence. The seals signify their fear of him by their constant watching, and betake themselves precipitately to the water on his approach. Carrion, therefore, (of which the carcase of the whale is at a certain season the most plentiful,) affords him a passive, sure, and favourite food. His sense of smelling is peculiarly acute.—In his march, he is frequently observed to face the breeze, to rear his head, and snuff the passing scent, whereby he can discover the nearest route to his odorous banquet, though the distance be incredibly great.

“The water of the ocean is not the least interesting of the elements, particularly as affording the bed, and partly the materials for the most prodigious masses of ice. Its colour is peculiar. Its products are numerous, and of particular importance. It is here that the huge *Mysticetus*, or Whalebone Whale, takes up his residence, and collects his food;—it is here that he sports and astonishes, by his vast bulk and proportionate strength;—and it is here that he becomes the ob-

ject of maritime adventure, and a source of commercial riches.

“Of the inanimate productions of Greenland, none perhaps excites so much interest and astonishment in a stranger, as the *ice* in its great abundance and variety. The stupendous masses, known by the name of ice-islands, floating mountains, or icebergs, common to Davis’ Straits, and sometimes met with here, from their height, various forms, and the depth of water in which they ground, are calculated to strike the beholder with wonder: yet the fields of ice, more peculiar to Greenland, are not less astonishing. Their deficiency in elevation, is sufficiently compensated by their amazing extent of surface. Some of them have been observed near a hundred miles in length, and more than half that breadth; each consisting of a single sheet of ice having its surface raised in general four or six feet above the level of the water, and its base depressed to the depth of near twenty feet beneath.

“The ice in general is designated by a variety of appellations, distinguishing it according to the size or number of pieces, their form of aggregation, thickness, transparency, &c. I perhaps cannot better explain the terms in common acceptance amongst the whale-fishers, than by marking the disruption of a field. The thickest and strongest field cannot resist the power of a heavy swell; indeed, such are much less capable of bending without being dis severed, than the thinner ice, which is more pliable. When a field, by the set of the current, drives to the southward, and being deserted by the loose ice, becomes exposed to the effects of a grown swell, it presently breaks into a great many pieces, few of which will exceed forty or fifty yards in diameter. Now, such a number of these pieces collected together in close contact, so that they cannot, from the top

of the ship’s mast, be seen over, are termed a pack.

“When the collection of pieces can be seen across, if it assume a circular or polygonal form, the name of patch is applied; and it is called a stream when its shape is more of an oblong, how narrow soever it may be, provided the continuity of the pieces is preserved.

“Pieces of very large dimensions, but smaller than fields, are called floes, —thus, a field may be compared to a pack, and a floe to a patch, as regards their size and external form.

“Small pieces which break off, and are separated from the larger masses by the effect of attrition, are called brash-ice, and may be collected into streams or patches.

“Ice is said to be loose or open, when the pieces are so far separated as to allow a ship to sail freely amongst them; this has likewise been called drift-ice.

“A hummock is a protuberance raised upon any plane of ice above the common level. It is frequently produced by pressure, where one piece is squeezed upon another, often set upon its edge, and in that position cemented by the frost. Hummocks are likewise formed, by pieces of ice mutually crushing each other, the wreck being coacervated upon one or both of them. To hummocks, the ice is indebted for its variety of fanciful shapes, and its picturesque appearance. They occur in great numbers in heavy packs, on the edges and occasionally in the middle of fields and floes. They often attain the height of thirty feet or upwards.

“A calf is a portion of ice which has been depressed by the same means as a hummock is elevated. It is kept down by some larger mass; from beneath which it shews itself on one side. I have seen a calf so deep and broad,

that the ship sailed over it without touching, when it might be observed on both sides of the vessel at the same time; this, however, is attended with considerable danger, and necessity alone warrants the experiment, as calves have not unfrequently (by a ship's touching them, or disturbing the sea near them,) been called from their submarine situation to the surface, and with such an accelerated velocity, as to stave the planks and timbers of the ship, and in some instances, to reduce the vessel to a wreck.

“Any part of the upper superficies of a piece of ice, which comes to be immersed beneath the surface of the water, obtains the name of a tongue.

“A bight signifies a bay or sinuosity, on the border of any large mass or body of ice. It is supposed to be called bight from the low word bite, to take in, or entrap; because, in this situation, the ships are sometimes so caught by a change of wind, that the ice cannot be cleared on either tack; and, in some cases, a total loss has been the consequence.

“When the sea freezes, the greatest part of the salt it contains is deposited, and the frozen spongy mass probably contains no salt, but what is natural to the sea-water filling its pores. Hence, the generality of ice affords fresh-water when dissolved. As, however, the ice frozen from sea-water does not appear so solid and transparent as that procured from snow or rain-water, sailors distinguish it into two kinds, accordingly as it seems to have been formed from one or the other.

“What is considered as salt-water ice, is porous, white, and in a great measure opaque, (except when in very thin pieces,) yet transmits the rays of light with a greenish shade. It is softer, and swims lighter than fresh-water ice, and when dissolved, produces water sometimes perfectly fresh,

and sometimes saltish; this depends in a great measure on the situation from whence it is taken: such parts as are raised above the surface of the sea in the form of hummocks, appear to gain solidity by exposure to the sun and air, and are commonly fresh, whilst those pieces taken out of the sea are somewhat salt. Although it is very probable, that this retention of salt may arise from the sea-water contained in its pores, yet I have never been able to obtain, from the water of the ocean, by experiment, an ice either compact, transparent, or fresh. That the sea-water has a tendency to produce fresh ice, however, is proved from the concentration observed in a quantity exposed in an open vessel to a low temperature, by the separation of the salt from the crystals of ice, in the progress of the freezing. Thus it is, that in the coldest weather, when a ship exposed to a tempestuous sea, is washed with repeated sprays, and thereby covered with ice, that in different places obstructing the efflux of the water overboard, a portion always remains unfrozen, and which, on being tasted, is found to contain salt highly concentrated.”

“Some naturalists have been at considerable pains to endeavour to explain the phenomena of the progressive formation of the ice in high latitudes, and the derivation of the supply, which is annually furnished, for replacing the great quantities that are dissolved and dissipated by the power of the waves, and the warmth of the climate into which it drifts. It has frequently been urged, that the vicinity of land is indispensable for its formation. Whether this may be the case or not, the following facts may possibly determine.

“I have noticed the process of freezing from the first appearance of crystals, until the ice had obtained a thickness of more than a foot, and did not

find that the land afforded any assistance or even shelter, which could not have been dispensed with during the operation. It is true, that the land was the cause of the vacancy or space free from ice, where this new ice was generated; the ice of older formation had been driven off by easterly winds, assisted perhaps by a current; yet this new ice lay at the distance of twenty leagues from Spitzbergen. But I have also seen ice grow to a consistence capable of stopping the progress of a ship with a brisk wind, even when exposed to the waves of the North Sea and Western Ocean, on the south aspect of the main body of the Greenland ice, in about the seventy-second degree of north latitude. In this situation, the process of freezing is accomplished under peculiar disadvantages. I shall attempt to describe its progress from the commencement.

“The first appearance of ice whilst in the state of detached crystals, is called by the sailors sludge, and resembles snow when cast into water that is too cold to dissolve it. This smooths the ruffled sea, and produces an effect like oil in stilling the breaking surface. These crystals soon unite, and would form a continuous sheet, but, by the motion of the waves, they are broken into very small pieces, scarcely three inches in diameter. As they strengthen, many of them coalesce, and form a larger mass. The undulations of the sea still continuing, these enlarged pieces strike each other on every side, whereby they become rounded, and their edges turned up, whence they obtained the name of pancakes: several of these again unite, and thereby continue to increase, forming larger pancakes, until they become perhaps a foot in thickness, and many yards in circumference.

“When the sea is perfectly smooth, the freezing process goes on more regularly, and perhaps more rapidly.

The commencement is similar to that just described; it is afterwards continued, by constant additions, to its under surface. During twenty-four hours keen frost, it will have become two or three inches thick, and in less than forty-eight hours time, capable of sustaining the weight of a man. This is termed bay-ice. whilst that of older formation is distinguished into light and heavy ice; the former being from a foot to about a yard in thickness, and the latter from about a yard upwards.

“It is generally allowed, that all that is necessary in low temperatures for the formation of ice, is still water: Here then, it is obtained. In every opening of the ice at a distance from the sea, the water is always as smooth as that of a harbour; and as I have observed the growth of ice up to a foot in thickness in such a situation, during one month's frost, the effect of many years we might deem to be sufficient for the formation of the most ponderous fields.

“There is no doubt, but a large quantity of ice is annually generated in the bays, and amidst the islands of Spitzbergen: which bays, towards the end of summer, are commonly emptied of their contents, from the thawing of the snow on the mountains causing a current outwards. But this will not account for the immense fields which are so abundant in Greenland. These evidently come from the northward, and have their origin between Spitzbergen and the pole.

“As strong winds are known to possess great influence in drifting off the ice, where it meets with the least resistance, may they not form openings in the ice far to the north, as well as in latitudes within our observation? Notwithstanding the degree in which this cause may prevail is uncertain, yet of this we are assured, that the ice on the west coast of Spitzbergen, has

always a tendency to drift, and actually does advance in a surprising manner to the south or south-west; whence, some vacancy must assuredly be left in the place which it formerly occupied.

“ These openings, therefore, may be readily frozen over, whatever be their extent, and the ice may in time acquire all the characters of a massy field.

“ It must, however, be confessed, that from the density and transparency of the ice of fields, and the purity of the water obtained therefrom, it is difficult to conceive that it could possess such characters if frozen entirely from the water of the ocean;—particularly as young ice is generally found to be porous and opaque, and does not afford a pure solution. The succeeding theory, therefore, is perhaps more consonant to appearances; and although it may not be established, has at least probability to recommend it.

“ It appears from what has been advanced, that openings must occasionally occur in the ice between Spitzbergen and the pole, and that these openings will, in all probability, be again frozen over. Allowing, therefore, a thin field, or a field of bay-ice to be therein formed, a superstructure may probably be added by the following process. The frost, which constantly prevails during nine months of the year, relaxes towards the end of June or the beginning of July, whereby the covering of snow, annually deposited to the depth of two or three feet on the ice, dissolves. Now, as this field is supposed to arise amidst the older and heavier ice, it may readily occupy the whole interval, and be cemented to the old ice on every side; whence, the melted snow has no means of escape. Or, whatever be the means of its retention on the surface of the young field, whether by the adjunction of higher ice, the elevation of its border by the pressure of the surround-

ing ice, or the irregularity of its own surface, several inches of ice must be added to its thickness on the returning winter, by the conversion of the snow-water into solid ice. This process repeated for many successive years, or even ages, together with the enlargement of its under-side from the ocean, might be deemed sufficient to produce the most stupendous bodies of ice that have yet been discovered; at the same time that the ice thus formed, would doubtless correspond with the purity and transparency of that of fields in general.

“ Fields may sometimes have their origin in heavy close packs, which, being cemented together by the intervention of new ice, may become one solid mass. In this way, are produced such fields, as exhibit a rugged, hummocky surface.

“ Fields commonly make their appearance about the month of June, though sometimes earlier:—they are frequently the resort of young whales; strong north and westerly winds expose them to the Greenlandmen, by driving off the loose ice. Some fields exhibit a perfect plain, without a fissure or hummock; so clear indeed, that I imagine, upon one which I saw, a coach might be driven a hundred miles in a direct line, without any obstruction. Most commonly, however, the surface contains some hummocks, which somewhat relieve the uniformity of intense light, by a tinge of delicate green, in cavities where the light gains admittance in an oblique direction, by passing through a portion of ice.

“ The invariable tendency of fields to drift to the south-westward, even in calms, is the means of many being yearly destroyed. They have frequently been observed to advance a hundred miles in this direction, within the space of one month, notwithstanding the occurrence of winds from every quarter.

On emerging from amidst the smaller ice, which before sheltered them, they are soon broken up by the swell, are partly dissolved, and partly converted into drift ice. The places of such are supplied by others from the north. White bears here find an occasional habitation, and will travel many leagues from land upon the fields. They have been repeatedly met with, not only upon these continuous sheets of ice, but on the ice of close packs, to the utmost extent to which ships have penetrated.

“The occasional rapid motion of fields, with the strange effects produced on any opposing substance, exhibited by such immense bodies, is one of the most striking objects this country presents, and is certainly the most terrific. They not unfrequently acquire a rotatory movement, whereby their circumference attains a velocity of several miles *per* hour. A field, thus in motion, coming in contact with another at rest, or more especially with a contrary direction of movement, produces a dreadful shock. A body of more than ten thousand millions of tons in weight, meeting with resistance, when in motion, the consequences may possibly be conceived! The weaker field is crushed with an awful noise; sometimes the destruction is mutual: pieces of huge dimensions and weight are not unfrequently piled upon the top, to the height of twenty or thirty feet, whilst doubtless a proportionate quantity is depressed beneath. The view of those stupendous effects in safety, exhibits a picture sublimely grand; but where there is danger of being overwhelmed, terror and dismay must be the predominant feelings. The whale-fishers at all times require unremitting vigilance to secure their safety, but scarcely in any situation, so much, as when navigating amidst those fields. In foggy weather they are particularly dangerous, as their motions cannot

then be distinctly observed. It may easily be imagined, that the strongest ship can no more withstand the shock of the contact of two fields, than a sheet of paper can stop a musket-ball. Numbers of vessels, since the establishment of the fishery, have been thus destroyed; some have been thrown upon the ice, some have had their hulls completely torn open, and others have been buried beneath the heaped fragments of the ice.”

“The term icebergs has commonly been applied to those immense bodies of ice, situated on the land, “filling the valleys between the high mountains,” and generally exhibiting a square perpendicular front towards the sea. They recede backward inland to an extent never explored. Martin, Crantz, Phipps, and others, have described those wonders of nature, and all agree as to their manner of formation, in the congelation of the sleet and rains of summer, and of the accumulated snow, partly dissolved by the summer sun, which, on its decline, freezes to a transparent ice. They are as permanent as the rocks on which they rest. For although large portions may be frequently separated, yet the annual growth replaces the loss, and probably, on the whole, produces a perpetual increase. I have seen those styled the Seven Icebergs, situated in the valleys of the north-west coast of Spitzbergen; their perpendicular front may be about 300 feet in height; the green colour, and glistening surface of which, form a pleasing variety in prospect, with the magnificence of the encompassing snow-clad mountains, which, as they recede from the eye, seem to “rise crag above crag,” in endless perspective.

“Large pieces may be separated from those icebergs in the summer season, when they are particularly fragile, by their ponderous overhanging masses, overcoming the force of cohesion;

or otherwise, by the powerful expansion of the water, filling any excavation or deep-seated cavity, when its dimensions are enlarged by freezing, thereby exerting a tremendous force, and bursting the whole asunder.

"Pieces thus, or otherwise detached, are hurled into the sea with a dreadful crash; if they are received into deep water, they are liable to be drifted off the land, and, under the form of ice-islands, or ice-mountains, they likewise still retain their parent name of ice-bergs. I much question, however, if all the floating bergs seen in the seas west of Old Greenland, thus derive their origin; their number is so great, and their dimensions so immense.

"If all the floating islands of ice thus proceed from disruptions of the icebergs generated on the land, How is it that so few are met with in Greenland, and those comparatively so diminutive, whilst Baffin's Bay affords them so plentifully, and of such amazing size? The largest I ever saw in Greenland, was about a thousand yards in circumference, nearly square, of a regular flat surface, twenty feet above the level of the sea, and as it was composed of the most dense kind of ice, it must have been 150 or 160 feet in thickness, and in weight about two millions of tons. But masses have been repeatedly seen in Davis' Straits, near two miles in length, and one-third as broad, whose rugged mountainous summits were reared with various spires to the height of more than a hundred feet, whilst their base must have reached to the depth of a hundred and fifty yards, beneath the surface of the sea. Others, again, have been observed, possessing an even surface, of five or six square miles in area, elevated thirty yards above the sea, and fairly run aground in water of ninety or a hundred fathoms in depth; the weight of which, must have been upwards of two thousand millions of tons!"

"Icebergs, though often dangerous neighbours, occasionally prove useful auxiliaries to the whale-fishers. Their situation, in a smooth sea, is very little affected by the wind: under the strongest gale, they are not perceptibly moved; but, on the contrary, have the appearance of advancing to windward, from every other description of ice moving so rapidly past them, on account of its finding less resistance from the water, in proportion as its depth beneath the surface is diminished. From the iceberg's firmness, it often affords a stable mooring to a ship in strong adverse winds, or when a state of rest is required for the performance of the different operations attendant on a successful fishery. The fisher likewise avails himself of this quiescent property, when his ship is incommoded or rendered unmanageable by the accumulation of drift-ice around, when his object is to gain a windward situation more open. He gets under the lee of the iceberg,—the loose ice soon forces past the berg,—the ship remains nearly stationary,—and the wished-for effect seldom fails to result. Mooring to lofty icebergs is attended with considerable danger; being sometimes finely balanced, they are apt to be overturned; and whilst floating in a tide-way, should their base be arrested by the ground, their detrusion necessarily follows, attended with a thundering noise, and the crushing of every object they encounter in their descent. Thus have vessels been often staved, and sometimes wrecked, by the fall of their icy mooring. Men and boats are a weaker prey,—the vast waves alone occasioned by such events, at once overwhelming every smaller object, within a considerable distance of the rolling mountain.

"All pure ice becomes exceedingly fragile towards the close of the whale-fishing season, when the temperate air thaws its surface. Bergs, on being

struck by an axe, for the purpose of placing a mooring anchor, have been known to rend asunder and precipitate the careless seamen into the yawning chasm, whilst occasionally the masses are hurled apart, and fall in contrary directions with a prodigious crush, burying boats and men in one common ruin. The awful effect produced by a solid mass many thousands of tons in weight, changing its situation with the velocity of a falling body, whereby its aspiring summit is in a moment buried in the ocean, can be more easily imagined than described !”

“The mass of ice lying between Old Greenland on the west, and the Russian portion of Europe on the east, though varying considerably in particulars, yet has a general outline strikingly uniform.

“On the east coast of West Greenland, a remarkable alteration has, however, taken place. That part extending from the parallel of Iceland to Staten-Hook, was, before the fifteenth century, free of ice, and could always be approached in the summer season, without hinderance. After a considerable trade had been carried on between Iceland and the Main for upwards of 400 years, singular as it may appear, of a sudden the polar ice extended its usual limits, launched down by the land to the Southern Cape, and so completely barricaded the whole of the eastern coast, that it has not since been accessible. The fate of the wretched inhabitants is unknown; but they are generally supposed to have perished from the want of their usual supplies, or from the increased coldness of their atmosphere.

“In various countries, changes of climate to a certain extent have occurred, within the limits of historical record; these changes have been commonly for the better, and have been considered as the effects of human industry, in draining marshes and lakes,

felling woods, and cultivating the earth: but here is an occurrence, the reverse of common experience, and concerning its causes I am not prepared to hazard any conjecture.

“This icy barrier, at present, with each recurring spring, exhibits the following general outline.—After doubling the southern promontory of Greenland, it advances in a north-eastern direction along the east coast, enveloping Iceland as it proceeds, until it reaches John Mayne’s Island. Passing this island on the north-west, but frequently enclosing it likewise, it then trends a little more to the eastward, and intersects the meridian of London in the 71st or 72d degree of latitude. Having reached the longitude of 6, 8, or perhaps 10 degrees east, in the 73d or 74th degree of north latitude, it suddenly stretches to the north, sometimes proceeding on a meridian to the latitude of 80°, at others forming a deep sinuosity, extending two or three degrees to the northward, and then southeasterly to Cherry Island;—which having passed, it assumes a direct course a little south of east, until it forms a junction with the Siberian or Nova Zemblan coast

“That remarkable promontory, formed by the sudden stretch of the ice to the north, constitutes the line of separation between the east or whale-fishing, and west or sealing ice of the fishers: And the deep bay lying to the east of this point, invariably forms the only pervious track for proceeding to fishing latitudes northward. When the ice at the extremity of this bay occurs so strong and compact as to prevent the approach to the shores of Spitzbergen, and the advance northward beyond the latitude of 75° or 76°, it is said to be a close season; and, on the contrary, it is called an open season, when an uninterrupted navigation extends along the western coast of Spitzbergen to Hackluyt’s

Headland. In an open season, therefore, a large channel of water lies between the land and the ice, from 20 to 50 leagues in breadth, extending to the latitude of 79° or 80° , and gradually approximating the coast, until it at length effects a coalition with the north-western extremity, by a semi-circular head. When the continuity of the mass of ice, intervening between West Greenland and Nova Zembla, is thus interrupted in an open season, the ice again makes its appearance on the south of Spitzbergen, proceeding from thence direct to Cherry Island, and then eastward as before.

“Such is the general appearance of the margin or outline of the polar ice, which holds, with merely partial changes, for many successive seasons. This, outline, however, is necessarily more or less affected by storms and currents: their more than ordinary prevalence in any one direction, must cause some variety of aspect in particular places, which becomes more especially apparent in the vicinity of land, where its coasts afford marks by which to estimate the advance and retreat of the ice.”

Mr Scoresby submits, moreover, a plan, by which it appears to him at least possible to reach the north pole by proceeding over the surface of the ice. Without giving any positive opinion as to the practicability of this scheme, we must at least admit it to be highly ingenious, and being, perhaps, the first time that the idea was started, had probably a great effect in turning the public mind in this direction. Mr Scoresby says,

“With regard to the probability of exploring the regions more immediately in the vicinity of the pole than has yet been accomplished, or even of reaching the pole itself,—I anticipate, that without reference to the reasoning on which the opinion is grounded, it might be deemed the frenzied spe-

culatation of a disordered fancy. I flatter myself, however, that I shall be able to satisfy the Society, that the performance of a journey over a surface of ice, from the north of Spitzbergen to the pole, is a project which might be undertaken, with at least a probability of success.

“It must be allowed, that many known difficulties would require to be surmounted,—many dangers to be encountered,—and that some circumstances might possibly occur, which would at once annul the success of the undertaking. Of these classes of objections, the following strike me as being the most formidable, which, after briefly stating, I shall individually consider, in their order:

“1. The difficulty of performing a journey of 1200 miles, 600 going and 600 returning, over a surface of ice,—of procuring a sufficient conveyance,—and of carrying a necessary supply of provisions and apparatus, as well as attendants.

“The difficulty may be increased by

- (a.) Soft snow;
- (b.) Want of the continuity of the ice;
- (c.) Rough ice; and
- (d.) Mountainous ice.

“2. The difficulty of ascertaining the route, and especially of the return, arising from the perpendicularity of the magnetical needle.

“3. Dangers to be apprehended,

- (a.) From excessive cold;
- (b.) From wild beasts.

“4. Impediments which would frustrate the scheme:

- (a.) Mountainous land;
- (b.) Expanse of sea;
- (c.) Constant cloudy atmosphere.

“ I. It is evident that a journey of 1200 miles, under the existing difficulties, would be too arduous a task to be undertaken and performed by human exertions alone, but would require the assistance of some fleet quadrupeds, accustomed to the harness.

Rein-deer, or dogs, appear to be the most appropriate. If the former could sustain a sea voyage, they might be refreshed on the northern part of Spitzbergen, which affords their natural food. They could be yoked to sledges framed of the lightest materials, adapted for the accommodation of the adventurers, and the conveyance of the requisites. The provisions for the adventurers, for compactness, might consist of portable soups, potted meats, &c., and compressed lichen for the rein-deer. The instruments and apparatus, might be in a great measure confined to indispensables, and those of the most portable kinds; such as tents, defensive weapons, sextants, chronometers, magnetic needles, thermometers, &c.

“ As the rein-deer is, however, a delicate animal, difficult to guide, and might be troublesome if thin or broken ice were required to be passed,—dogs would seem in some respects to be preferable. In either case, the animals must be procured from the countries wherein they are trained, and drivers would probably be required with them. The journey might be accelerated, by expanding a sail to every favourable breeze, at the same time, the animals would be relieved from the oppression of their draught. It would appear from the reputed speed of the rein-deer, that, under favourable circumstances, the journey might be accomplished even in a fortnight, allowing time for rest and accidental delays. It would require a month or six weeks with dogs, at a moderate speed; and, in the event of the failure of these animals on the journey, it does not seem

impossible that the return should be effected on foot, with sledges for the provisions and apparatus.

“ (a.) Soft snow would diminish the speed, and augment the fatigue of the animal; to avoid which, therefore, it would be necessary to set out by the close of the month of April or the beginning of May; or at least, sometime before the severity of the frost should be too greatly relaxed.

“ (b.) Want of continuity of the ice, would certainly occasion a troublesome interruption; it might nevertheless be overcome, by having the sledges adapted to answer the purpose of boats; and it is to be expected, that although openings amidst the ice should occur, yet a winding course might in general be pursued, so as to prevent any very great stoppage.

“ (c.) Many of the most prodigious fields, are entirely free from abrupt hummocks, from one extremity to the other, and field ice, as it appears in general, would be easily passable.

“ (d.) The degree of interruption from mountainous ice, would depend on the quality of its surface. If, as is most probable, it were smooth, and free from abrupt slopes, it would not prevent the success of the expedition.

“ 2. The direct route would be pointed out, for some part of the way at least, by the magnetic needle; and when its pole should be directed towards the zenith, should that position ever obtain, the sun would be the only guide. Or, the position of the true north being once ascertained, three sledges on a line, at a convenient distance apart, might enable the leading one to keep a direct course. A chronometer would be an indispensable requisite, as the opportunity for lunar observations could not be expected to occur sufficiently often. Were the pole gained, the bearing of the sun at the time of noon, by a chronometer adjusted to the meridian of North-west

Spitzbergen, would afford a line of direction for the return ; and, the position in regard to longitude (were the sun visible) could be corrected, at least twice a-day, as the latitude decreased. The degrees of longitude being so contracted, any required position would be pointed out by the watch, with the greatest precision.

“ 3. (a) Among the dangers to be apprehended, the coldness of the air stands prominent. As, however, the cold is not sensibly different, between the latitudes of 70° and 80° with a strong north wind, it may be presumed, that at the pole itself, it would be very little more oppressive than at the borders of the main ice, in the 81st degree of north latitude, under a hard northerly gale ; and since this cold is supportable, that of the pole may be

deemed so likewise. The injurious effects of the severity of the weather, might be avoided by a judicious choice of woollen clothing ; the external air being met by an outward garment of varnished silk, and the face defended by a mask, with eyes of glass. The exterior garment would, at the same time, be water-proof, and thus capable of shielding the body from accidental moisture.

“ (b). The white bear is the only ferocious animal known to inhabit those regions, and he rarely makes an attack upon man. At any rate, he might be repulsed by any offensive weapon. And, as the prey of the bears is scarce in the most northern latitudes, they would not probably occur in any abundance.”

OCCASIONAL AND FUGITIVE

POETRY

WHICH APPEARED DURING THE YEAR.

MONODY ON THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

BY THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.

BRITONS ! although our task is but to show
The scenes and passions of fictitious woe,
Think not we come this night without a part
In that deep sorrow of the public heart,
Which like a shade hath darken'd every place,
And moisten'd with a tear the manliest face.
The bell is scarcely hush'd in Windsor's piles,
That toll'd a requiem through the solemn aisles,
For her, the Royal Flower, low laid in dust,
That was your fairest hope, your fondest trust.

Unconscious of the doom, we dreamt, alas !
That e'en these walls, ere many months should pass,
(Which but return sad accents for her now)
Perhaps had witness'd her benignant brow,
Cheer'd by the voice ye would have raised on high
In bursts of British love and loyalty.
But Britain, now thy Chief, thy people, mourn,
And Claremont's home of love is left forlorn :
There, where the happiest of the happy dwelt,
The scutcheon glooms—and Royalty hath felt
A grief that every bosom feels its own—
The blessing of a father's heart o'erthrown—

The most beloved and most devoted bride
 Torn from an agonized husband's side,
 Who, long as Memory holds her seat, shall view
 That speechless, more than spoken, last adieu !
 When the fix'd eye long look'd connubial faith,
 And beam'd affection in the trance of death.

Sad was the pomp that yesternight beheld,
 As with the mourner's heart the anthem swell'd,
 While torch succeeding torch illumed each high
 And banner'd arch of England's chivalry—
 The rich-plumed canopy—the gorgeous pall—
 The sacred march—and sable-vested wall—
 These were not rites of inexpressive show,
 But hallow'd as the types of real woe,
 Daughter of England ! for a nation's sighs,
 A nation's heart went with thine obsequies ;
 And oft shall Time revert a look of grief
 On thine existence, beautiful and brief.

Fair Spirit ! send thy blessing from above
 To realms where thou art canonized by love ;
 Give to a father's, husband's bleeding mind,
 The peace that Angels lend to human kind ;—
 To us, who, in thy loved remembrance, feel
 A sorrowing, yet a soul-ennobling zeal,
 A loyalty that touches all the best
 And loftiest principles of England's breast ;—
 Still may thy name speak concord from the tomb,
 Still in the Muse's breath thy memory bloom—
 They shall describe thy life, thy form portray ;
 But all the love that mourns thee swept away
 'Tis not in language or expressive arts
 To paint—ye feel it, Britons, in your hearts.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

GENTLE and mild, approaching Winter's sway
 Comes on, divested of its wonted gloom :
 A darker pall descends on England's day—
 The night of death—the winter of the tomb.—

The fairest flow'r of England's royal line,
 Untimely blasted, withers on its stem !
 And mingled boughs of dark-leaved cypress twine
 Their fun'ral wreath, with England's diadem.

Mourn, Isles of Britain ! Empire of the wave,
 In dust and ashes veil thy prostrate head ;
 Where are thy budding hopes ? To the dark grave
 Consign'd—the narrow chambers of the dead.—

In vain, proud City ! through your countless ways,
 Unnumber'd hands the feast of lights prepare.
 Lo ! for your choral songs and festive blaze,
 The death-bell tolls—and fun'ral torches glare.

Oh, bow'rs of Claremont ! in your princely halls
 The halcyon dream of youthful love is o'er ;
 For ever silent—through your echoing walls
 The voice of gladness shall resound no more.

Within those walls, where all the smiling train
 Of pure domestic bliss so late hath been,
 What gloomy shades of desolation reign !
 What awful contrast marks the solemn scene !

For buoyant hope, the silence of despair—
 Sad weeping mourner, for th' expecting crowd—
 A lifeless infant, for the promised heir—
 For jewell'd robes, the coffin and the shroud.

Pale, cold, and silent, on that narrow bier
 She lies—so late in health and beauty's glow ;
 Dear to all hearts—to *one*, alas ! how dear—
 What words can paint ! Oh God ! assuage his woe.

Approach, unthinking Youth ! this awful scene
 Shall wean thy heart from earth and earthly trust—
 Shall eloquently teach, how frail and mean
 Arc man's designs—*himself an heap of dust.*

How unavailing Youth, and Wealth, and Power,
 From Death's insatiate grasp his prey to save—
 How powerless to protract, for one short hour,
 The mortal stroke—the triumph of the Grave.

Nor these alone—for Virtue's lovelier plea
 Of Truth and Innocence alike was vain ;—
 It was the Lord's inscrutable decree—
 And where's the arm that may His arm restrain ?

Yea, 'twas His will, that she, whose early fate
 From every eye calls tender sorrows down,
 Should for immortal change her mortal state—
 An earthly sceptre for a heavenly crown !

FAREWELL ADDRESS,

Spoken by Mr Kemble to the Edinburgh Theatre, on the 29th March, 1817.

WRITTEN BY SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

As the worn war-horse, at the trumpet's sound,
 Erects his mane, and neighs, and paws the ground—
 Disdains the ease his generous lord assigns,
 And longs to rush on the embattled lines,
 So I, your plaudits ringing on my ear,
 Can scarce sustain to think our parting near;
 To think my scenic hour for ever past,
 And that those valued plaudits are my last.
 Why should we part, while still some powers remain,
 That in your service strive not yet in vain?
 Cannot high zeal the strength of youth supply,
 And sense of duty fire the fading eye:
 And all the wrongs of age remain subdued
 Beneath the burning glow of gratitude?
 Ah, no! the taper, wearing to its close,
 Oft for a space in fitful lustre glows;
 But all too soon the transient gleam is past,
 It cannot be renew'd, and will not last;
 Even duty, zeal, and gratitude, can wage
 But short-lived conflict with the frosts of age.
 Yes! it were poor, remembering what I was,
 To live a pensioner on your applause,
 To drain the dregs of your endurance dry,
 And take, as alms, the praise I once could buy,
 Till every sneering youth around inquires,
 "Is this the man who once could please our sires!"
 And scorn assumes compassion's doubtful mien,
 To warn me off from the encumber'd scene.
 This must not be;—and higher duties crave
 Some space between the theatre and grave;
 That, like the Roman in the Capitol,
 I may adjust my mantle ere I fall;
 My life's brief act in public service flown,
 The last, the closing scene, must be my own

Here, then, adieu ! while yet some well-graced parts
 May fix an ancient favourite in your hearts,
 Not quite to be forgotten, even when
 You look on better actors, younger men ;
 And if your bosoms own this kindly debt
 Of old remembrance, how shall mine forget—
 Oh how forget !—how oft I hither came
 In anxious hope, how oft return'd with fame !
 How oft around your circle this weak hand
 Has waved immortal Shakespeare's magic wand,
 Till the full burst of inspiration came,
 And I have felt, and you have fann'd the flame !
 By memory treasured, while her reign endures,
 These hours must live—and all their charms are yours.

Oh favour'd land ! renown'd for arts and arms,
 For manly talent, and for female charms,
 Could this full blossom prompt the sinking line,
 What fervent benedictions now were mine !
 But my last part is play'd, my knell is rung,
 When e'en your praise falls faltering from my tongue ;
 And all that you can hear, or I can tell,
 Is—Friends and Patrons, hail, and FARE YOU WELL !

ODE BY THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.

*Recited after the Dinner on occasion of Mr Kemble's Retirement from
 the Stage.*

PRIDE of the British stage,
 A long and last adieu !
 Whose image brought th' heroic age
 Reviv'd to Fancy's view.

Like fields refresh'd with dewy light,
 When the Sun smiles his last—
 Thy parting presence makes more bright
 Our memory of the past.

And Memory conjures feelings up,
 That wine or music need not swell,
 As high we lift the festal cup,
 To "Kemble, Fare thee well."

His was the spell o'er hearts,
Which only Acting lends—
The youngest of the sister Arts,
Where all their beauty blends,

For ill can Poetry express
Full many a tone of thought sublime ;
And Painting, mute and motionless,
Steals but one glance from Time.

But, by the mighty Actor brought,
Illusion's wedded triumphs come—
Verse ceases to be airy thought,
And Sculpture to be dumb.

Time may again revive,
But ne'er efface the charm,
When *Cato* spoke in him alive,
Or *Hotspur* kindled warm.

What soul was not resign'd entire
To the deep sorrows of the *Moor* ?
What English heart was not on fire,
With him at Agincourt ?

And yet a majesty possess'd
His transport's most impetuous tone,
And to each passion of his breast
The Graces gave their zone.

High were the task—too high,
Ye conscious bosoms here,
In words to paint your memory
Of Kemble and of *Lear*.

But who forgets that white discrowned head,
Those bursts of Reason's half-extinguish'd glare,
Those tears upon *Cordelia's* bosom shed,
In doubt more touching than despair

If 'twas reality he felt—
Had Shakspeare's self amidst you been,
Friends, he had seen you melt,
And triumph'd to have seen !

And there was many an hour
Of blended kindred fame,
When Siddons's auxiliar power,
And sister magic came.

Together at the Muse's side
Her tragic paragons had grown—
They were the children of her pride,
The columns of her throne.

And undivided favour ran,
From heart to heart, in their applause—
Save for the gallantry of Man,
In lovelier Woman's cause.

Fair as some classic dome,
Robust and richly graced,
Your Kemble's spirit was the home
Of Genius and of Taste—

Taste, like the silent dial's power,
That, when supernal light is given,
Can measure Inspiration's hour,
And tell its height in Heaven.

At once ennobled and correct,
His mind survey'd the Tragic page ;
And what the Actor could effect,
The Scholar could presage.

These were his traits of worth—
And must we lose them now ?
And shall the scene no more shew forth
His sternly-pleasing brow ?

Alas ! the moral brings a tear—
'Tis all a transient hour below,
And we, that would detain thee here,
Ourselves as fleetly go.

Yet shall our latest age
This parting scene review—
Pride of the British stage,
A long and last adieu !

TO THE SPIRIT OF KOSCIUSKO.

UNNOTICED shall the mighty fall?
 Unwept and unlamented die?—
 Shall he, whom bonds could not enthrall,
 Who plann'd, who fought, who bled for all,
 Unconsecrated lie?
 Without a song, whose fervid strains
 Coul'd wake the blood of patriot veins!—

No!—thus it ne'er shall be: and fame
 Ordains to thee a brighter lot;
 While earth—while hope endures, thy name,
 Pure—high—unchangeable—the same—
 Shall never be forgot;
 'Tis shrined amid the holy throng;
 'Tis woven in immortal song!—

Yes!—Campbell of the deathless lay,
 The rapt adorer of the free,
 Has painted Warsaw's latest day,
 In colours that resist decay,
 In accents worthy Thee;
 Thy bands on battle-field array'd,
 And in thy grasp the patriot blade!

Though thou hast bade our world farewell,
 And left the blotted lands beneath,
 In purer, happier realms to dwell;
 With Wallace, Washington, and Tell,
 Thou sharest the laurel wreath—
 The Brutus of degenerate climes!
 A beacon-light to other times!

ON THE LATE MR HORNER.

“ Monibus date lilia plenis.”

If dying worth could consecrate the ground,
 Or dying Genius give a lasting name
 To scenes where its pure spirit breath'd around,
 To scenes that saw expire its soul of flame;

How blest the spot, where HORNER'S steps delay'd
 To seek for health beneath a milder sky,
 Where closed his eyes upon this world of shade,
 When Britain's fondest hopes were doom'd to die!

There Italy, the land of heroes, lies,
 And kindred frames are blended with the dust,
 That tasted freedom in their native skies,
 And hated tyranny, and loved the just.

How soon has Heaven resumed the gift it gave,
 As too aspiring for a longer stay,
 To early excellence an early grave:
 His powers were not intended to decay:

His was a mind to sacred virtue dear—
 A soul that, spurning far each crooked art,
 With learning deep, with love of honour clear,
 Shew'd the *directness* of a noble heart:

Form'd still the Patriot's glory to command,
 To lighten wisdom in its loftiest dome,
 To throw a lustre on his native land,
 To be the *sunshine* of his native home.

Full many an eye that watch'd his bright career,
 Along the path where perfect honour lies,
 Was dimm'd with sorrow as it left the sphere;
 For who shall tell the loss when HORNER dies!

Departed now to join the glorious few,
 Where all the great of every age are met,
 Hearts to their country's good for ever true,
 The lights of other worlds that never set.

Oh! fain would he whose hand attempts to twine
 A with'ring garland for his honour'd grave,
 To *real bards* the lofty theme resign,
 And mourn in silence o'er the print they gave.

Full many a sun has tinged those mould'ring tow'rs,
 Since first th' abode of liberty they rose;
 And often shall they soothe the wanderer's hours,
 Before the ev'ning of their glory close:

There glides the Arno in Etrurian pride,
 By Pisa's walls, when hast'ning to the sea,
 There, too, shall Memory o'er his tomb preside,
 To point to all what *statesmen* ought to be.

Aberdeen, 9th March, 1817.

B.

SONNET.

On receiving the Scenes of Infancy from a Lady.

DEPARTED patriot of the Border land,
 Leyden, I love thy animated lay,
 That swell'd, though mouldering fast into decay,
 The magic harp of ancient Teviot's strand;
 Which, tuned to harmony at thy command,
 Flings its wild notes by glen and flowery brae,
 Then sweeps along the wold, and dies away
 In solemn cadence by the breezes fann'd.
 But O! if e'er I loved these strains of thine,
 I love them more that thou'rt forever gone
 To worship at a pure and heavenly shrine;
 Yet more I love them, being the gift of one
 To me a friend, of all friends most sincere,
 And dearer even than thy Aurelia dear!

H.

VERSES

RECITED AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF BURNS,

25th January, 1817.

O FOR that heart-subduing strain,
 That rang o'er thy lamented bier,
 Glencairn! the generous and the good,
 For thou wast to our poet dear!
 Had friends been all as thee—sincere,
 And sever'd only by the tomb,
 This night might not have claim'd a tear
 Of anguish, for his wayward doom!

O for those bold and trancing tones,
 That thrill'd each passion's inmost cell!
 Obedient to their potent power,
 For I have tale of woe to tell;
 Although a deeper requiem fell,
 What time his cold green turf was spread!
 Yet deeper sorrow shall not swell,
 Beside his dark and narrow bed.

Yes ! I have tale of woe to tell,
 With nature's ruth unmix'd, unshared :
 Ah Scotland ! why, with alien look,
 Didst thou behold thy native bard ?
 When poison'd shafts assail'd him hard,
 Wing'd on the chilling blasts of fate,
 Why coldly linger'd that regard
 Which came at last, but came too late ?

Why from his plough, on fallow-field,
 Didst thou seduce the peasant boy,
 As crafty fowler lures his prey,
 With bribes, and smiles but to destroy ?
 There, long he might have lived in joy,
 And sung among his blithe compeers,
 Of home-delights that never cloy,
 And all that humble life endears.

Who, in the meteor gleam of wealth,
 Or rank, or fashion, may confide ?
 Fie on the glare of polish'd life,
 With all its selfishness and pride !
 Give me the cottage-ingle side—
 Sincerity still lingers there ;
 And Truth, with Reason for its guide,
 Around the lowly hearth repair.

Peace to the cottage evening-fire,
 Blazing so merrily and clear,
 When ancient tale and song go round,
 Of wizard-spell, or deed of weir !
 O let us ever mind, that here
 Our bard in Fancy's school was bred ;
 And saw her airy form appear,
 To bind the holly round his head.

How glow'd his youthful spirit then !
 The pulses of his heart beat high,
 For new was life, and love, and hope,
 And nature to his ardent eye.
 He saw her workings in the sky,
 When Winter spread its pall of gloom,
 When Spring laugh'd through a dewy eye,
 Or Autumn shed its yellow bloom.

Like sunny smiles before the storm,
 These days of transient rapture end,
 And wants and woes, in length'ning train,
 Where'er he turn'd his steps attend :

Sae fill the glass, but e'er we pree,
Round this dear relict reverently,
We'll brighten Scotland's downcast e'e,
For sair she mourns,
And toast thy honoured memory,
Immortal BURNS!

FO

GEORGE CHALMERS, Esq.

The Possessor of a Table and Wine-Glasses which belonged to Thomson the Poet.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ.

FRIEND CHALMERS, 'tis a noble treat
At Thomson's hallowed board to meet—
The bard of Nature's sphere—
The bard who, long as ages roll,
And nature animates the whole,
Taste, virtue will revere.

'Tis surely form'd of Britain's oak,
That bears her thunder's dreadful stroke
O'er all her subject main:—
For, lo! * Britannia's sacred laws,
And * Liberty's congenial cause,
Inspired his patriot strain.

Not Arthur's, with his knights around,
By fond tradition long renown'd,
Should equal thine in fame.
Nor that where plates the Trojans ate,
Portentous of a happier fate,
Though graced with Virgil's name.

The poet's goblets, too, are thine—
With votive bumpers let them shine,
In Thomson's praise to ring,
Whose Works, through Summer's parching glow,
Sear'd Autumn, Winter's blighting snow,
Will bloom in endless Spring.

* Poems by Thomson.

THE MOSLEM BRIDAL SONG.

From the Italian.

THERE is a radiance in the sky,
 A flush of gold, and purple dye.
 Night lingers in the west, the sun
 Floats on the sea.—The day's begun.
 The wave slow swelling to the shore
 Gleams on the green like silver ore ;
 The grove, the cloud, the mountain's brow,
 Are burning in the crimson glow ;
 Yet all is silence,—till the gale
 Shakes its rich pinions from the vale.

It is a lovely hour,—though heaven
 Had ne'er to man his partner given,
 That thing of beauty, fatal, fair,
 Bright, fickle—child of flame and air ;
 Yet such an hour, such skies above,
 Such earth below, had taught him Love.

But there are sounds along the gale ;—
 Not murmurs of the grot or vale—
 Yet wild, yet sweet, as ever stole
 To soothe the twilight wanderer's soul.
 It comes from yonder jasmine bower,
 From yonder mosque's enamell'd tower,
 From yonder harem's roof of gold,
 From yonder castle's haughty hold :
 Oh strain of witchery ! whoe'er
 That heard thee, felt not joy was near ?
 My soul shall in the grave be dim,
 Ere it forgets that bridal hymn.
 'Twas such a morn, 'twas such a tone
 That woke me ;—visions ! are you gone ?

The flutes breathe nigh,—the portals now
 Pour out the train, white veil'd, like snow
 Upon its mountain summit spread,
 In splendour beyond man's rude tread ;
 And o'er their pomp, emerging far
 The bride, like morning's virgin star.
 And soon along the eve may swim
 The chorus of the bridal hymn ;
 Again the bright procession move
 To take the last, sweet veil from Love.
 Then speed thee on, thou glorious sun !
 Swift rise,—swift set,—be bright—and done.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

SIR,

HEREWITH I send you an original Poem, by LORD BYRON, taken from the silver-mounting of a goblet made out of a human skull, found at Newstead.*

J. T.

START not ! nor dream my spirit fled ;
In me behold the only skull
From which (unlike a living head)
Whatever flows is never dull.

I lived—I loved—I quaff'd, like thee :
I died,—let earth my bones resign ;
Fill up ! thou canst not injure me,—
The worm hath fouler lips than thine.

Better to hold the sparkling grape, *
Than nurse the earth-worm's slimy breed ;
And circle in the goblet's shape
The drink of gods, than reptiles feed.

Where'er my wit perchance hath shone
In aid of others, let me shine ;
And when, alas ! our brains are gone,
What nobler substitute than wine ?

Quaff whilst thou canst, another race
(When thou and thine, like me, are sped,)
May rescue thee from death's embrace,
And rhyme and revel with the dead.

Why not ? since through life's little day,
Our heads should sad effect produce ;—
Redeem'd, from worms and wasting clay,
This chance is thine to be of use.

* On digging near the Abbey, for the purpose of making a cold-bath, several human skulls were found, two or three of them in a very perfect state ; one of these his lordship formed the horrid idea of having fitted up as a goblet, which was filled with ale, and handed about to his guests after their cheese !

EPISTLE

TO THE

EMPEROR OF CHINA.

BY DR JOHN WOLCOT, (*Olim* PETER PINDAR, ESQ.)

RETURNING with the blush of shame
 For England's darken'd sun of fame,
 How sadly will this tale in history sound ?
 " Forced like poor prisoners to submit,
 Sublime ambassadors and suite—
 Penn'd like poor cattle that are driven to pound !

Forced at Tunkoo to pass a night,
 Without one candle's glimmering light ;
 Squeez'd in a dreary dungeon cheek by jowl ;
 Without a chair, without a bed
 To rest the weary, sleepy head ;
 Resembling prisoners in the old Black Hole !

Watch'd as they wander'd through the land,
 (Quang Tagin, leader of the band,)
 Just like a pack of hounds, towards Pekin ;
 Yin-Tagin, a sharp overseer,
 Deputed to bring up the rear,
 Marching in quality of whipper-in."

An empty purse—a string of stones—
 What gifts from the great throne of thrones !
 Fie, Kia King ! how shabbily this looks !
 Our Princee, in loftiness of soul,
 Will bid them in the kennel roll,
 Or fling them to his chimney-sweeps or cooks !

Had our ambassadors, indeed,
 Vouchsafed on floors to knock the head,
 (A crouch they scorn'd, the nose sublimely bearing,)
 Courtiers had said—" Our ample ship
 Has made a pretty trading trip,
 And for a paltry sprat obtain'd a herring."

Pall-Mall will howl, poor Windsor mourn,
 Dreaming of presents in return,

Loading th' Alceste as deep as she could swim ;
 So cramm'd with treasures of the East,
 From stem to stern with bag and chest,
 The straddling tars could scarcely wag a limb.

Thou never didst vouchsafe, perhaps,
 To cast thine eye sublime on maps ;
 And therefore, fancying thyself all-mighty,
 Hast treated us with pompous scorn—
 Beneath thy notice, beggars born,
 No better than the folks of Otaheite !

Know, should old England's genius frown,
 Her thunder soon would shake thy crown,
 Reduce thee from an eagle to a wren,
 Thine high imperial pride to gall,
 Force thee to leap the Chinese wall,
 To feed on horse with Tartar tribes again.

Insulted by a Chinese crew,
 Thou knowest what one ship dared do,
 Which, blazing, seem'd to emulate Algiers ;
 Which, for Old England's glory fired,
 Blew, with a patriot rage inspired,
 Walls, guns, and lanterns, all about their ears.

Reflect, what Britons can perform ;
 Of France, who faced the hostile storm,
 (France that on realms had fix'd her tiger pats) :
 Then chain'd, his ruthless rage to mock,
 Napoleon to a barren rock—
 By all deserted but his neighbour rats.

'Tis now full time to close th' Epistle ;
 Thy pride may bid the Bard go whistle,
 Though thank'd by monarchs for his flattering lays :
 Kings are ambitious of my song ;
 But mark, thou successor of Kien Long,
 First mend thy manners, ere thou gain'st my praise.

EPILOGUE TO TOUCHSTONE.

SPOKEN BY MRS ALSOP.

(Singing without.)

Oh! what will become of me?

Oh! what will I do?

Nobody coming to marry me,—

Nobody coming to woo!

(Entering.)

Now, ladies! is our poet's usage fair,
 To baulk us thus, and laugh at our despair?
 To let the world in me an arrant flirt see,
 Who pops the question as she bobs a curtsey.
 Could he not catch in his satiric net
 Our kindred animal, a male coquet?
 Are they so scarce? Pray, ladies, look around.
 Scarce? Bless 'em, no—I'm sure they here abound.
 Oh! ye tremendous host of lady-killers!
 Ye oglers, whisperers, waltzers, and quadrillers!
 Who, doubtless, think our sighs and sad mishaps,
 So many feathers in your coxcomb caps,
 You think I am blind perhaps—that may be true—
 But I've my quizzing-glass as well as you.
 There enters one, would any heart entice;
 Dear youth! who make your conquest at half-price.
 Fluttering the benches through each neighbouring box,
 Then, lolling, trim his hyacinthian locks.
 Won't you, sir, take Miss Beckey off the shelf?
 Oh no! You're wedded to your own sweet self.
 And you, ye fair, how perilous your eases,
 Who meet their fierce assault of lobby graces.
 Yet hear these sounds each ray of hope bedimming—
 "A d—n'd good house—but very few fine women!"
 Nay, some like pictures, shifted for a light,
 Are seen through half the town in one short night,
 O'er their fond victims glance, and disappear,
 Rob some poor poet of his listeners here,
 Then at the opera, crowding the last cranny,
 Obscure Mozart, and rival Don Giovanni.
 Soon they may scorn us for a novel fury,
 And Talma's pic-nics desolate old Drury.
 Speed ye, sweet souls!—my tongue I now must guard,
 To beg a word for Player, and for Bard.
 We live, you say, in a degenerate age;
 We toil, you cry, for a degenerate stage.—

Adieu, ye bards! whose wit for ages thrives,
 Ye Garricks—Barrys—Abingdons, and Clives!
 Our Poet, for himself, the charge will own,
 And mourns, with Comedy, her vacant throne.
 Yet while unfriended, she must needs give place
 To each adventurous alien from her race,
 Let critics grant some share of their applause,
 To a weak struggler in the good old cause.
 The happier skill of happier days to learn,
 Let me too hope—degenerate in my turn,
 Yet proud, while you with generous eye implore me,
 To do but half my mother did before me.

THE LEGEND OF DUNBAR.

LORD PATRICK from his home lies far,
 And the death-bird screams over old Dunbar:
 His hound has forgotten his native land;
 His war-horse stoops to another hand;
 No traveller treads that lonely way,
 Save the palmer from Cheviot's mountains grey.
 And that pale musing wand'rer sighs,
 With blighted cheek, and hollow eyes.

As on his pilgrim-staff reposed
 He leans beside the church-yard bound,
 Gazing on many a mossy mound,

O'er gentle hearts for ever closed,
 He loves upon that turf to rest,
 Yet there is in his lonely breast
 No relic of love-hallow'd days,
 Such as in sweet remembrance stays,
 Like summer flow'rs that softly breathe,
 Though time has shrunk the rosy wreath.
 The fountain of his joy is dried,
 And the rich channel it supplied
 Is now a chasm dark and deep,
 Where weeds and baleful serpents creep.
 A mourner sits in the roofless aisle
 Of old Dunbar's forsaken pile;
 Where, stretch'd upon his shield of pride,
 A warrior's form lies sanctified;
 With upraised palms together prest,
 Signing his hope of holy rest.

“ Lady !” the Palmer said, and frown’d,
“ Thy locks are smooth and jet-black yet,
Thine eyes for lovers’ lamps are fit,
Why sitt’st thou on this lonely mound ?”

On that fair lady’s face awhile,
Dwelt such a chill and changeless smile,
As parts the pale lips of the dead,
When life, but not its look, is fled.

“ I have seen royal banners bow’d,
And now the wild fox hides her young,
Where noble Patrick’s trophies hung,
While wine-cups cheer’d his vassal crowd.

“ He lies forgot—yet there is one
Who would not blame a secret sigh,
From pomp and mirthful pageants now,
To grace his long past obsequy !

“ The pages of his bier are gone,
The banner and the pall are roll’d
They gave him here a silent stone,
And deem’d the tale of mourning told.

“ They urge the feast, the dance, the race,
To wear that printless tale away—
I only see his vacant place,
And grieve at even grief’s decay.

“ O, who would smile on living worth ?
The noblest is remember’d not ;
O, who shall welcome honour’s birth,
When honour’s self lies here forgot !

“ But, Palmer, thou hast hoary hair,
And many a year of brooding care
Has sunk thy cheek, and dim’d thine eye.
Tell, then, if aught beneath the sky,
Is happiness, which man may share ;”

Lowly the Palmer bent his knee—

“ Thy thoughts are earthly things above,
Yet happiness on earth may be,
And aged men teach the mystery.
It has the eye and voice of love,
But walks and dwells with charity.

“ Love has a tongue which dare not praise,
 But language in its silence dwells—
 Love has an eye that cannot gaze,
 Yet with a glance its secret tells.

“ The lip, the cheek, have magic speech,
 A blush may plead—a smile persuade ;
 But hearts are dumb, and none can teach
 The rebel tongue to lend them aid.

“ And charity, from mortal sight,
 Retires its busy glance to shun ;
 She walks in shadow, but has light
 From him whose eye is in the sun.

“ She loves the valley, and her rest
 Is the world-wearied heart's recess ;
 And once, when man was Eden's quest,
 He knew, and call'd her happiness.”

Smiling, the lady stoop'd to fill
 Her maple cup at Deva's rill.
 “ Palmer ! (she cried,) the widow's cruise
 Yields not the spicy purple juice ;
 Yet take this draught—a boon so small
 She weeps to give—but gives thee all.”

Softly she smiled, and meekly spoke,—
 Why shook the Palmer as he quaff'd,
 From hands so fair the gentle draught ;
 With lifted eye and loosen'd cloak,
 Back from his shining armour thrown ?
 The red light of the fading west,
 Seem'd on his shrivell'd brow to rest,
 Like glory on a broken throne.

“ Fair lady, thou hast taught me well
 How happiness on earth may dwell.—

“ It is when bending by the grave
 Of him who stung my trusting heart,
 And rent away its dearest part,
 I learn to bless, forgive, and save !

“ Thou know'st me now ; but never yet
 Did hate the cup of peace repay :
 A dagger's hilt would ill befit
 The hand which thus on thine I lay.

“ I loved thee when no eye but mine
 Upon thy virgin beauty dwelt,—
 I loved thee—for no heart but thine
 A captive’s silent sorrows felt.

“ Thy husband wrong’d me,—I am he
 Whose vengeance laid thy banners low ;
 But never to a nobler foe
 Did holy earth give sepulchre.

“ They said thy monarch’s heart was chill.—
 But, lady ! look on mine, and learn,
 How deep beneath a frozen hill
 A never-dying flame may burn.

“ Fair Agnes ! Iceland springs are soft,—
 The sun in polar climes is bright,—
 And love’s own gentle planet oft
 Beams fairest in the wintry night.

“ Lady ! yon pale round moon shall wane,
 Ere with his pilgrim-staff again
 A palmer at thy gate shall stand.—
 Then fill the goblet to the brim,
 The taper and the hearth-fire trim :
 Thy boon may bless a monarch’s hand.
 Turn, mourner, to thy home, and prove
 Kings vanquish noble foes by love.”

Ere the new moon’s silver horn was bow’d,
 The lady sat in her castle proud.
 High in her hall a goblet shone,
 Of the onyx pale and the purple stone ;
 And its base was a gem, so pure and bright,
 It seem’d an orb of golden light.
 The heart-worn pilgrim’s sorrows sank
 Whene’er of that precious cup he drank.—

But he who would its sweetness prove,
 This legend on its brim may see,
 If his eye and tongue are true to love,
 And his heart and hand to charity.

* * * * *

 SONNET TO

THERE, on the streamlet's bank—her grassy bed—
 In careless posture, loosely robed, she lies ;
 One lily arm thrown circling o'er her eyes,
 And one, the downy pillow to her head.
 Her silken hair, in wavy ringlets shed,
 Half veils her red cheek from the burning skies ;
 And on her thin-robed bosom softly dies
 The murmuring breeze in odorous gardens bred.
 O sweet and beautiful the dreams must be,
 That visit such a frame when sleep has sealed
 Its mortal sense, and left the immortal free !
 Yet visions more divine thou canst not see,
 Than the real bliss, to mortal sense reveal'd,
 That raps my soul while gazing thus on thee.

Königsberg, July 25, 1817.

• STANZAS.

WHILE thou at eventide art roaming
 Along the elm-o'ershadow'd walk,—
 While past the eddying stream is foaming,
 And falling down,—a cataract,—
 Where I to thee was wont to talk,
 Think thou upon the days gone by,
 And heave a sigh !

When sails the moon above the mountains,
 And cloudless skies are purely blue,
 And sparkle in the light the fountains,
 And darker frowns the lonely yew,—
 Then be thou melancholy too,
 When pausing on the hours I proved
 With thee, beloved !

When wakes the dawn upon thy dwelling,
 And lingering shadows disappear ;
 As soft the woodland songs are swelling
 A choral anthem on thine ear ;
 Muse—for that hour to thought is dear,
 And then its flight remembrance wings
 To by-past things.

To me through every season dearest ;
 In every scene,—by day, by night,
 Thou present to my mind appearest,
 A quenchless star, for ever bright,—
 My solitary, sole delight,—
 Alone, in wood, by shore, at sea,
 I think of thee !

CARLISLE YETTS.

WHITE was the rose in his gay bonnet,
 As he faulded me in his broached plaidie ;
 His hand whilk clasped the truth of luve,
 O it was aye in battle readie !
 His lang lang hair in yellow hanks
 Waved o'er his cheeks sae sweet and ruddie ;
 But now they wave o'er Carlisle yetts
 In dripping ringlets clotting bloodie.

My father's blood's in that flower tap,
 My brother's in that hare-bell blossom ;
 This white rose was steep'd in my luve's blood,
 An' I'll ay wear it in my bosom.

When I first cam by merry Carlisle,
 Was ne'er a town sae sweetly seeming ;
 The white rose flaunted o'er the wall,
 The thistled banners far were streaming !
 When I cam next by merry Carlisle,
 O, sad sad seem'd the town, an' eerie !
 The auld auld men cam out and wept—
 “ O maiden, come ye to seek yerc dearie ? ”

There's ae drap of bluid atween my breasts,
 An' twa in my links o' hair so yellow :
 The tane I'll ne'er wash, and the tither ne'er kame,
 But I'll sit and pray aneath the willow.
 Wae wae upon that cruel heart,
 Wae wae upon that hand sae bludie,
 Which feasts in our richest Scottish bluid,
 And makes sae mony a doleful widow !

THE
 BARD'S FAREWELL TO HIS BROKEN LUTE.

ALAS, for thee ! abandon'd Lute !
 Thy voice is hush'd—thy chords are mute,
 Yet 'mid thy silver strings,
 Zephyr in sportive mazes playing,
 The fleeting melody delaying,
 Still waves his airy wings ;

And as their light touch vibrates o'er
 The dulcet chords so sweet before,
 They breathe a tender sigh,
 Plaintive as Mem'ry fondly heaves,
 When tracing o'er her sybil-leaves
 She dwells on scenes gone by.

'Tis but a sigh !—thy notes are dead ;
 The magic of thy sound is fled,
 And, scar'd by early woe,
 The heart that bade these notes awake,
 The heart that loved them,—could it break,
 Were hush'd for ever now !

The touch of an untutor'd hand,
 The stroke of time—which none withstand,
 Have marr'd thy tuneful sound ;
 But o'er thy Minstrel's hapless fate
 Time presses with a deadlier weight
 And bows him to the ground !

The “ soul of song ” that warm'd his lay
 Fades, as the rosy light of day
 Sinks into evening gloom ;
 Day's slumbering light may wake again,
 But nought shall wake the dying strain
 That echoes from the tomb !

Welcome that tomb !—its dark recess
 Is peaceful in its loneliness ;—
 There anguish cannot groan,
 There all the ties that bind the soul,
 Love's tenderest bonds of soft control,
 Are broken—like thine own !

THE FRIENDS' FAREWELL.

THE day is fading from the sky,
 And soft the twilight breathes
 Its balmy and luxuriant sigh
 Through summer's blushing wreaths :
 That sigh is Hope's desponding knell ;
 Its every murmur sounds—" Farewell !"

The days that late so kindly sped,
 Are as a vision pass'd ;
 The hours they number'd all are fled,
 Too bright—too gay to last !
 And fond remembrance traces o'er
 Each scene that we behold no more.

Our friends around our cottage hearth,
 In fancy's eye are seen ;
 We trace on the retentive earth,
 The steps where they have been :
 A shrub, a flower, *not* cull'd in vain,
 Recalls them to our minds again.

There is a pensive pure delight
 In friendship's warm regret
 For those who beam'd upon our sight ;
 Like suns that cloudless set,
 Which cheer'd with heart-enlivening ray
 Young Pleasure's brief but happy day.

Sweet is the memory of that time
 When joy and mirth were ours ;
 When Peace and Pleasure lov'd to twine
 Their mingled wreath of flowers.
 Say, Did the garland bloom in vain ?
 Or, will its sweets revive again ?

The brighter shines resplendent day
 The darker evening seems ;
 And morning's sunbeams break their way
 Though clouds abate their gleams ;
 But still we hail the jocund light,
 Nor think upon approaching night.

And when the summer's gentle dew
 Falls on the lonely flower,
 E'en as it trembles to the view
 Within its greenwood bower—
~~We~~ presage, from its tender ray,
 The dawning of the brighter day !

CROOKBARROW HILL,

WORCESTERSHIRE,

Accounted the largest Barrow in England.

TOMB of the mighty brave ! sublime afar,
 Rear'd by the chiefs of elder days,
 When the stern Pict and Briton rush'd to war,
 Glory's proud cenotaph not vain essays.
 What though unknown the hero's name,
 Deathless his fame !

Temple of God ! fair nature's shrine,
 With holy awe is seen the labour'd mound—
 Immortal is the great design ;
 Successive verdure crowns the ground !
 Amid the landscape lifts its conic form,
 The scatter'd lightning's blaze, and winter's howling storm.

Repose is thine, eternal as the world !
 The warring elements, the wreck of time,
 The earthquake shock that ruin hurl'd—
 Still thou art seen in years sublime.
 Ages around thee undistinguish'd lie,
 But thou, preserved by heaven, art sacred in the sky.

THE COUNTRY SURGEON.

*Agricolam laudat
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*

Luckless is he, whom hard fates urge on
To practise as a country surgeon—
To drag a heavy galling chain,
The slave of all for paltry gain—
To ride, regardless of all weather,
Through frost, and snow, and hail together—
To smile and bow when sick and tired,
Consider'd as a servant hired.
At every quarter of the compass,
A surly patient makes a rumpus,
Because he is not seen the first,
(For each man thinks his case the worst.)
And oft at two points diametric,
Call'd to a business obstetric.
There lies a man with broken limb,
A lady here with nervous whim,
Who, at the acme of her fever,
Calls him a savage if he leave her.
For days and nights in some lone cottage
Condemn'd to live on crusts and pottage,
To kick his heels, and spin his brains,
Waiting, forsooth, for labour's pains ;
And that job over, happy he,
If he squeeze out a guinea fee.
Then worn like culprit on the wheel,
He sits him down to hasty meal ;
He sits ! when, lo ! a patient comes,
With rotten tooth and putrid gums :
The doctor takes his dentist tools,
Fixes the screw, and tugs and pulls ;
His dinner cold, his hands this mess in,
All for a shilling or a blessing.
Now comes the night, with toil opprest,
He seeks his bed in hope of rest :
Vain hope, his slumbers are no more,
Loud sounds the knocker at the door,
A farmer's wife, at ten miles distance,
Groaning, calls out for his assistance :
Fretting and fuming in the dark,
He in the tinder strikes a spark,
And, as he yawning heaves his breeches,
Envies his neighbour bless'd with riches.

QUIS

ELEGY

TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN LOWE,

Author of the pathetic and popular Ballad, "Mary's Dream."

[John Lowe was born at Kenmure, in Galloway, in the year 1750; he now lies buried near Fredericksburgh, Virginia, under the shade of two palm-trees; but not a stone is there on which to write, "Mary, weep no more for me."—See *Cromek's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.*]

FAR distant retiring, the Muse folds her pinions,
 Attuning her lyre to the dietates of woe;
 Far distant from Scotia's enlighten'd dominions,
 She mourns the sad fate of her favourite Lowe.

' The wild-flow'rs are faded that deck'd the sage mountain
 On which he delighted at morning to pore,
 And sing to the Naiads that guarded the fountain,
 Who weep for thine absence, sweet bard of Kenmore.

The banks of Rapp'hanock his cold elay's immuring,
 And thither she wanders in sorrow to weep;
 Though clouds of oblivion his worth are obscuring,
 The sparks of his genius O never shall sleep.

•
 Beneath the tall pine-tree majestic ascending,
 Where youthful Vertumnus implanted his store;
 • Where blooms the wide climber, its elaspers extending,
 She found the lone grave of the bard of Kenmore.

Now low on the grave-sward, dejectedly musing,
 The Genius of Fancy reclines with her lyre;
 Far distant her wailing the mock-bird's diffusing,
 And Echo responsive the Dryads inspire;

Who pause from their sporting, and pensively ponder,
 And sigh with the zephyrs that undulate o'er;
 Who oft hear the feeling, as thither they wander,
 Breathe, "Peace to thine ashes, sweet bard of Kenmore—"

And those that are love-lorn, and strangers to gladness,
 By smooth-flowing Ken, or the murmuring Dee;
 Who seek from their lute-strings a balm for their sadness,
 Shall find it in breathing a requiem for thee.

And, Airds, as thy beauties are genially blooming,
 Amidst thy recesses shall Pity deplore,
 That mute is her minstrel, with grief unassuming,
 While Memory reveres him as bard of Kenmore.

A. KYNE.

TO THE PRIMROSE.

BY JOHN MAYNE.

By murm'ring Nith, my native stream,
 I've hail'd thee with the morning's beam—
 Woo'd thee among the falls of Clyde,
 On Leven's banks, on Kelvin side ;
 And now, on Hanwell's flow'ry plain,
 I welcome thy return again !
 At Hanwell ! where romantic views,
 And sylvan scenes, invite the Muse ;
 And where, lest erring man should stray,
 Truth's blameless teacher leads the way.

Lorn tenant of the peaceful glade,
 Emblem of virtue in the shade,
 Rearing thy head to brave the storm,
 That would thine innocence deform.
 Of all the flow'rs that greet the spring,
 Of all the flow'rs the seasons bring,
 To me, while doom'd to linger here,
 The lowly Primrose shall be dear.

Sprung like a Primrose in the wild,
 Short, like the Primrose, Marion smil'd—
 The Spring, that gave her blossoms birth,
 Tore them for ever from the earth !
 Nor left, ah me ! one bud behind
 To tranquillize a parent's mind,
 Save that sweet bud that strews the way,
 Blest Hope, to an eternal May.

Lorn tenant of the peaceful glade,
 Emblem of virtue in the shade !
 Pure as the blossoms on yon thorn—
 Spotless as her for whom we mourn !
 Of all the flow'rs that greet the spring,
 Of all the flow'rs the seasons bring,
 To me, while doom'd to linger here,
 The lowly Primrose shall be dear.

SONNET,

BY JAMES EDMESTON.

SORROW turns the red rose white,
 And chastens the flame of the wildest eye,
 Quenches the beaming smile of light,
 And swells the bosom with many a sigh :
 Sorrow saddens the summer song,
 And bids the notes more softly flow,
 Slowly and ladenly along,
 In mellow'd tones of woe.

Yet lovelier far is the cheek of Grief,
 From Sorrow's pencil pale ;
 And lovelier far is the song of Grief,
 That moans like the mountain-gale ;
 Than the brightest glance that joy hath darted
 From the light of the brightest eye ;
 Than the gayest song of the merry-hearted,
 When Mirth sat laughing by.
Hackney.

SONNET,

ON VIEWING THE GRAVE OF CHURCHILL, AT DOVER.

BY ARTHUR BROOKE.

CHURCHILL ! although thy misdirected song
 Sought but the plaudits of a transient fame ;
 Wasting the rich glow of a heaven-born flame
 In the vile conflict with a clamorous throng ;
 Yet to thy shade these honours shall belong—
 The Muse has graced thee with a poet's name,
 And it shall still be thine ; and that proud claim
 Hallow thy grave these mouldering heaps among.

Princes shall perish—kings must be forgot,
 (Save where in lasting shame some tyrant lies) ;
 But in the tomb, whate'er its earthly lot,
 Genius exults—the poet never dies !
 Still shall some answering hearts in homage bow,
 Though o'er the humblest turf,—as mine does now.

APPENDIX.

. APPENDIX.

No. I.

TRIALS AND LAW PROCEEDINGS.

STATE TRIALS.

CASHMAN, HOOPER AND OTHERS,
FOR STEALING FIRE-ARMS DURING THE SPA-FIELDS RIOT.

Old Bailey, Monday, Jan. 20.

JOHN CASHMAN, John Hooper, Rich. Gamble, William Gunnel, and John Carpenter, were brought to the bar, and stood indicted capitally for burglariously breaking and entering the dwelling house of W. A. Beckwith, in the day time (some persons being therein), and with stealing therefrom fire-arms amounting to 200*l.* and upwards, his property, on the 2d of December.

The jury were then charged, and the prisoners were put on their trial.

Mr Bollard having stated the indictment,

Mr Gurney proceeded to address the jury, and to describe the circumstances under which the prisoners stood charged. He described the arrival of the mob in front of Mr Beckwith's shop, in Skinner-street, on Monday,

December 2d, acting under the orders and directions of leaders. Cashman, Gamble, Gunnel, and Carpenter, he described as having taken an active part in breaking into Mr Beckwith's shop, and taking from thence the arms described in the indictment, and he said he should prove, by satisfactory evidence, that Hooper was present on that occasion, armed, and directing and abetting the other robbers by whom the house had been assailed; and he should farther prove, that he was not only present there, but had accompanied the mob from Spa-fields to Mr Beckwith's house, and from thence to the Royal Exchange, where he was secured. Having entered into some farther details of the outrages which were committed on the 2d December, and in which the prisoners were actively employed, he proceeded to call evidence to prove the case.

Mr Beckwith was first called; he stated that he lived in the parish of St Sepulchre; that he was a gun-maker; that on the 2d December last he went

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from home, leaving a considerable quantity of guns and pistols in his windows and shop; he returned at three in the afternoon, and found his shop in a very demolished state. The windows of the shop were broken, and the frames also, and from 150 to 200 guns, and about 100 pair of pistols, powder, shot charges, &c. had been stolen. The value of the whole of the articles was 134l. 15s. 6d.

J. Roberts, apprentice to Mr Beckwith.—On the 2d of December, about twenty minutes after twelve, a young man, supposed to be young Watson, came to his master's shop. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, a mob of 400 or 500 came, and said they would have the young man out of the house. Some person broke the east side window with a stick; the glass was broken first, and then the frames. They then put their hands in, and came into the shop, and took the guns out. Witness saw the prisoner, Cashman, in the shop, taking from the drawer some shot charges; he also took out about twelve guns, and distributed them amongst the mob. He gave them out to them at the door. Witness thought that Gunnel was the man who broke the east window, but he would not take it on him to swear it.

G. Lydyard is a hair-dresser on Snow Hill.—On the morning of 2d December he heard the report of a pistol, and he went into Mr Beckwith's shop. At first there were about ten persons before the door, and shortly after a mob of 200;—they carried a flag, upon which was written "Justice." They seemed to ask for their leader, but they did not say who he was. There was a person in a drayman's dress, who broke one window with a stick, and another man, dressed as a sailor, broke the window on the east side.—On the windows being broken, the pistols were taken by boys, and the guns by men. Five or six men rushed into the shop,

and began to seize upon the arms in the glass-cases. The shop was almost entirely rifled. In the course of the plunder of the shop, saw the prisoner Cashman there; he had hold of Griffin, a person who was in the shop, and who had just returned, having gone for hand-cuffs for the man who was in custody. Saw Cashman go into the counting-house and take out arms twice, as many as he could carry. He threw them out to the mob.—Saw Gamble opposite the shop, before the windows were broke; he was close to the east window. He then had no gun nor any thing else in his hand. Saw him shortly after with a gun.

C. Griffin lives in Skinner-street, Snow Hill. On the 2d December went into Mr Beckwith's shop; first thing I saw was Worall, an officer, searching a man who had shot Mr Platt. Went after some hand-cuffs; returned in ten minutes; found a mob at the outside of the shop; the shop was then safe. Soon after some windows were broken by a drayman, with a kind of broomstick. Gunnel was the man. After the window was broke, in came Hooper and Cashman; they came from a flag which the mob had. Saw the flag as I went for the hand-cuffs in Hooper's hand in the Old Bailey. Was laid hold of by Hooper on his coming into the shop. Cashman came and asked what was the matter? He collared me also, and a third man came up, but who the third man was I cannot tell. When Hooper came in I had hold of the handle of the door, they pulled it open. Hooper, before he came from the standard, cried out, "Follow me! follow me!" upon that the rush at the door was made. Did not think the window would have been broken but for this. Hooper pulled out a pistol from under his coat and pointed at me, saying "I can do that as well as you," I having taken up a blunderbuss.

J. Dynan is a boot-maker, Snow

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Hill. Saw Cashman bringing out some fowling-pieces from the shop, four in number; he came out with them in his arms, and gave them to the people at the door; he saw Carpenter in the middle of the mob, with two pistols in his hand.

J. Middleton is a whole-sale stationer in Skinner-street. On the 2d December, saw a number of persons pass down to Mr Beckwith's house; I recognized Hooper most certainly. He was conversing with a man that carried the flag, and I think he took the flag. My opinion was, that he was directing the mob. He had a pistol, and a cockade in his hat, and the flag was tri-coloured.

J. Page, a drayman, was in Warwick-lane with his dray about two on the day of the riot. The witness knows Gunnel, and saw him that day in Newgate-street; he had a gun in his hand, and was with a great number of people going to Cheapside, preceded by a flag.

D. Cartwright, police officer, was at the Royal Exchange on the day of the mob, and assisted in taking Cashman. When he (witness) got the gun into his hand, he found that it was loaded, and said to Cashman, "Why, there is something in this;" to which Cashman replied, "There is certainly. I brought it with me to kill or be killed." This witness produced the gun which Cashman had when taken.

Mr Alley, on behalf of the prisoners, now addressed the Court, and submitted, that the present indictment could not be maintained. That the crime of which, from the evidence, there was proof against the prisoners, was one of a much greater magnitude than that for which the indictment had been laid. It was that of high treason, in levying war against the King, of which the felony for which they were now charged appeared one of the overt acts. It was evident that it was not for the

purpose of plunder the mob had collected—the *causa lucri* was not apparent.

Mr Justice Park.—That is for the jury to decide.

Mr Alley, in continuation, observed, that the prisoners were deprived, by the present mode of indictment, of the advantages which they might have if accused of high treason, for in that they would have the benefit of challenging 35 jurors, and counsel would be heard in their defence.—The very connection which had been established between the taking of the arms and the assemblage at Spa-fields was sufficient to shew that treason, not plunder, was the object, and therefore, he submitted to the Court, the prisoners ought to have been indicted for high treason, not for the felony.

Mr Curwood followed on the same side.

Mr Justice Park said, the Court were of opinion, that there was no foundation for the objection. There was a question which had been fairly brought for the decision of the Jury—whether certain acts had been committed by the prisoners or not.

The prisoners being called upon for their defence, all denied any mischievous intention, or the commission of any act of violence.

Mr Justice Park proceeded to sum up the evidence. The offence imputed to the prisoners, viz. that of entering the dwelling-house of Mr Beckwith, and stealing arms, was made capital by the statute of William the Third. It was not necessary that all the prisoners should have entered the house; if they were aiding and abetting, that was sufficient to institute the offence with which they were charged.

Just as he had finished, the Lord Mayor introduced Griffin, who stated that it was Cashman, not Hooper, who had presented the pistol at him.

Mr Justice Park censured Griffin for his former inaccuracy.

The jury, at five minutes past four, retired; and at twenty-three past six returned, finding Cashman *Guilty*, and the other four *Not guilty*.

On the following day, Jenkin, Richard, and Simmons, were found guilty, and William Matthews, and John Hanson, guilty of *Simple Larceny*.

James Watson the elder, was indicted for cutting and maiming, but as this was found to have taken place in the course of a scuffle, the charge was departed from.

After the trials, James Watson the elder, James Watson the younger, John Hooper, Thomas Preston, and Thomas Cashman, were apprehended afresh, and indicted on a charge of conspiracy and riot. The charge was afterwards extended to High Treason, and the result will be seen in the following trial.

JAMES WATSON THE ELDER, FOR
HIGH TREASON.

Court of King's Bench, Monday, June 9.

The indictment contained four counts. 1. Compassing and imagining to put the King to death: 2. Compassing and imagining to depose the King: 3. Levying war: 4. Conspiring to levy war against the King, in order to compel him to change his measures.

The Attorney General explained the law of treason, and enumerated the series of overt acts as they will appear in the evidence. He concluded: I shall call a great many witnesses, but only to the most important facts appertaining to the various transactions. A witness, who was privy to the conspiracy, is subject to this. He must be considered to have been an accomplice. So he was beyond all doubt, but the law admits his testimony; and beyond all doubt he is a competent witness, if confirmed by others. But perhaps, though unconfirmed, the law, in many

cases, though it does not declare him incompetent, yet it would be too much to say a reliance should be put upon his testimony, in capital cases like this, where the life of a fellow subject is at stake. But say, nevertheless, that without this evidence of an accomplice being allowed here, as cogent and strong evidence against the prisoner, you will say there is cogent and strong evidence against the prisoner of overt acts of treason upon this indictment. But I know I shall confirm this witness upon many circumstances, of the foundation for which there is no doubt.—The other persons who were accomplices with him in what he did will be so strongly corroborated by other evidence, there will be hardly any point in which he will not be confirmed by persons who were not accomplices, and who were ignorant as to what those circumstances led, until we came to inquire into them, and they confirmed this man in all that was necessary to the case. All doubt will now be removed, by which I shall have made out a case from these transactions in support of the indictment, namely, conspiring and imagining the death of the king, intending to depose the king, also levying war for the purpose of deposing his majesty.

In a trial, which lasted seven days, it is obviously impossible to introduce more than the most important evidence.

Thomas Storer, a printer, in Fetterlane, deposed, that he knew the prisoner. He remembered seeing him on Wednesday, 6th November last, at his house. He then presented a paper to the witness to be printed by the following evening. It purported to be a Memorial to the Prince Regent, to be distributed at a public meeting. Witness told him, that the time was so short it could not be done. Prisoner read part of it to him, namely, that the land was to be divided into parishes, and the rental to be distributed among the

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people. The meeting was to take place on the following day, at the Carlisle public house in Shoreditch.

Vincent George Dowling was at the Spafields meeting on the 15th of November.—Witness saw a flag at the meeting, which was exhibited from the window of the Merlin's cave. It was a tri-coloured flag, formed of green, white, and red ribands, with an inscription on it. Some of the words were, Justice, Humanity, and Truth. Hunt proposed an adjournment to the first day of the meeting of parliament. The younger Watson proposed, as an amendment, that it should be Monday fortnight. The crowd was there from one o'clock till near five. Witness saw an advertisement, which announced the intended meeting.—Mr Copley observed, the manuscript was not produced, therefore the printed copy could not be given in evidence, but was overruled by Lord Ellenborough; it was then read. It commenced in these words:—"England expects every man to do his duty," and was signed by Dyall and Preston.—Witness saw similar placards on the walls. He went to the Spafields meeting on the 2d of December, about eleven o'clock. He saw a tri-coloured flag, and another, with the inscription,—“The brave soldiers are our friends, treat them kindly.” Some of the persons assembled wore tri-coloured cockades. The centre of attraction seemed to be a waggon, into which several people ascended. There was considerable confusion. After some time, Watson mounted the waggon, and waved his hand for silence. Young Watson and Hooper were in the waggon, and subsequently, he saw Preston in it. Witness produced his short-hand note taken on the spot, which he said was as correct as he could possibly take it under the circumstances: he admitted that he might be mistaken in a word, from the inconveniencies to which he

was exposed in the crowd; he had made a transcript, which he handed to the Court, reading the speech of the prisoner from his original notes. When the elder Watson had concluded, as the witness thought rather abruptly, and as if he had been interrupted, Watson, junior, came forward and harangued the multitude. Of this speech the witness also read the note he had taken. When Watson, junior, had concluded, he jumped down from the waggon, seizing one of the tri-coloured flags, and went out of the field at the head of the mob: all who were in the waggon left it at the same moment. The witness did not notice whether the elder Watson jumped down at that time; as far as he observed, all who were in the waggon followed young Watson. He believed that Hooper and the younger Watson had tri-coloured cockades in their hats, but as to the latter he was not certain. He thought that the flag young Watson took in his hand was the larger one: the witness followed the crowd towards Coppice-row; at the corner of Coppice-row he saw Mr Stafford, chief clerk of Bow-street-office, who endeavoured, with other assistance, to impede the progress of the mob: he thought that at that time the flag had changed hands, and was in the custody of a man in a sailor's jacket. The crowd rushed on down Coppice-row, but the witness saw the elder Watson standing at the corner, near a public house: the witness went back to inform the magistrates, on hearing the exclamations from the crowd, of “Come to the Tower,” or, “to the Lord Mayor.” He saw one man with a short sword, and another, as he believed, with a pistol, or something like one. The witness returned to a house beyond the Merlin's-Cave, and went into the City to see what was doing there. After returning from the crowd which went down Coppice-row, the witness

saw the elder Watson with another part of the crowd, going the same way with the former division, but not with the same rapidity. The witness afterwards went to the Minories, passing Mr Beckwith's house in Skinner-street, which was much demolished. He came up with the mob in the Minories; he found Mr Brandon's and Mr Ray's houses partially demolished: they were gun-smiths. In the front of the shop of the former he saw some muskets and pikes piled, and a long gun that looked like a duck gun. He met the mob coming up the Minories, some armed, and others unarmed; they had guns, swords, pistols, dirks, and other weapons, with a small piece of ordnance upon wheels: it was drawn by two sailors; some were charging their pieces, and some were discharging them in the air. He continued with the mob until the arrival of the horse-guards, in about ten minutes; some crying, but he could not tell who, "To Spafields." He returned to Spafields after the dispersion of the mob by the horse-guards; and when he arrived there, he found still a numerous meeting assembled.

Mr John Stafford, chief clerk of Bow-street.—On the 2d Decem^r last, a great concourse of people had assembled in Spafields. Knew there was to be a meeting. Had been at the former meeting on the 15th November. Then Hunt and others addressed the populace from the window of the Merlin's Cave. Saw a flag displayed close to the house, of three colours, green, white, and red. Could not make out the whole inscription that day. Saw "Nature,"—"Justice,"—"Truth," and some other words. Did not hear the motion of adjournment. A great many police officers were in attendance expecting the business to begin about one o'clock at the Merlin's Cave. Arrived there about half-past twelve; found a great number of persons col-

lected, and in the lower part of the field there was a great concourse of persons round a waggon, from which the horses had been taken. Two flags were in the waggon, one of them he had seen at the preceding meeting, and took down the words exactly. [Mr Hobler, clerk to the Lord Mayor's Court, who had the flag in his custody, produced it; the inscription was, "Nature to feed the hungry,—Truth to protect the oppressed,—and Justice to punish crimes."]—There was another flag in the waggon of the same colours, but without inscription, and a banner in the centre. A young man was addressing the populace, and Watson senior stood close to him, rather behind. He thought that round the waggon there were some thousands of persons. Heard many words of the young man's speech, but made no memorandums: he spoke loud, and the mob cheered frequently: the speech seemed to consist chiefly of interrogatories, the mob gave answers every now and then, "no, no," and "yes, yes," with huzzaing, &c. then quitted the spot, and proceeded towards Coppice-row, leaving the young man speaking. Shortly after, heard a greater noise than usual proceeding from that spot; was about fifty or sixty yards off, turned his head, and saw all in the act of jumping down from the waggon, the flags and the banner were removed. The mob moved towards the corner of Coppice-row: the flags moved in the same direction. A small part of the populace preceded the flags: when the flags approached he looked round for assistance, but saw none; rushed forward and seized the flag without an inscription. Endeavoured to break the pole, but was unable; however he got the flag under his feet, and then Limbrick, the officer, came to his aid; struggled for some time, but at last the flag was rescued, a small slip of the green remain-

ing in his hand. At the instant he was driven from the flag saw Limbrick contending with a man who had the frame; jumped upon and broke a part of it, which he used as a weapon of defence. Limbrick pulled out the inscription, and another officer took the rest of the frame. This struggle obstructed the mob a little, but afterwards they rushed on in a direct line towards Skinner-street.

Sir James Shaw examined by the Solicitor-General.—Recollected the 2d of December last. Was at the Royal Exchange, about half past twelve. Saw the mob in Cornhill; the Lord Mayor and himself went in pursuit. Saw them at the Royal Exchange. Intercepted them in Threadneedle-street. Saw several persons, and a flag of three colours upon a long pole. Perceived no arms. Seized the flag and pole. Believes the flag produced in Court to be it. Delivered it with the prisoners to the master at Lloyd's. Thinks there were three inscriptions on the flag. After his return, heard the report of a gun, and saw a musket taken from a man. To the centre of the Exchange heard two shots. The mob dispersed after the flag was taken. Heard two guns fired under the door of the Royal Exchange. The Lord Mayor had directed them to be shut. Several persons seized were then in the Royal Exchange with them.

Cross-examined by Mr Copley.—Did not see any effects of the two shots fired: cannot say whether there was any thing more than powder. Went about twelve o'clock to the Mansion-house. Immediately proceeded to meet the mob. There were the Lord Mayor and himself, a Mr White, and two constables. It was earlier than the constables were ordered to attend, and found only three constables at Guildhall; when they went, there were altogether eight persons; had no arms. First saw the mob in Cornhill, past

the front of the Exchange. Went through the south to the north gate, and met the mob between the north gate and the old Stock Exchange, proceeding towards the Bank. When first met, they dispersed; and for the time made no resistance. Some struggle was made to retain the colours. No personal alarm was felt by any of the party. Preparations were made to prevent riot previously to the 2d of December. Has no recollection of any thing on the 15th November. All magistrates knew of the intended meeting on the 2d December; and officers had intimation of it. Saw many handbills: this was two or three days before the meeting. Before the gates were re-opened, set off in pursuit of the rioters so far as Leadenhall-street, and learned that they were completely dispersed: we then returned. Did not for a minute think they were to attack the Exchange.

By the Solicitor-General.—The guns were discharged after the colours were taken, and the mob dispersed.

By Mr Wetherell.—There were none hurt. Saw no traces of a shot. Neither of the three poles produced were the one seized.

John Hall, Esq. by Mr Richardson.—I am a merchant in London, and Sheriff of Essex; live in the Circus, Minories: saw the mob 2d of December. Having heard of the approach of the mob, I went to Mr Rea's shop, which I assisted in shutting, in consequence of the affray at Mr Beckwith's. While I was so occupied, the mob arrived at Brander and Pott's. I advised to shut up the shop. They attacked the windows and door of the shop with pickaxes and but-ends of muskets. I saw one of the mob make his way in through an aperture effected above the door, a fan-light. In the mean time the shutters were broken away. I saw them remove arms, guns, and swords, from

the shop, and give them out to the populace. Those on the outside were loading and firing off in the air a kind of *feu de joie*. I proceeded to the Tower for assistance, which was refused. I then returned with the view of marking some of those who might be the heads of the mob. They had broken the front window, and attacked Mr Houston's door, over Kea's shop, and made a passage through. It might be at least ten minutes before it was broken through. They placed a brass field-piece opposite to the door; it appeared loaded up to the brim, as I judged, from something like wadding seen hanging at the mouth of it. They rushed in, plundered, and delivered arms to those without; saw none of the persons since; but yesterday in Court, the features of Thistlewood struck me as those of one of those I observed in the mob. The only doubt on my mind arises from the whiskers and eye-brows, which appeared of a lighter colour; he wore a great coat closely buttoned: He had no weapon. I saw none of the other prisoners. They delivered their arms before the soldiers appeared.

Charles Meyell, one of the horse-patrole belonging to Bow-street, swore to taking the prisoner into custody, near Highgate, with a pistol in his possession, and upon searching him found some papers. The pistol being now put in his hand, he said it was the same he took from the prisoner; he also identified some of the papers.

The papers were then put in, and read by Mr Barlow; the first was in this form and in these words.

Committ. P. S.

Sir F. Burdett	Mr G. J. Evans
Lord Cochrane	H. Hunt, Esq.
Mr A. Thistlewood	Mr Hardy
Mr J. Watson	Mr R. O'Connor
Mr Gale Jones	Mr Blankford.
Major Cartwright	

The next paper was in these terms;
Westmr. Rd.

Form three divis.

Collect and meet at Lon. Br. Proceed to the Old Man.

Lond. Rd.

Form three div. Collect numbers, and go on where will be met and be led to the Old Man.

Padgton. To proceed to St. Gs. Barricade. Proceed to Hlb. Br. Barricade. Branch off to T. B.

1. St Giles's: broad part of Holborn bars: Chancery-lane.

2. Carey-street, Temple-bar.

3. Theobald's-road, Gray's-inn-lane; Elm-street.

4. St John's-street, Old-street-road.

5. Whitechapel.

6. Tower.

7. ———

8. T. L. R.

John Castles, examined by Mr Gurney. He first became acquainted with the prisoner in October last, at a society of Spenceans, meeting at the Cock in Grafton-street. At the first interview Watson told him, that he had a plan for subverting the government, with a few steady fellows. In consequence of this intimation, the witness entered into the project; and having met with the two Watsons, Preston, Hooper, Thistlewood, the two Evanses, Harrison, and some others, they went among the public-houses and found many out of employ, and some said they would rather die any how than be starved to death. This report induced Thistlewood and him to go again; they found them at the public-houses, and told them that probably they should soon want them for a job. Upon asking how many could be got together in a short time, they were told that five or six hundred could be procured. From thence they called at the public-houses in Law.

street, which the soldiers frequent who are on duty at the theatre ; they saw eight or ten, and gave them some beer ; they inquired how they were used by their officers, and what their pay was ? From thence they went to Vinegar-yard, to the house frequented by those who were at Drury-lane ; there they had the same conversation. Some of the soldiers spoke with violence against the government, for soldiers being discharged without pensions after the war. Thistlewood gave the witness two three shilling pieces, and directed him to go to all the houses, and collect as many people as he could. The next day, Thistlewood, Watson, and Harrison met him, to talk how they could collect all the force possible ; he and Thistlewood went to the Fox under the Hill, a public house under the Adelphi, by the water side, frequented by those who work on the Thames ; they talked with those they found out of employ, and enquired how many men they could furnish for a job ; they were told fifty or sixty ; the witness went to several other public houses to find people out of employ, and he was told if he found one more violent than others to take his name and address, and communicate it to Thistlewood ; an appointment was made in Greystoke-place for Friday following, at eleven ; he got there precise to time, but there was nobody in the house ; in coming away he met Thistlewood, and they went back ; Watson had not come with the key, but he soon after arrived, and they went into the house ; soon after young Watson arrived ; he announced that he and Thistlewood had inspected the barracks to see how they could best be fired, but there was no mode of getting the people together. The pike-head was produced—Thistlewood said it was a famous weapon, and said he would have 250 made. All the committee was there but Harrison. The witness reported that he

and Watson had also inspected the barracks, to see how all the avenues might be fired at once—that there were six avenues to King-street barracks, and only two to Portman-street barracks. Watson was desired to calculate how much combustibles it would take to fire all the avenues at the same time, and they appointed the next Sunday for a general meeting of the committee, at eleven, to arrange the whole plan. They met on the next Sunday ; in the mean time, he had ordered 250 pike-heads of Bentley, and paid him 10s. in advance. Thistlewood said he had inquired where handles were to be got, and they might be obtained some place behind the King's Bench. The next Sunday they all met, and a box was fetched down stairs for a seat, for there were neither chairs nor tables in the house ; the house was searched, to see that no one was concealed, and they began their deliberations. Thistlewood produced a map of London—first the roads were marked out to the places of attack. They were arranged where every man was to take his station as generals ; the committee were all generals. Dr Watson proposed Thistlewood to be commander-in-chief, as he found all the money. They were to be armed with pikes and different other weapons, whatever they could get. Watson the elder was to set fire to the Portman-street barracks ; the materials with which fire was to be set to the barracks was talked of—pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, spirits of wine, sulphur, &c. The thing was to be done by attacking and setting fire to the barracks at every avenue, at one o'clock in the morning. All the persons met in the streets were to be stopped. Gentlemen's carriages were to be stopped, the horses taken from them, and mounted by men who were to act as cavalry. After this, witness was to join the elder Watson at the top of Oxford-road, near the Park, after

having seen that none escaped from the burning of the barracks. Harrison was also to join there with the two pieces of artillery ; a volley was to be fired to shew that they had got the guns ; this was the signal of their having got the guns. Some pikemen were to be left at Hyde-park gate to protect the guns. They were then to proceed to Park-lane—to barricade the avenues to the Park, Portman-street, and all the entrances in that quarter, to prevent any cavalry coming in that might be out of quarters. They were then to go on to the Picadilly gate, (witness means the turnpike gate at the corner of Hyde Park, Picadilly ;) that gate was to be chained and barricaded, and a party was to be left there to fire on any horse that might come from the country—then to proceed to Charing-cross and the bridge, (witness means Westminster-bridge) and barricade all thereabouts, to stop any troops that might come in by the way of Chelsea. As soon as Thistlewood and the younger Watson had secured the guns, which witness already said they were ordered to take, they were then to attack the gunsmiths' shops and oil shops—every shop where any arms or combustible materials could be got. Thistlewood and young Watson were to block up every place from Gray's Inn-lane to St Giles's, where Thistlewood was to make his grand stand ; a gun was to point up Tottenham-court-road ; Preston's business was to attack the Tower ; young Watson was to proceed from St Giles's to Cumberland-gate, barricading all the avenues on the right as he went on ; Preston, if he failed of taking the Tower, was to barricade London-bridge against any artillery that might come from Woolwich—then to barricade Whitechapel against any troops coming that way ; Preston was after that to join the main body at the Bank, which was known by the cant

name of “ the Old Lady,” as the Tower was by the name of “ the Old Gentleman,” or “ the Old Man,”—’twas all the same. Whilst these plans were forming, Thistlewood asked the doctor (Watson) what the combustibles would cost, and how much would be wanted for each avenue to the barracks ? Thistlewood bid the doctor to calculate it : the doctor made a calculation that the whole would cost something short of 100*l.* ; Thistlewood then said, “ Don't spare a matter—*3*l.**—let us roast them well ;” the paper on which the calculation had been made was destroyed when used—it was usual to destroy such papers when they had done with them. When Thistlewood said, “ let us roast them well,” Dr Watson (meaning the prisoner at the bar) observed, that the combustibles would burn so rapidly, and the stench would be so strong, as to stifle them all (the soldiers in the barracks) in a few minutes. Next day, after this plan was settled, witness and the younger Watson were desired to go look for a house between the two barracks, to be near to them, in which the combustibles and arms were to be lodged ; they were to say the house was wanted for any trade they chose—they said an oil and colour shop, because then the combustibles could be brought in there without suspicion. The whole committee was present when this business was settled.

This plan of a general insurrection was, however, given up, in consequence of the desertion of one of the members of the committee, who disapproved of young Watson's imprudence ; and it was then determined to have a meeting in Spa-fields, and to commence the disturbance from that quarter, breaking into all the gunsmiths' shops between that place and the Tower, which it was agreed should be then moved.

The witness went over minutely all the transactions preparatory to the

meeting of the 15th of November, with the reason for the disappointment as to the rising at the trial. He then proceeded to the steps taken for the subsequent meeting of the 2d of December, the material facts of which are already known.

Cross-examined by Mr Wetherall. —You are described to be a prisoner in Tothill-fields Bridewell. How long have you been a prisoner in that custody?—From the 9th of February, I believe.

Upon what charge were you committed?—High treason.

Have you been, since your commitment to Tothill-fields Bridewell, constantly in confinement, or have you been walking about with an officer attending you?—I have been out with an officer attending me.

(After a great deal of evasion, witness confessed that he believed he was taken round London for the purpose of procuring evidence to confirm his own.)

Did you not believe that you were going round to get evidence?—I did believe it of course; I must believe it.

In his further examination, witness owned that, with the exception of the pike-heads he had made as a model for the prisoner, he had wrought none at his business of a smith for twelve or fourteen years; that he was twice committed for crimes; that, on one occasion, he was apprehended at Guildford for uttering forged notes.

You were tried at Guildford?—No.

No! Why not?—I was admitted an evidence.

What, the same accident happened there as on the present occasion?—It did.

Namely, that you were committed upon a charge, and afterwards became a witness against the persons who were committed on the same charge?—Be

so good as to repeat the same question.

The question was repeated, and the answer was, "It did happen."

What became of the man against whom you gave evidence?—He was hanged.

Did you make any, and what bargain then, with the Bank of England, before you were admitted an evidence?—I did not. I told them I had been innocently dragged into it, and that I would communicate the whole of the circumstances; I did so, and told them where we got the forged notes.

It was Davis who was executed. Another man, concerned in the transaction, called Greenaway, pleaded guilty, and was transported. Castles only escaped. Castles stated, that he had been apprehended at Abergavenny, charged with aiding Colonel Prevotti, a French prisoner of war, to escape. But it appeared that he had previously communicated with Bow-street. Witness was acquainted with Kennett, who was some time ago hanged; and was likewise acquainted with Warner, who disappeared; and with Dickins, implicated with Vaughan in seducing persons into crimes, and then informing against them. Witness was married. He had sent his wife into Yorkshire. Cohabited since his marriage with the late Mrs Thoms, who kept a house, which (after much prevarication) he said, he believed, was let for the purpose of prostitution.

Cross-examined on the subject of the alleged treason—He stated, that he had made various attempts upon smiths, soldiers, and sailors, to join the insurrection; that they proposed, after gaining possession of the Bank, to defend it by glass bottles thrown from neighbouring windows; that Preston was a shoemaker, and Hooper was of the same business, or a cobbler; at the dinner in Bouverie-street, at which Mr Hunt was present, witness gave the

toast, "May the last of kings be strangled with the guts of the last of priests," but Hunt and the rest objected to it, and it was not drunk; that witness had received money to support him, and buy a fine new dress, from Mr Stafford, of Tothill-fields Bridewell.

Mr Wetherall, counsel for the prisoner, maintained, that all the external features of the case were known within a short time after the 2d of December. All was known but that which was disclosed when Mr Castles came forward, and would the jury suffer the judgment of a British court of justice—would they suffer the character of British jurisprudence, to depend on the testimony of that indescrivable villain? Would they suffer that man to influence their decision? Would they attend to that merchant of human blood, who had lived so long on plunder and on blood-money? Would they, while animated with that spirit of honour and truth which distinguished a British jury—would they suffer four human victims to be immolated to that atrocious wretch, Castles? Could it be thought that this would be endured by the British people? Every thing was known against one of the prisoners, that was now known, but what Castles had stated; and till he came forward, the individual was to be tried for a misdemeanor. Every thing that gave his offence the colour of treason was supplied by Castles, and the life of that unhappy man now depended on the degree of credit which the jury might give to his evidence. He would assert, that no one material fact which he had stated had been confirmed. This "flagrant war," as it had been called, was to commence at half-past twelve at night. The palisades in front of the houses in Picadilly were to be taken up, to stop the road through the turnpike, and the horses were to be taken from the hackney coaches to carry it

into effect. Combustibles, or medicaments, were to be placed at the entrance of the barracks, in such a way as to stink the soldiers to death. This falsehood he supposed to have been framed in consequence of its being known to Castles that the prisoner was a chemist. Castles had been corroborated in his statement respecting the taking of a house, or the intention to do so, by Mr Cosser, a very respectable man, the landlord of the house, but it was not difficult to believe, that the b——y house bully of forty might have prevailed on a young man of twenty to do this for some other purpose than that which he had been stated to have in view. This fellow might have induced him to do so, to forward some object of his own, as it had been seen he went lying over all the town. Wherever he went a lie travelled with him. From the evidence of the soldiers, it appears, that two men had been harangued on the Tower walls; Castles had stated that there were fifty. This was a tolerable sample of a lie. Castles had said two persons spoke together, the soldiers had said, they were addressed but by one. It had been proved that Castles and Watson had been seen together walking towards the barracks. But what proof was there that there had been such a plot as Castles had described, for firing the barracks, and stinking the soldiers to death? The prisoner might have been seen with Castles at different times and places, but in nothing had the latter been corroborated that could be held to prove the existence of such a plot. In his plan for cutting off the communication with Woolwich, Castles had been a little deficient in the naval part of the arrangement. He had seemed to forget that there was a small aperture passing through the city called the Thames. His learned friend had—he would not say led him, that would be offensive, but had con-

ducted him pretty well through this difficulty, and the communication had been cut off by water as well as by land. All the vessels in the Thames were to be taken, and this was not enough, they were to go out to sea, and take the remaining ships of his majesty's navy, and all this was to be effected by six generals of division, one of whom was so lame that he could not ride on horseback. Could any one for a moment believe so ridiculous a plan had been formed? And disbelieving the first plan, would the jury credit the second, of which they were told by Mr Castles? If the public were not ripe for a revolution in Oxford-street, where General Thistlewood was to make his grand stand, was it reasonable to conclude that they should be able to succeed at that time, in any part of the metropolis? He submitted the whole story was unworthy of credit. On the 2d of December, Castles went to the Tower, found an extra guard there on account of the meeting; but instead of going to Spa-fields to apprise his accomplices of this fact, and of the gates being shut, that they might take their measures accordingly, no more was heard of him but that he went to little Britain. He absconded, but what really became of him he (Mr Wetherall) would hereafter shew. The banners and the names put down for the Committee of Public Safety proved no intention to commit high treason. Had the trial lasted much longer, he thought he should have been enabled to prove an alliteration of crime against Mr Castles on all the letters of the alphabet. Beginning with B, there was b—dy-house, bullying, and bigamy. These were proved, and it was shewn, that one wife who might have been brought forward as a confirmatory witness; who was the only person that could prove or disprove many things that he had asserted, had been sent out of the way.

If he went on with the alphabet, when he came to F, he found forgery and felony against Mr Castles. From the former charge he got clear, by shedding the blood of his companions. Castles had committed a larceny in connection with this business, for he had taken away the chairs, tables, the boxes, and other miserable furniture of the room, from where they had been accustomed to meet, which it was admitted had belonged to Preston. If they went further on with the history of Castles, they would find him assisting the most inveterate foe of England, by aiding French prisoners to escape. Going further back, through other scenes of disgrace, they would find him in the infamous and degrading situation of a bully at a b—dy-house. Such was the life of this man. It had commenced in turpitude and vice—had mounted up to the depravity of shedding the blood of the associate of his guilt, and now attained its full consummation in crime, by urging on unhappy men to commit acts of outrage, in order to betray them for the blood-money. While in that Court, he had worn the coat, waistcoat, and breeches of the crown: his very clothes had already been paid for out of the wages he was by and by to receive as his full recompence for selling the blood of the prisoners now before their Lordships. Is the attorney-general to construe the circumstances of a riot into proof of a flagrant civil war? He cannot do it without contravening the law which has existed for centuries. He cannot do it without violating every precedent, and casting, by implication, a severe reflection upon every attorney-general that has preceded him. Was this an attempt to overturn the state—what had they to prove it—a little flag? a little speech made from a waggon—a little tampering with the soldiers? very little indeed; a little speaking to the Tower walls? a little tu-

mult? a little breaking of windows? a little letting off of gunpowder. Yes, very little of each. What then was constructive treason? Why, the putting together a number of little facts, accumulating a number of trifling circumstances into the solemn and ponderous offence of treason; was this charge any thing more at the best?—When did the treasons begin in this case? Was it when Sir J. Shaw, with his right arm, stopped it, and dispersed the rebel army? Oh no! it was when the orators leapt down from the wagon, after the speeches were made, for so it was laid in the record. Why, at that time there were magistrates in the field, the military was at hand, though that was a fact he had obtained from one of the crown witnesses with a deal of difficulty; the Lord Mayor of the city of London was prepared, the Tower was closed; why then not stop the proceedings if it was all a treason? The meeting had been announced a fortnight before by hand-bills; there was no secrecy; the police was well informed of what was to be done, and might have prevented all the mischief, if any treason was intended. Why was not the meeting of the 15th of November a treason?—The flags were there, and speeches were made; and these were the overt acts of treason.

Mr Wetherall then expatiated on the danger to which men of warm tempers might be exposed by having such men as Castles about them; and he stated, that Castles himself was the leading man in all transactions with the soldiers—and that ninety nine words out of a hundred were spoken by him. And now, gentlemen, (said he,) I shall sit down with an assertion which I have so often made in the course of my address to you—it is, that if these transactions are to be interpreted by any construction whatever into treason, it will be incompatible with the free agency of British subjects.

Mr Hunt and several others were examined for the prisoner; after which, Serjeant Copley for the prisoner, and the Solicitor-General for the crown, addressed the jury. On the seventh day, Lord Ellenborough delivered his charge, when the jury, after retiring for about an hour and three-quarters, brought in a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

JEREMIAH BRANDRETH FOR HIGH TREASON.

Special Commission—Derby, October 15, 16, 17.

The Attorney-General opened the case. He should endeavour to shew, that the prisoner, with others, had projected a plan for overturning the laws and government of this country; and it was perfectly indifferent to enquire what they designed to establish in its place, whether a national convention, or a mere state of anarchy; or whether they had no definite object of any kind. The only question for their consideration was, did the prisoners contemplate the subversion of the government, and take any measures for effecting this object. If they did entertain such a design, and attempt to carry it into execution by insurrection and hostile force, then they had, unquestionably, according to the laws of England, committed palpable high-treason. It would appear, as he apprehended, in the course of the evidence, that the prisoner had joined with others in arranging a plan for the achievement of some public purpose, by means of hostile force and violence; that although not present at all the meetings of the conspirators, he was active in endeavouring to advance their plans; that he was commonly designated by the “Nottingham Captain,” and had been appointed to lead, conduct, and com-

mand a division of the rebel army which was expected to be formed.

The learned counsel then went over the facts as they will appear in the evidence, and concluded, that the prisoner was there—that he was the leader and encourager of the insurrection—that he was what was called the Nottingham Captain—that he organized the party—that he formed the order of march—that he shewed the plans and maps by which he was guided in leading them on. There could be no doubt some of the witnesses might not be able to identify his person, because, by allowing his beard to grow, and appearing as he now did in court, he had somewhat changed himself from what he was, and took every means of concealing his identity. This, however, could not avail, as sufficient evidence could be brought, that he was the same person who was at the head of the party, and directed their motions. He submitted, that if he could establish the facts which he had mentioned, he should sufficiently make out a substantive act of treason in levying war. There was here a hostile force—arms were collected—a band of men for a general purpose was organized—the body marched on in warlike array, and compelled all whom they met to join them; and they openly professed the design of overturning the established constitution of the country. There could not be a more shocking mode of levying war. It was, in every respect, treason in the eye of the law to assemble in arms, to profess the intention by force to accomplish any general purpose contrary to the established authorities of the country. The Attorney-General thus concluded:—‘What answer my learned friend can give, I am sure I know not; but unless he can alter facts—unless he can prove the prisoner to be a different person, it appears to me impossible, according to the law and evidence of the

case, to resist the proof which is to be laid before you. I am sure the prisoner has all the means of defence which an intelligent and impartial jury can afford—I am sure he has all the means which a learned and candid Court can give—I am sure he has all the means which the talents, ingenuity, and learning of a counsel can supply. He has, then, all the means which Englishmen can have for their defence at the bar of their country.’

The following witnesses were then called :—

Anthony Martin is in the service of Messrs Outram and Jessop, iron-founders at Butterbury, which is within a mile of Pentridge. On Sunday the 8th of June, he went to Pentridge with John Cope, who was also in the service of Messrs Outram and Jessop. They went into Weightman’s Croft, a little below the White Horse public-house, which was kept by Mrs Weightman. After a little time, a girl came and called them to go into the house. They went accordingly, and were shewn into the parlour. There were a good many persons there, and more came afterwards. They were all talking about this revolution. The prisoner Brandreth was there—he was called “Captain.” His dress was different to that he now wore. He wore grey trowsers, and a brown great coat—he was shaved and decent. George Weightman, Ormond Booth, the two Joseph Weightmans, Thomas Weightman, and William Turner were there. Brandreth had a map in his hand, and was pointing out where they were to assemble; he said there was no good to be done, except by a complete overthrow of the government. There were particular places marked on the map with crosses. As the people came in, some of whom knew Brandreth, and others of whom did not, they asked questions respecting the revolution. Shirley Astbery

was one of those who came in. There was a general conference as to what proceedings were to be taken for the overturning of the government. It was settled that they should assemble the next night at dusk. The Pentridge people were to meet at Pentridge, and the Wingfield people at a stone-quarry about two miles distant. They were all to proceed to Nottingham forest, to meet a large party there, and to take the town. They were to reach the forest at two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday. It was understood there was to be a general rising throughout the country, but Pentridge and Wingfield were to meet at dusk. Sheffield, Manchester, and many other places were to rise, as stated by Brandreth. William Turner, when he came to the White Horse, asked where was the estimate of their guns and pikes—they said they had none. Upon which, he asked why they had not; and said his parish (Wingfield) was forwarder than any other; for they had an estimate of every gun, sword, and pistol, that they had. He added, that they had forty in a stone quarry to spare. It was then agreed, that in order to provide themselves with arms, they were to go and demand them; and if they could not get them by fair means, to take them by force. Witness remained at the White Horse from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, during which, a great many persons came in—perhaps forty. Their conversation throughout the day, related to the revolution.

Sherley Astbery gave nearly the same evidence.

James Shipman lived at Southwingfield in June last; lodged with Joseph Booth—was at his door on Monday night, the 9th of June, at about half past eight—saw Brandreth there—George Weightman was with him—asked them where they were going? Brandreth said, to an old barn up in the fields; and added, that there was a

meeting there of Crich, Pentridge, Wingfield, and Alferton parishes—There were arms and ammunition, and more would be taken on the way as they went to Nottingham—a band of music was to meet them, as well as thousands more who were on Nottingham forest. Witness asked them what they must do for provisions when so many thousands were gathered together? He said there would be bread and beef, and half a pint of rum for each man. Witness then asked what would become of the women and children? He said there would be a provisional government sent down to relieve the wives and children of those who were gone away. An old woman clapped him on the shoulder, and said, “My lad, we have got a magistrate here;” he said, “You will have a different one, that will allow you plenty.” On farther conversation, Brandreth said, that England, Ireland, and Scotland, were to rise that night; and that clouds of men would come from the north, and sweep all before them; and every man that would not go would be shot upon the place. Witness said, if they did all rise, the shipping would come and beat them. George Weightman then said, “Come along—I am already half an hour too late.” Brandreth said to witness, “Come along with us, and you shall have a good gun.” He did not go with them, and they went away towards the barn.

Thomas Turner, examined by Mr Gurney—was apprehended on this business, and remained in custody ever since. Previous to his being apprehended, he lived at Southwingfield with his father—he was a frame-work knitter—he was at Southwingfield on the 9th of June—he left his father's house a little before 9—he was accompanied by Samuel Ludlam and John Walker—they went to the meeting-house close to Colonel Halton's gates—saw William Turner, George Weightman, and

a strange man, two or three hundred yards from the village. This strange man he afterwards found to be the Nottingham Captain—the prisoner was the man. They were all three armed with guns. When witness joined them, they all went to Hunt's barn, in a field of Colonel Halton's. Before they went there, William Turner was loading his gun with a bullet. George Weightman said, "Come along; I expect an engagement very soon with Jessop's men, at Butterly furnace." Witness asked, who the stranger was; and Turner said, "That's our Captain from Nottingham."

On getting near Hunt's barn, about a score joined them—they were armed with pikes and guns, and one sword or two. George Weightman said, "they must go to a field of Mr Topham's, and the Pentridge people would meet them there." Before they set off, William Turner and the prisoner formed them into ranks. Witness received a bag of bullets to carry—he carried them in preference to a pike. [Two pikes, with spear heads of rough workmanship, were then produced.] These were what he meant by pikes. The prisoner then gave the word to march. They went to Mr Hardwick's house, and from thence to Henry Tomlinson's. Witness did not go with them, but went the nearest way to meet them at Topham's-close. The three Ludlams met them there—they had pikes in their hands. It was then arranged that George Weightman should go in search of others of the party; and if he met them, to bring them to Partridge-lane; and George Weightman carried the bag of bullets with him. Witness and the rest of the party then went to Elijah Hall's. Turner and the prisoner were the commanders all the way.—When they got there, Elijah Hall was outside the house, and the door was fastened against him. The prisoner asked him for his gun, but Mr Hall

was unwilling to give it. After some dispute the gun was handed out of the window, and the prisoner received it. The prisoner added, that he understood he had more arms. Hall said he had not; on which the prisoner said he knew he had, and if he did not give them, the door should be broke open. At last the door was opened, and the prisoner, witness, and several others, followed Mr Hall in. The prisoner struck Mr Hall; and, presenting his gun, said, if he did not give up his other arms he would shoot him. Witness laid hold of his arm, told him not to use the man ill, for he did not think he had any more arms. The prisoner took a candle and went up stairs to seek some; he found none, but brought young Hall down, and forced him to accompany them. He went very unwillingly. The three Ludlams, Joseph Turner, Swaine, and Bromley, were with them. Bocker was there also, and said, he had longed for that day to come often, and it had come at last. They next went to Isaac Walker's, and got a pistol, which the prisoner put up in his apron, which was wrapt round his body like a belt. Their next visit was to Henry Bedwick—he heard a window break, but did not see the mischief done. They afterwards went on to Samuel Hunt's, who brought out bread and cheese, and told them to eat what they liked, and he would dress and go along with them. He did dress, and Daniel Hunt, his man, went along with them. Joseph Turner had a sword, and the others were armed with guns and pikes. From Hunt's, they went to Mr Epworth's. Witness heard the prisoner rattling at the door, but it was not opened. The prisoner called for some one to come and break it open; upon his calling, Samuel Hunt took up a stone and flung it at the door twice. The prisoner went from that door to a little window, which was broke out. The prisoner was asking those

within to give them arms out, and open the door. They did neither; but somebody denied the arms, upon which the prisoner fired in at the window. Witness could not say whether he fired his gun or his pistol. Witness ran to the window, and saw a man lying on the floor, whom witness understood to be Robert Walker. Witness said to the prisoner, he should not have shot that poor innocent man; upon which he said, it was his duty to do it; and if he said any more about it, he would blow his brains out. After that, some arms were given out. They now proceeded to Pentridge-lane-end, where they met several others, who were all armed. Witness heard the party calling the men up, and getting arms where they could find them. When they were collected together again, the prisoner marshalled them, and said, if there were any military men among them, they must turn out, and keep the men in order. Charles Swaine then turned out—he had been in the militia; and he, with the prisoner and Turner, put them into ranks two deep. Those with guns were put in front, and those with pikes were put in the rear. When arranged, they were ordered to march, and they went to Pentridge, when more houses were attacked, among others, they went to Mr Booth's, from whose premises a poney was taken. They subsequently went to Butterly Iron-works. George Weightman took the poney—the party about this time might be threescore, or more, strong. Heard that Weightman went to Nottingham on the poney; he afterwards saw him return. From the Iron-works they marched away, under the command of the prisoner, to Ripley-town-end. On their arrival there, the prisoner ordered them to halt, and give three huzzas—they did so, and they marched to Codner. They stopped at a public-house, where the prisoner ordered out some ale—the ale was brought, and they were here

joined by Samue Hunt, Joseph Turner, and Edward, and some other men. The prisoner and William Turner ordered the landlord to make out the bill, which amounted to 28s. The prisoner then said, he need not be afraid of being paid, for he would see him paid. They then marched on towards Nottingham. When they came to Langley-mill, George Weightman rode up—the prisoner and many surrounded him, and asked him how they got on at Nottingham. He said, they were going on very well—the town was taken—the soldiers would not march out to attack them—and they were to march forward. They did march forward. Witness went with them beyond Eastwood; by this time several of the party dropped off. Witness also quitted them, and left William Turner and the prisoner marching on. Before witness left the party, some of them tried to get away, when the witness said, if they did not turn again, he would stop them. He levelled his gun at the same time. A gun went off by accident, and a man was wounded. Witness, when he left, threw away his pike. In his way back, he was taken by the cavalry, and afterwards shewed where some of the pikes were thrown.

Elijah Hall, senior and junior, confirmed the testimony of Turner, as to the proceedings at their house.

Mary Hepworth examined. I am a widow, occupying a farm in Southwingfield. On the 9th of June, my family at home consisted of one son, two daughters, myself, and two men-servants. We were alarmed, about eleven at night, by a loud thundering at the door, and men's voices demanding admittance, and our men and guns. I got up, and went down stairs, and said, that the doors should not be opened; and that we would not part with men or guns. The people outside then attempted to force admittance at the kitchen window at the back of the

house. They broke the window, and forced the shutters in. At that time myself, my son William, my daughter Emma, and the men-servants, named Robert Fox, and Robert Walters, had come down stairs. The men on the outside said to my son William, "We must have your men or your guns, or we will blow your brains out." At the time the window was broken, they fired in. Robert Walters was wounded by the contents of the gun—he died of the wounds. He was sitting upon a chair, opposite the window, apparently lacing his boots at the time of the firing. He was wounded in the neck. I was in such an alarm, that I thought it was my son William that was shot. The men said, that if our guns were not delivered, we should all be murdered. The gun we had in the house was immediately fetched, and delivered out of the window. They then demanded our men. We told them that they had shot one of them, and they could not have the other. They said they would serve us the same. No man was delivered up. After they were gone, we found a pike near the door, and several stones outside. The door appeared to have been bored by the pike.

Samuel Fletcher examined. On the 9th of June, I lived at Pentridge-lane-end. I and my family went to bed at 11 at night. At 12 we were disturbed by a knocking at the door—I jumped out of bed, went to the window, and saw a body of men, to the number of 30, at the window. As soon as I looked, five or six of the men levelled guns at me. When I opened the window I said, "Holloa!" They said, "Your arms! your arms! d—n your eyes, your arms!"—I said, "what arms?"—They said, "You have got two or three guns."—I said, "I had but one gun, and I did not know that that gun was at home."—They said, that if I did not fetch it down, they

would blow my brains out.—I said "Well, well, let us have time."—I ran down stairs, and up another pair of stairs, to where my man slept, and I found that part of the house beset by another party. Finding the house surrounded, I ordered my servant, William Shipman, to deliver up the gun. Upon his delivering it, they said, "Get yourself dressed, and come with us, or we will blow your brains out." Shipman dressed himself. One cried "Come, Shipman;" another said, "Come, Willy." He went; but he was very unwilling to go; he cried very much. I said to him, "Thou must go, d—n 'em; thou knows 'em all; they come from Pentridge and Wingfield; thou can run away when thou can find an opportunity." He went accordingly, but returned next day.

Mr George Goodwin examined. I am one of the managers of the Buttery Iron-mills, under Mr Jessop. Before the 9th of June we had several of our men sworn in as special constables, for the purpose of preserving the peace. The neighbourhood was in a very disturbed state. In the night of Monday the 9th of June, we had assembled our men thus sworn in as constables, to the number of nearly 100. They were kept together until day-light, between half a mile of Ripley and our premises. During the night, we had heard shots fired, horns blowing, shouts, and different sorts of voices. Throughout the night this continued. It was a little before twelve that we heard the first shot fired. We had before heard other noises. It appeared that there were very unusual preparations. We apprehended our works would be attacked. Next morning the greater part of our men went home. They were armed with guns by us. The others, to the number of thirteen, remained with us. The other came down with Mr Jessop and me to the works, to deposit the pikes in safety. Just af-

ter that had been done, we were joined by another party of our men, so that we were about 30 strong. Soon after this, about a quarter past three, we observed a man riding fast by on horseback. It was George Weightman, mounted on Mr Booth's horse. He is the son of the woman who keeps the White-horse public-house at Pentridge. She is sister to Thomas and John Baker. George Weightman was riding on the road towards Nottingham. I called out, "Stop!" but he did not. He looked over his shoulder, and rode on. Shortly after, I observed a body of men approaching, at about the distance of a hundred yards, on the road from Pentridge to Butterly. There were about 100 in number. They were drawn up in regular array, two deep, in military order; or, as a military man would say, in close column, two abreast. They were armed with guns and pikes. There were perhaps two or three unarmed, but the remainder appeared to be armed. They were marching with the prisoner at their head as Captain. When they got to the gates of the foundry, the prisoner ordered the men to halt. He said, "Halt!—to the right face!—front!" He was armed with a gun and pistol in his belt, which appeared like an apron. The men then faced towards the works, and formed a curved line round the premises. The prisoner then knocked at the door with the butt end of his gun. I was standing at the door, and said, "What do you want? What is your business?"—He said, "We want your men!"—I said, "you shall not have one of them—you are too many already, except for a better purpose. Disperse! Depend upon it the law is too strong for you. You have halters about your necks. You'll be hanged."—The prisoner made no reply to this. I then observed persons in the ranks whom I knew, particularly Isaac Ludlam, who was armed with a spear; James Tay-

lor, armed with a gun; and Isaac Moore, armed with a fork. These three were together in the front rank. I addressed Ludlam, and said, "Good God, Ludlam, what are you doing on such a business as this? You have got a halter about your neck—go home!"—To enforce this admonition, I pushed him towards the office on our premises. I reminded him of his family, and the danger they were in. I advised him to go home. He might have taken refuge in the office if he chose, but he did not; he said, "I am too bad already; I can't turn back; I must go on."—None of these three went into the office; but Samuel Booth's son, and some others, took refuge there. The Captain then ordered his men to march on; and they finally went towards Ripley. Shortly after they were gone, I perceived another body of men, to the number of 40 or 50; but they did not come near the office. Shortly after this, I observed William Weightman, brother to George. There was another young man with him, named Taylor. Weightman appeared to be going the most direct road to Nottingham. I seized his horse's bridle, supposing he was going to join the rebels. I told him he was. He owned he was. I said, "You are going to join these fellows."—At first, he said I had no right to stop him on the highway. He at last said, he was going for that purpose; but if I would let him go, he would go home. He accordingly turned his horse's head. He had a blue smock frock on him; and as he turned, I saw under him a bag, which I supposed to contain bullets. I again made a dash at his horse. I told him I must have that bag. He said I should not. I said, "You rascal, I must; it is full of bullets, and you are going to take them to join the rebels." I seized him by the collar; upon which he said he would deliver them up quietly—admitted that they were bullets, and

that he was taking them for that purpose ; but he said that he was obliged to do so, as they had threatened to kill him. I afterwards obtained possession of the bullets. Besides the bullets, there were moulds for cartridges. These were the bullets, and were in different sizes. [Here the bag and its contents were produced, and identified by the witness.] There was a stocking full of bullets, and the rest were loose in the bag. They seemed calculated for a variety of bores.

Lancelot Rolleston examined.—In consequence of the alarm excited on the 9th of June last, he attended at the town of Nottingham. He found the town in a very agitated state ; groups of people were collected in various places, and there was a general apprehension in the town. On the morning of the 10th, he went on the road towards Eastwood on horseback. At a village within a mile of Eastwood, the people were much alarmed, and most of them out of their houses. The military were in the barracks. Witness proceeded till he came within a quarter of a mile of Eastwood : he then met a considerable body of men armed with pikes. He returned to Nottingham—gave information of what he had seen to two magistrates, Mr Munday and Mr Kirbey ; and having procured eighteen dragoons, commanded by Captain Phillips, proceeded with them towards Eastwood again. When they had got to Kimberley, about two miles short of Eastwood, and four from Nottingham, the people told them, the mob hearing of the approach of the soldiery, had dispersed. They proceeded on the road, and found a great number of pikes and guns which had been thrown away. Within a mile of Eastwood witness saw a party retreating on the left, and he and a dragoon followed them. Captain Phillips went on after the general body. Those

whom witness went after were thirty or forty in number : he secured two or three ; they had thrown away their arms. He then followed Captain Phillips—They came up to the main body at Langley-mill. They were at that time dispersed, and the dragoons were pursuing them in all directions. Thirty were taken and brought to Nottingham.

Mr Cross addressed the Court and jury, endeavouring to prove that there was nothing in the facts that appeared in evidence that could amount to high treason—What, he would ask, could be apprehended from a few drunken paupers, who made no secret of their actions, and even invited constables to be present at their deliberations ? and yet such was the ground upon which the first overt act of conspiring to overturn his majesty's government was founded. He next contended, that from all the evidence which had been adduced, it was only to be collected that these people, as their own declarations made manifest, were only seeking for food, and by a *provisional* government, meant such a government as would satiate the hunger of their starving families. The learned gentleman then proceeded to ridicule the forces of the insurgents—who, he observed, upon being approached by one magistrate and one soldier, fled in all directions. There was not time, in fact, for the magistrate to draw the riot-act from his pocket ; and if the riot-act had been read, he had no doubt the present indictment for high treason had never been heard of. The rioters, however, fled without it : and yet such conduct was pronounced levying war against the powerful King of England. Had the poor people been furnished with a round of beef and a big loaf, for which they were alone solicitous, their animosity would have been at end. Upon the whole, he con-

tended, that although this was a riot of great enormity, as it really was, yet it did not amount to high treason.

Mr Denman followed on the same side: the Solicitor-General charged the jury, who brought in a verdict of *Guilty*.

In the following days William Turner and Isaac Ludlam were severally tried, and convicted on the same evidence. George Weightman was next tried. The case for the prosecution being closed, Mr Cross addressed the jury in behalf of the prisoner. He did not attempt to controvert the law of high treason as laid down by the Judges. He merely urged, that Weightman had been deluded into the commission of that crime, for which he then stood arraigned, and for which, if found guilty, he must atone by the forfeit of his life. He trusted, however, the jury would see grounds for a merciful verdict. He had evinced, even in the midst of tumult and violence, a strong disposition to humanity and mildness. Recollecting that he was only the instrument of others; considering that he was young and inexperienced; and that he had yet, if it pleased those who had the dispensation of his fate, a long life before him, he had no doubt, he would never fail to reflect upon the suffering, in which the incaution of early youth had involved him. This reflection, there was every reason to hope, would serve to correct his errors, and restore him to his country, a faithful and grateful subject of that sovereign, to whose mercy a just appeal was never made in vain. He therefore took leave to implore that the jury would recommend him to mercy. He was encouraged to hope, that his application would not be unavailing, and that this anniversary of the reign of our gracious Sovereign, would form a new era in restoring harmony to the country.

Mr Denman followed, and made a similar appeal to the mercy of the jury. The Attorney-General in reply observed, that unless impelled by duty, he would never step in between any prisoner and the royal mercy. The Judge then summed up, and the jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*, but strongly recommended the prisoner to mercy.

It was now intimated by the Crown Solicitor, to the agents for the prisoners yet untried, that if they would withdraw their plea of "Not Guilty," the intended prosecution of them would be abandoned, and they might expect the mercy of the Crown. This proposition was immediately acceded to; and the whole of the prisoners would be brought into Court this morning. Weightman and three others were transported, the others condemned to various terms of imprisonment, according to their degrees of guilt, and their claims to lenity upon the score of former good character. The sentence of the law was carried into execution against *Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam*.

ALEXANDER M'LAREN AND THOMAS BAIRD, FOR SEDITION.

*High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh,
3d April, 1817.*

The following contains the most essential part of the indictment.

The said Alexander M'Laren did, at a public meeting held at Dean Park, in the vicinity of Kilmarnock, on the 7th day of December, 1816, attended by a great multitude of persons, chiefly of the lower orders, wickedly and feloniously deliver a speech, containing a number of seditious and inflammatory remarks and assertions, calculated to degrade and bring into contempt the

government and legislature, and to withdraw therefrom the confidence and affections of the people, and fill the realm with trouble and dissension; in which speech there were the following, or similar wicked and seditious expressions:—"That our sufferings are insupportable is demonstrated to the world; and that they are neither temporary, nor occasioned by a transition from war to peace, is palpable to all, though all have not the courage to avow it. The fact is, we are ruled by men only solicitous for their own aggrandizement; and they care no farther for the great body of the people, than they are subservient to their accursed purposes.—If you are convinced of this, my countrymen, I would therefore put the question—Are you degenerate enough to bear it? shall we, whose forefathers set limits to the all-grasping power of Rome: Shall we, whose forefathers, at the never-to-be-forgotten field of Bannockburn, told the mighty Edward, at the head of the most mighty army that ever trod on Britain's soil—'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther'—Shall we, I say, whose forefathers defied the efforts of foreign tyranny to enslave our beloved country, meanly permit, in our day, without a murmur, a base oligarchy to feed their filthy vermin on our vitals, and rule us as they will? No, my countrymen. Let us lay our petitions at the foot of the throne, where sits our august prince, whose gracious nature will incline his ear to listen to the cries of the people, which he is bound to do by the laws of the country. But should he be so infatuated as to turn a deaf ear to their just petition, he has forfeited their allegiance. Yes, my fellow-townsmen, in such a case, to hell with our allegiance." Which speech the said Alexander M'Laren did afterwards cause to be printed and published. And the said Thomas

Baird, having been present at the said meeting, did afterwards print and publish a seditious tract or statement, containing a number of seditious and inflammatory remarks and assertions, such as—"and a House of Commons—but the latter is corrupted; it is decayed and worn out; it is not really what it is called; it is not a House of Commons," &c.

The prisoners, who were at large on bail, appeared at the bar, and the indictment having been read over, they pleaded *Not Guilty*.

After some discussion concerning the relevancy, a jury was chosen, and the Lord Advocate called the following witnesses.

Andrew Finnie, merchant in Kilmarnock, attended the meeting at Dean Park: there were about 4000 present, mostly of the lower orders. The prisoner, M'Laren, opened the proceedings by a speech explaining the nature of the meeting, which was to deliberate as to the necessity of petitioning for parliamentary reform. Witness did not recollect particularly his speech, except one passage near the end, viz. "Let us lay our petitions at the foot of the throne, where sits our august Prince, whose generous nature will incline his ear to hear the cries of his people, which he is bound to do by the constitutional laws of the country, and we are thereby bound to give him our allegiance; but if he should be so infatuated as to turn a deaf ear to the general cries of the people, to hell with allegiance!" Witness afterwards saw a printed pamphlet, containing the proceedings of the meeting, and M'Laren's speech; and the one shewn him in Court was one of them. There is some difference between the printed speech and the one as delivered; the words "he (the Prince) has forfeited his allegiance," were never mentioned. Mr Baird did not speak at the meeting; but witness

heard him observe, that it was a pity the expression about allegiance had been mentioned. M'Laren said to the committee, that if there was any thing wrong in his speech, to keep it out altogether; and Baird said, that the passage about allegiance was a very indecent expression. M'Laren told witness, that the passage about allegiance was a quotation from Shakespeare.

William Merrie, wright in Kilmar-nock, also attended the meeting in Dean Park, and corroborated the statement of the preceding witness. The words made use of by M'Laren were wishing the people to address the throne, and he said to hell with allegiance, or such allegiance, if the Regent turned a deaf ear to the voice of the people. M'Laren spoke in favourable terms of his Royal Highness, as "his august Prince," and in terms suitable to a loyal subject.

Hugh Crawford, printer in Kilmar-nock, printed the pamphlet; part of the manuscript was brought to the witness by David Andrews, writer in Kilmar-nock. Witness thinks he saw the prisoner Baird once attending the printing. Witness has not been paid, but he looks to Mr Andrews, Mr Finnie, and Mr Baird for payment; the latter got about five or six dozen of copies.

Thomas Murray, journeyman to the preceding witness, printed the pamphlet. The pannel, Baird, was twice or three times at the office, along with Mr Andrews, and they looked over the first proof.

James Johnston, muslin-agent in Kilmar-nock, was member of the committee along with M'Laren, Baird, and others, who drew up the resolutions afterwards read to the public meeting. There was a meeting of the committee afterwards, about printing the speeches, and M'Laren and Baird were present. Witness gave in his own speech, but he never read the pamph-

let, nor even his own speech. Witness has heard M'Laren say, that the words "to hell with our allegiance" were not in the original manuscript; he did not hear the speech delivered. M'Laren complained that he had been misrepresented in the words following the word "to" and ending with "allegiance," which he said he never had made use of. This complaint was made on the day M'Laren received his indictment. — (Cross-examined.) Witness has heard the prisoner Baird often complain, that it was a pity the passage about allegiance had been spoken at all. Witness has occasion to know the distressed state of the weaving trade; an active weaver, working fourteen hours a-day (from an average witness has made among his workmen), can make only 5s. 6d. weekly, and it is even better than some time back. The meeting was solely held to petition parliament and the Prince Regent. Witness has known M'Laren for eight years, and never saw any thing in him but quiet and orderly conduct. He was a member of the rifle corps at Kilmar-nock. He objected particularly to the printing of his speech, as it had been made up in a hurried manner, and he had no intention that morning of speaking at all.

Mr Grant here read an extract from the petition, as in the printed journals of the House of Commons, in which the petitioners complain of the corrupt representation, and that seats were bought and sold as openly as tickets for the opera. Witness declares they are the words used, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table of the House of Commons.

Hugh Wilson, weaver in Kilmar-nock, attended the public meeting: Johnston was preses, and M'Laren spoke first. Has seen the printed statement, and it seemed correct; it was sold at Baird's shop, and witness bought

the copy now shewn him there, for fourpence.—(Cross-examined.)—The object of the public meeting was to petition parliament and the Prince Regent for reform. It was a very stormy, windy day, and there was a great difficulty of hearing. Witness has known M'Laren for some years,* and always considered him a loyal and peaceable subject.—Witness has heard him argue on politics, and he always took the government side of the question.

David Bow, shopman to the prisoner, Baird, proved the selling of the pamphlet at his shop to the extent of some dozens. They were sold at different other places.

James Samson, weaver, stated, that the account of his speech, as given in the pamphlet, is nearly correct. He did not compose it himself; he got it from the prisoner, Baird, and read it at the meeting.—He said a Mr Burt had sent it to him to read at the meeting, as he could not attend himself.

The declarations of the prisoners were then read, which closed the case for the crown.

Exculpatory Proof.

James Samson called back. The object of the public meeting was, to petition parliament, and for no other purpose. Different persons were proposed in the committee to open the meeting. M'Laren was proposed, and he declined; he suggested other persons, and witness was one; but upon their refusal he undertook it himself. M'Laren was remarked as one of the most loyal men in the place where he dwelt, and he always argued in favour of the government, against the opposition.

John Andrew, Esq. chief magistrate of Kilmarnock, recollects the public meeting. The prisoner, Baird, met him one or two days before, and said he had been appointed by the committee to ask his permission to meet;

but, if he refused, they would give it up. Witness said, he did not approve of it, but he did not think he had any power to stop it. The meeting was held, and no tumult or riot ensued. Mr Baird is a highly respectable man, and was a captain in a volunteer corps.

The Rev. James Kirkwood gave Mr Baird an excellent character. He has conversed with him on politics, and he expressed a desire that the popular part of the constitution should be strengthened and increased by a reformation in the House of Commons, but only by means the most constitutional.

John Wyllie, surveyor of taxes, knows Mr Baird, who appears a friend to the constitution, but inclined to a reform in the representation in the House of Commons.

John Brown, writer, Kilmarnock, considers Mr Baird as one of the most respectable persons in Kilmarnock.

The evidence having been closed on both sides,

The Lord Advocate addressed the jury, in a speech which occupied two hours and a half. In commenting upon the evidence, his lordship observed that nothing was farther from the wish of his majesty's government than to prevent the undoubted right of the subject to petition both the throne and the parliament; but still, when meetings were duly called for that purpose, it was the bounden duty of persons addressing the assembled multitude, to keep exactly to the business for which such meeting was called, and not by inflammatory and seditious remarks and assertions to degrade and bring into contempt the government and legislature, to withdraw the confidence and affection of the people, and fill the kingdom with bloodshed, trouble, and dissension. In the present case the meeting had been held with the ostensible purpose of petitioning for reform; but the prisoners are found vilifying and abusing a component and essential

part of the constitution—nay, encouraging and advising the people to throw off their allegiance, if what *they* conceived their *just* petition was refused. His lordship then entered, at very great length, into the definition of the crime of sedition, and quoted the cases of Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Gerald, in 1793, 4, and 5, as illustrative of his argument; and concluded by calling upon the jury to return a verdict of guilty against both prisoners.

Mr Clerk, as counsel for M'Laren, addressed the jury. He observed, that the meeting here held was for a legitimate purpose, viz. to petition the throne, and both Houses of Parliament. No riot, no confusion had taken place—the civil magistrate had given his consent—and petitions, couched in even stronger terms than the speeches upon the hustings, had been received by both Houses of Parliament and laid upon the table. [Here the learned counsel read a number of petitions from the printed journals of the House of Commons, to shew that language of even a more offensive nature had been stated to the House, and these petitions received and laid upon the table.] When a person attends a meeting for the cause of reform, and states his opinion to the public assembled, the fairest interpretation ought to be put on what is there said; and it was unfair to cull out particular clauses and expressions, to found against him a charge of sedition. After commenting at length on the general features of the case and evidence, the learned counsel concluded with appealing to the feelings and good sense of the jury, from whom he confidently expected a verdict of acquittal.

Mr Jeffrey addressed the jury, as counsel for Mr Baird, in an eloquent speech of three hours and a half. The right of petitioning, he contended, was, since the glorious Revolution, the inherent right of every Briton. When

assembled to consider grievances, was it for a moment to be supposed, that persons, such as had assembled at this public meeting, would express their ideas in such refined terms as those in a different station of life, and with a superior education would do? The liberty of speech upon such occasions was licensed, not only by the constitution, but by every law authority in England; in so far as expressions, much more inflammatory than those here charged, were daily used upon the hustings in the southern part of the kingdom, without the persons so expressing themselves being laid hold of by the public prosecutor. The fact was, that the law of England mildly looked upon her children, when expressing their grievances, and probably overstepping the strict bounds of correctness of speech, in the same light as a physician would look upon a patient in a slight fever or delirium, rather to be cured by emollient than coercive medicines. If, then, the people of England had the glorious right of stating their grievances with all the phlegmatic characteristics of that nation, was the hot and stormy Scotchman, smarting, as he imagined himself, under supposed grievances, not entitled to express himself, unless in terms of the strictest propriety and decorum, because an obsolete law had made that sedition which was perfectly consistent with the rights of a free nation? Weak must that government be, which was under the necessity of catching at the unguarded expressions of a few obscure individuals. The right of petitioning, the learned counsel observed, for annual parliaments and universal suffrage, was legitimate and constitutional;—these were principles recognized in the theory of our constitution; and although the jury might be of a different opinion, yet, God forbid that any man should be punished for differing from them in opinion, while

what he had in view was a fair and legitimate object of pursuit. The cases of Muir, Palmer, and others, in 1793, 4, and 5, had been brought forward, but these cases had not the smallest analogy. At that time, a neighbouring nation had, from newly-imbibed principles, thrown off their allegiance to the legitimate monarch,—they had declared themselves enemies to all crowned heads, and declared they would assist all those not satisfied with their government ;—persons imbibing such principles in this country had formed themselves into societies—into clubs in every little town and hamlet—into a convention, calling themselves “The Delegates of the People to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments,” and, under these pretexts, demagogues had gone over the country, sowing the poisonous principles of the French revolutionists in every corner. But, in the present case, a few inhabitants of a provincial town, meeting constitutionally for a legitimate purpose, upon a green in the immediate vicinity of their residences, and where, in all probability, they never might meet again for the same purpose, preparing their petitions, and dispersing quietly without riot or disorder, it was most preposterous to suppose, that any individual, addressing such a meeting in the warm language of a man, knowing himself to be free, could be said to be guilty of sedition, or comparable to the persons who had been brought to trial in 1793, 4, and 5.—The learned counsel, after expressing a fear that he had exhausted the jury, as he had exhausted himself, concluded his speech with calling upon the jury to acquit the prisoners.

The Lord Justice Clerk, at eleven o'clock, began to sum up the evidence. His lordship read, from Hume's Treas-

tise on the Criminal Law of Scotland, that author's definition of the crime of sedition. His lordship then commented upon the obnoxious passages quoted in the indictment, observing, that it was his opinion, and that of his brethren on the Bench, (Lords Hermand, Gillies, Pitmilley, and Reston,) that they were of a seditious nature. His lordship then went over, at considerable length, the evidence adduced, to shew in how far it went to convict the prisoners, observing, that if the jury were satisfied of their guilt, and the seditious tendency of the libel, they would find accordingly ; but if, on the other hand, they should be of opinion, that, from the former excellent characters of the prisoners, and the whole circumstances of the case, the public prosecutor had failed in making out a *criminal* intent, they would return a verdict of acquittal.

At one o'clock, on Sunday morning, the jury were inclosed, and directed to return a written verdict on Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

MONDAY, April 7.

This morning the Court met, and the jury returned a verdict, finding the prisoner M'Laren, by a plurality of votes, *Guilty* of the crimes libelled ; and all in one voice finding Baird also *Guilty* of the crimes libelled—but, in consideration of their former good character, unanimously recommended them to the mercy of the Court.

The Lord Advocate then craved the judgment of the Court. The Judges having delivered their opinions, the Lord Justice Clerk, after a suitable admonition, sentenced the prisoners to six months imprisonment in the jail of Canongate, and to find caution for good behaviour for three years ; Baird in 200*l.* and M'Laren in 40*l.*

NEIL DOUGLAS, UNIVERSALIST
PREACHER, FOR SEDITION.

*High Court of Justiciary—Edinburgh,
May 26, 1817.*

The Court proceeded to the trial of Neil Douglas, universalist preacher, residing in Stockwell-street, of the city of Glasgow, indicted and accused of sedition.

The following extract contains the charge against the prisoner :

“ You the said Neil Douglas did wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and seditiously, in the course of the prayers, sermons, or declamations uttered by you, assert and draw a parallel between his Majesty and Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, remarking and insinuating, that, like the said King of Babylon, his Majesty was driven from the society of men, for infidelity and corruption : and you, then and there, did further wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and seditiously assert, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was a poor infatuated wretch, or a poor infatuated devotee of Bacchus, or use impressions of similar import : and you, then and there, did wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and seditiously assert and draw a parallel between his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and Belshazzar, King of Babylon ; remarking and insinuating that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, like the said King of Babylon, had not taken warning from the example of his father ; and that a fate similar to that of the said King of Babylon awaited his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, if he did not amend his ways, and listen to the voice of his people : and further, time and place aforesaid, you did wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and seditiously assert that the House of Commons was corrupt, and that the members thereof were thieves and robbers ; that

seats in the said House of Parliament were sold like bullocks in a market ; or use expressions of similar import : and further, time and place aforesaid, you did wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and seditiously assert, that the laws were not justly administered within this kingdom ; and that the subjects of his Majesty were condemned without trial, and without evidence, or use expressions of similar import.”

Alexander Gollan, now or formerly residing in Tobago Street, Calton of Glasgow, was the first witness called. He was a patrol for the county of Lanark—once or twice attended Mr Douglas's preachings—place crowded, mostly of the lowest orders—it was on Sunday, about six o'clock, in the month of January or February. He generally ran upon politics—recollects one text from v. of Daniel—Mr Douglas made a simile, or represented George III. and the Prince Regent to be like Kings Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar ; he instanced the King of France, as not having listened to the voice of the people, and brought himself to the block.—That it was necessary to have a reform, and by petitioning, he had no doubt it would be obtained. In his prayer, he prayed the Lord to convert the Prince, whom he called infatuated, and to disperse the counsel about him, and place wise and faithful counsellors round the throne. In his lecture he said, that every person, according to his situation, would be punished for his crimes, and that the Prince would be punished for a series of time, for not listening to the voice of the people. He found fault with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, but said nothing about those who passed the suspension of it.

Witness recollects the prisoner saying that he conceived a common executioner to be a far more honourable situation than a king, because the one

only took one or two lives in the year, but the king thousands. He spoke of the Prince Regent as being with his Bacchanalian Court, or used similar expressions. He said nothing of the fate of Belshazzar. He spoke uncommonly quick, faster than witness could take up what he said. Witness went to hear him out of curiosity. He said that God had punished the King for his unjust doings to the nation. He said, that as Belshazzar had drunk wine out of the forbidden vessels, so the Prince Regent was not taking a warning by his father, and was not lending an ear to the prayers and supplications of the people, and that God would undoubtedly punish him for it afterwards. Both in prayers, sermon, and lecture, he said that corruption had crept into the House of Commons.

James Waddell, surgeon in Glasgow, has also heard Mr Douglas preach, he thinks in February last; he went from motives of curiosity.—The discourse was altogether novel, in discussing politics whilst preaching the gospel. He was occasionally very violent. The impression on witness's mind was, that he was drawing a parallel betwixt Nebuchadnezzar and the King, and Belshazzar and the Prince Regent, and that the King was deprived of his reason for his sins and crimes; he cannot recollect the exact words, it is merely the impression on witness's mind, and he had no doubt at the time.

Alexander Taylor, town-officer, Glasgow, said, that he had heard the pannel preach, and he was sent twice particularly to hear him. That he preached from Daniel, and he said, while preaching, that seats in the House of Commons were sold like bullocks in a market, and that the House was vastly open to corruption; that he compared Great Britain to Babylon, and he hoped the happy period was come for its downfall: that he advised his hearers to pray to turn the heart of

the Prince, as a good prayer would have more effect than 10,000 men: that he quoted John Knox as an exemplary character, and spoke in disrespectful terms of the King and Prince Regent, particularly of the latter, and drew a parallel between Belshazzar and the Prince Regent, much against the latter: that kings deserved the vengeance of God, particularly the European kings: that he said there was such corruption in Parliament, that the laws were not properly administered.

John McCallum, town officer, Glasgow, said, that he was sent by the Magistrates to hear the pannel preach, either in February or March: that he was then preaching about Belshazzar's feast, and said that Britain was the mystical Babylon mentioned in the Scriptures: that he made allusion to all kings and rulers; but does not recollect his making any particular use of it against the King or Prince Regent. The pannel made some allusions to the House of Commons, but does not recollect them now.

Matthew Lowdon, tailor, Glasgow, said, that he heard Mr Douglas preach three times last winter upon the handwriting Belshazzar saw upon the wall: that he alluded to Nebuchadnezzar being driven from the society of men, and alluded to the King also, who was driven from men's society, but not into those of beasts; and that this had no effect upon the Prince Regent, who behaved like Belshazzar: that he was very animated, and called the House of Commons a corrupted house: he prayed for the King and Prince Regent, and that they might get better counsellors, and that the heart of the poor infatuated Prince might be turned.

Hugh Paterson, labourer, Glasgow, said, that he remembers going to hear Mr Douglas preach twice, either in March or February, and he preached out of Daniel; and he remembers hear-

ing him in his prayer, call the Prince Regent a poor wretched or infatuated being, he not taking a warning by his father's fate: that Nebuchadnezzar had been driven from the society of men for his sins, and that our King had been the same. The pannel compared the Prince Regent to Belshazzar, by drinking out of the vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem, along with his wives, concubines, and courtiers, and polluting them: that Louis XVI. of France had lost his life by bad counsellors, and that the Prince Regent also would not listen to poor petitioners, owing to bad counsel.

John Weddell, tobacconist, Glasgow, said, that he went, about ten or twelve weeks ago, to hear the pannel preach three times, and that the text was Daniel, v. ; that the impression on his mind at the time was, that Mr Douglas said that the Prince Regent was as fit for a gibbet as a throne ; but there was a great deal of confusion at the time ; this was the first night he heard Mr Douglas, and the service was begun before he went there, but recollects nothing else. When he went the second time, the pannel said that some of those who were concerned in the battle of Waterloo thought it an honour, but, for his part, he thought it a disgrace. The declarations of the pannel which were admitted by the pannel's Counsel, were then read, and closed the proof for the Crown.

Exculpatory Proof.

Allan Campbell, teacher in Glasgow, is a regular attender of Mr Douglas's chapel : attended his evening lectures in February and March last : remembers him lecturing on Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and drawing a partial parallel betwixt them and the King as to his derangement. He never said the King had been afflicted on account of his infidelity and sins—he prayed that the King might be resto-

red to his throne, if not to one in heaven. He always spoke of the King with respect, and generally prayed for him. He thinks Mr Douglas prayed more fervently for him than any minister in the Established Church whom witness has heard. Never heard him say that the Prince Regent was an infatuated wretch, or a devotee of Bacchus—he can safely swear so. On the 9th of March, witness was told there were spies in the house, and he paid particular attention to the discourse that evening—there was nothing said about the House of Commons—never heard him say it was corrupt or unjust, or that the members were thieves and robbers. He always spoke highly of the laws and administration of justice. Witness recollects of him saying, the Sunday after his son's trial, that he deemed it a high honour to be a native of a country where the laws were so impartially administered—his son had been tried and convicted of swindling, and this was seriously said from the pulpit. Witness knows Mr Douglas in private life ; he always spoke highly of the Government and Constitution—he was a friend to reform, but he deprecated all rioting or force, but by petition. He advised his hearers to have nothing to do with the riots which took place in the Calton last summer. He never heard him say that the Prince Regent was as fit for a gibbet as a throne.

William Warrell, weaver in Glasgow, also regularly attended Mr Douglas's chapel, and recollects him lecturing on Nebuchadnezzar ; he compared him to the King, principally on account of the length of their indisposition ; he said the head was afflicted for the sins of the nation. He prayed that the King might be restored to his throne and reason in the same manner as Nebuchadnezzar ; he recommended to his hearers to pray for the King. He applied the term thieves

and robbers, from the 10th chapter of St John, to ministers of the church who came in by patronage, as not coming in by the door, but climbing up some other way. In every other particular, this witness corroborated the testimony of the preceding.

William Nisbet, weaver in Glasgow, in every particular, corroborated the evidence of the two preceding.

John Rentoul, candlemaker in Glasgow, also attended Mr Douglas's chapel regularly for twelve years, and was present at all his evening lectures in February and March last. Remembers Mr Douglas making mention of the name of the King, but cannot recollect any thing about an allusion to Nebuchadnezzar—never heard him make use of the expressions in the indictment. He must have heard him if he had. He used to pray for the King more earnestly than any minister witness ever heard—he always spoke of him with respect. In other particulars this witness corroborated the preceding.

David Young, weaver in Glasgow, and John Chalmers, gave similar testimony.

Mr Jeffrey stated that he had several more witnesses in attendance, but he considered it quite unnecessary to take up the time of the Court at this late hour with calling any more.

The Solicitor-General addressed the jury for the Crown. He acknowledged that the evidence adduced against the prisoner had fallen far short of what he had had reason to expect; it had not been such, he admitted, as to warrant a verdict of Guilty on any of the charges; but though this had not been made out, he would expect a verdict of Not Proven.

Mr Jeffrey then followed on behalf of the prisoner. He stated, that as nothing had been proved against Mr Douglas, he was not bound to suffer such a stain on his character as a ver-

dict of Not Proven would attach to it, and he confidently expected a verdict of Not Guilty.

The Lord Justice Clerk said, after what had been so ably stated by the Counsel on both sides, he would leave the case entirely with the jury.

The jury having retired for a few minutes, returned a *viva voce* verdict by Mr Dundas of Dundas, their chancellor, unanimously finding the prisoner *Not Guilty*.

The Lord Justice Clerk, after a short admonition to Mr Douglas, advising him in future to be more careful in the selection of his subjects for the moral and religious instruction of his hearers, dismissed him from the bar.

Mr Douglas thanked the Court, and added, that he ever had, and ever would pray sincerely for his Majesty and the Royal Family.

ANDREW MACKINLAY FOR ADMINISTERING UNLAWFUL OATHS.

*Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh,
July 19.*

The Lord Advocate having opened the case, John Campbell was called for the crown, and after some objections, allowed to give his evidence.

John Campbell, sworn and examined, *in initialibus*, if he had received any reward, or promise of reward, for being a witness. He answered, he had. The Lord Advocate moved that the witness's words should be taken down. The witness was then desired to state distinctly, how and in what manner. Depones, That he was apprehended, along with the prisoner, he thinks, upon the 22d day of February last, without cause assigned, or without a warrant. He was called before the Sheriff on the Tuesday or Wednesday following, and examined, and asked, if

he knew what he was brought there for ; he said he did not know ; and the Sheriff insisted he did, and that it would be wisdom in him to make his breast clean. After some similar conversation, the Sheriff went out, leaving the witness with Mr Salmond, and he is not sure if there was any other person present. Mr Salmond said, " John, I suppose you are not aware that I know so much about this business ;" and added, " I suppose you do not know that I have the oath you took at Legget's, on the 1st of January ?" Witness denied it. After several examinations before the Sheriff, and being often closetted with Mr Salmond, one of these times, after using many entreaties, and these having failed, Mr Salmond began railing against the prisoners as villains, who had betrayed him (the witness,) for whom he expressed a great respect ; and added, " John, I assure you, I have six men who will swear you took that oath, and you are as sure to be hanged as you are in life." Depones, That upon this he answered him, if he got six men to swear so, they would perjure themselves ; Mr Salmond said, " John, John, it is impossible six men could be got to perjure themselves." After this, Mr Salmond said, " You will ruin yourself if you persist in this way ; but, if you take the other way, you will do yourself much good." Depones, That after much conversation, he said, he was not much afraid of what came one way, and he could not see any good the other. Mr Salmond said, that the Lord Advocate was in Glasgow, and he would come under any obligations if he would be a witness : That shortly after this he was taken before the Sheriff, when Mr Drummond, the Advocate-Depute, came into the room, after which he was examined ; but the subject of the obligation was not mentioned ; and soon after he was removed to Edin-

burgh Castle : That when in the castle, he was visited by Mr Drummond, who told him Mackinlay had been served with an indietment, and that his name was in the list of witnesses ; that now was the time for him to determine whether he would be a witness or not. Witness said, he would not ; and he, Mr Drummond, knew, that if he did, he need not go back to Glasgow, as he could not live there : That Mr Drummond said, he might live somewhere else, and change his name ; but witness said, he would not, and that it would be much the same, if he lived in any other manufacturing place, as in Glasgow : That Mr Drummond said he was thinking of a plan to write to Lord Sidmouth, to get him into the Excise, and that if the witness chose, he would write, and shew him his lordship's answer. Witness answered, he did not choose the office of an exciseman, and remarked, at the same time, it was the only office under government he was capable for ; but as it was an office exposed to risk and ill-will, he did not chuse it, as he had formerly been a peace-officer : That, at this conversation, no person was present but Mr Drummond ; and he was with him in the castle several times. At the first interview, Mr Drummond asked him what he wanted to have ? Witness remained silent, and made no answer. Mr Drummond then stated, that if he gave such information as would please the Lord Advocate, he would neither be called for as a witness, nor brought to trial : That he said that was a very uncertain matter, and he did not know what information they wanted, or that he could give more than they already had ; and that if his information did not please the Lord Advocate, he lay open to every attack that might be made against him. Mr Drummond said, " I wish to do every thing to favour you, and will give you a day or

two to think of it. Do you wish that I should call back again?" After some hesitation witness said, you may do as you please. In a few days Mr Drummond came back again, and said, "Now, Campbell, this is the last time, you must determine now." Witness asked him if he had written to Lord Sidmouth? Mr Drummond answered, no; as he had rejected it. Mr Drummond asked if he had made up his mind yet? Witness said, he had, upon conditions. He asked what these were? A passport to go to the continent. Mr Drummond answered, he supposed nobody could stop him. Witness said, being a mechanic, the law of the country did not allow him to get it. He answered, with a smile, "If that is all, there can be no question you will get it, and means to carry you there." They were standing when this took place; and witness said, upon these conditions, he would be a witness, provided his wife were taken into consideration. Mr Drummond said, "Campbell, sit down, and let us understand each other properly, as I would not wish that we should misunderstand each other at the latter end." They then sat down, and witness mentioned to Mr Drummond that his wife was very delicate, and in poor circumstances, having nothing but what she earned; and if it was known that he was to be a witness, she might suffer ill-will from the public. Mr Drummond then said, "Poor woman, she will be ill off; write a letter to her, give it to Captain Sibbald, and mark a one pound note on it." Sibbald would bring it to him, and he would enclose the note. Mr Drummond also desired him to write her that he was to be witness, and to leave Glasgow, and go to his (witness's) father's at Symmington in Ayrshire. Witness said that would be the first thing that would make it known in Glasgow, as she could not read writing well. Af-

ter some conversation about writing to some friend at Glasgow, it was agreed that witness should write a letter to his wife, stating, that a friend of his would send her a one-pound note to bear her expences to Edinburgh by the coach, and she would receive money there to carry her back. This letter was given to Mr Sibbald in consequence of the conversation with Mr Drummond; but some days after, it was brought back to Mr Drummond, who told him, that the Lord Advocate disapproved of such a letter, but that Mr Salmond, at Glasgow, had been directed to send for the witness's wife, and tell her to come to Edinburgh. After stating this, Mr Drummond read a letter from Mr Salmond, stating, that he had bought her a ticket to come in the coach to Falkirk, and from thence to Edinburgh; but she was unwell, and could not come, but would come in a day or two; and the witness then burnt the letter he had written. It was mentioned by Mr Drummond, that the Sheriff was coming to examine him, and he and his Substitute, Solicitor-General, Procurator-Fiscal, and a clerk came in. On the first question being put—"Well, Campbell, what have you got to say in this business?" he answered, supposing he was concerned in that affair, and was to tell the whole truth, he did not consider either himself or his wife safe; and that without he got a passport to the continent, and means to carry him there, he could not be a witness. Upon which Mr Drummond said to the Solicitor-General, "Answer you that." The Solicitor-General then ordered the clerk to write these words, as he thinks:—"Whereupon the Solicitor-General assures the declarant, that every means necessary will be taken to preserve him and his wife, and that he will get a passport to quit the country and go to the continent, and the means to carry him

there." During this time, the Sheriff was walking up and down the room, which is pretty large ; he was desired to come and sign this ; when he came and sat down at the table, and, after perusing the paper for some time, said, " I will not sign this ;" and stated, that he being an officer of the crown, it was his duty to see justice done ; and he could assure the witness, that if he was to sign that paper, he would have much to answer for ; for when he was brought as a witness, if he said, he had received no reward, nor promise of reward, and that paper be produced, he would perjure himself. Witness answered, No, if it was considered as a means of his preservation ; and he was supported in the same argument by Mr Drummond. Upon which the Sheriff said. " He would sign no such paper." Mr Drummond proposed that it should be put down that he should go into one of the British colonies, but the Sheriff refused this also ; adding, " that he was willing to put down, that every means should be used for the preservation of him and his wife, but nothing more." A pause ensued ; and Mr Drummond looked at the witness, and said, " Now, Campbell, you know best whether you will be a witness on these terms or not." Witness remained silent, and Mr Drummond said, " Now, Campbell, do you believe we are able to do that for you which you expect without its being set down on paper ?" and, at this time, the Sheriff was sitting at the table. Witness said, he knew they were able, if they were willing. Mr Drummond said, " Would he rely upon them for that." Witness said, " May I ?" Mr Drummond said, " You may ;" and then witness said loudly, " Then I shall rely on you as gentlemen." Shortly after this, he was allowed to write his own declaration, all excepting one part relating to Mr Kerr. A few days after, the Sheriff, Procurator-Fiscal,

and a clerk, came up to have the narrative signed, when the Sheriff advised him to go home to his loom when he got rid of this, and let them rule the nation as they chose. Witness answered, that if he thought he was to go back to his loom again, he would rather be served with an indictment, even after all he had written ; to which the Sheriff said, he had nothing to do with that, as it remained between him and others. Witness was again visited by Mr Drummond, when he ordered Captain Sibbald to give him plenty of books, which he got, to the extent of nearly 100 volumes. About a fortnight or three weeks ago, he wrote a letter to Mr Drummond, stating, he wanted some clothes and money for his wife. He received a pair of shoes from Mr Sibbald, by orders of Mr Drummond ; and received for answer from Captain Sibbald, that he could not get any money at present, but that he would get it after the first trial. He wrote another letter to Mr Drummond, stating, a part of what was stated in his declaration, as a gentle demand for money, and received the same answer from Captain Sibbald, who said he received it from Mr Drummond : That, although the engagement was not in writing, in consequence of the interference of the Sheriff, and which writing was immediately burnt in his presence ; yet he considers it an existing engagement, upon the performance of which he thinks himself entitled to rely ; and that the declaration he made and gave to the Sheriff of Mid-Lothian, was made upon a reliance on that engagement : That at the conversation with Mr Drummond, when he got the order to get books, he had been cited as a witness on the trial of Mackinlay, and the first book was on the 22d of April last, in the week Mr Drummond went the circuit : That the idea of danger to himself was first suggested by the Sheriff and Fiscal of Glas-

grow, who asked, if it was for fear of his life that he would not be a witness? He cannot say, he thought his life in danger, but he did not like to go back to Glasgow, after being a witness: In none of the conversations with any of the gentlemen above-mentioned, was any attempt made in any way to instruct him as to what he should say in giving evidence. The witness then signed his declaration in presence of the Court.

Mr Jeffrey proposed to call Sir William Rae, to corroborate certain parts of Campbell's declaration, which was agreed to by the Lord Advocate.

The Court then spoke at some length on the competency of the last witness, and decided that he could not be examined, as he came forward to give his evidence, under the impression that he was to receive a certain remuneration, or had made an agreement to that effect.

After several other witnesses had been called, the Lord Advocate rose,

and addressed the Court, stating, that in consequence of the disappointment he had experienced in the turn which the evidence he had adduced had taken, he found he could not receive the verdict which his former impressions had led him to expect. He, therefore, would not take up the valuable time of the Judges and jury, in going farther into a discussion which could neither be beneficial to the country nor to the pannel. He, therefore, left it to the jury to return a verdict of *not proven*, or *not guilty*, as they deemed most proper.

Mr Jeffrey complimented the Lord Advocate and the other counsel for the Crown, for their conduct on this occasion; and stated, that he had not seen an occasion on which the conduct of the Court had been directed to the maintenance of the constitution and the liberty of the subject with more propriety.

The jury returned a verdict of *Not Proven*.

TRIALS FOR LIBEL.

THOMAS JONATHAN WOOLER FOR A
POLITICAL LIBEL.

*Court, of King's Bench—Thursday,
June 5.*

The libel is contained in a paper, called the Black Dwarf, of which the defendant is author and printer. The following passage may afford a specimen:—

“ We start from the contrast of what we were with what we are, with as much astonishment as if we could not have anticipated the change. But those who will not attend to their own

affairs, must take from experience the lesson that others will invariably deceive them, or betray them. Our ministers have done both. The nation has to reproach them with the most infamous duplicity, the most dreadful treachery. They promised us that they would fight our battles, but they have fought their own. They talked of patriotism, when they meant plunder; and told us, we were fighting the battles of regular governments abroad, when they have been reduced to the necessity, even in the boasted success of our arms, to destroy that constitution themselves, which they pretended

they called upon us to pay, and combat to defend. The constitution which France could not assail, nor ever wished to injure, has perished at St Stephens, perished ignobly, and without a struggle, among the representatives of the people, the guardians of the public purse. Have our ministers any farther object to achieve? or will they be satisfied with the violation of our most important laws? Will they be satisfied with our toil as slaves, or must we *bleed* to appease the cause of freedom and reform? If we must, we have only to request of them, in the language of Ajax, to destroy us in the open light of heaven, breathing our appeal to the God of Freedom against the agents of slavery and degradation.

“ We embarked in the *last war* to conquer France, and we have conquered *ourselves*; our ministers have scarcely breathed from the contest of freedom *abroad*, and they are already in full armed mail against liberty at home. They would destroy the very name, but it is immortal. It starts fresh from the scythe of persecution. The blood of one martyred patriot is the dew that waters the soil, from which shall spring a thousand and ten thousand heroes. The ministers might as well attempt to veil the sun by Act of Parliament, as to destroy public sentiment by legislative restrictions. These are attempts that destroy themselves, and that provoke the crisis that might have been avoided. The delusions practised by the ministers are now seen through, and despised or hated. It was not to subdue France, but to subjugate England to *their* yoke, that they have taxed, and lied, and urged us on to fight those who were not our enemies. We have been impoverishing our strength against the French, that we might at last be an easy prey to our own junto of rough-riders and political jockies. They have pushed us on to dangers, while they gained some-

thing by every step we took; and now, when a nation of paupers *supplicate for food*, they are threatened with imprisonment and even death. Every man that falls a victim to this state of things is virtually murdered; and, although the laws of man may not be able to reach or punish the murderers, Heaven’s all-seeing eye will mark them, and demand a signal retribution from the guilty head.

“ Mr Canning has been living all his days on the life-blood of the constitution; and with his own exertions, and the indefatigable exertions of his meritorious companions, at this figurative scene of blood, the life-spring of the constitution is almost drained; yet the appetite of Mr Canning is not half satiated; he would drink it to the last dregs, and sit with hungry looks upon the exhausted treasures of his country. The appetite of our statesmen for plunder seems to be increasing, as the finances of the state diminish. The retrenchment to which they have been compelled to resort, has consisted only in the unjust dismissal of the poor and meritorious servants of the state, that the salaries of their useless superiors might be increased, and such men as Castlereagh bribe such men as Canning to associate in a league for the oppression of their country. Such is the unblushing impudence of Canning’s brazen features, that he dares to sit as a legislator in an assembly from which he ought to be dismissed with execration. What comparison can be made in point of actual guilt, between the miserable being who commits a petty theft under the influence of distress, and the statesman who takes advantage of a sacred trust to betray the confidence of a nation, and prey like a vulture on the life-blood of the empire? When the gibbet is pre-

pared for the one, the scaffold should be ready for the other; the sacred name of justice should not be profaned by the punishment of the one, while it is mocked by the escape of the other. A country that would prosper should always remember, that the vices of high life, which occasion the distresses of the lower orders, ought to be visited in their origin, and not in their effects. A wretch, who is driven to violence to obtain food, may be pitied and pardoned without any extension of charity; but the villain of choice is deserving of condemnation without pity, and death without remorse."

The defendant spoke in his own cause, and was answered by the Attorney-General.

Mr Justice Abbott summed up to the jury; leaving it to them to decide, whether the productions were or were not libels, expressing his opinion very decidedly in the affirmative.

After the jury had turned round, and consulted for a few minutes, one of them asked his Lordship—supposing they considered the facts to be true, whether they were still by law bound to find the publication a libel—whether facts were libels?

Mr Justice Abbott answered, that the truth of the fact did not justify the libel; and read to them the opinion of Lord Raymond upon the question.

The jury retired for two hours and a half, and then returned to the Court, the foreman standing with three of his fellows at the door of the Judge's room; the other jurymen were behind them.

The clerk then put the question in the usual form; and the foreman answered, we find him guilty; but three of the jurymen wish to state special grounds.

Mr Justice Abbott.—Your verdict

must be a general verdict of guilty, or not guilty. Do I understand you to say, that you find the defendant guilty?

The foreman bowed, and we believe added, "Yes."

Is the verdict of guilty the verdict of all the gentlemen of the jury? The foreman again bowed.

After the jury impanelled for the trial of the second information had retired, Mr Chitty said, that he hoped it would not be considered as an impertinent intrusion, if he mentioned to his lordship, that three of the jurymen stated that they had not brought in their verdict guilty.

Mr Justice Abbott.—When I put the question, the foreman answered in the affirmative, that it was the verdict of the whole jury.

Mr Chitty.—Three of the jury understood that they were to go back and reconsider, as your lordship could only receive a general verdict. I presume that the Crown only wishes to obtain a verdict by the unanimous voice of the jury.

Mr Justice Abbott.—I take it for granted, that the Crown only wishes to obtain a verdict by legal means—by the unanimous voice of the jury. There was no need for that observation. The verdict is recorded here.

Mr Wooller.—Their error is not to prejudice my case.

Mr Justice Abbott.—In the proper place you may apply. I have no wish to get a verdict which is not the verdict of the whole; but it seems to me, that here I cannot listen to you; the jury have retired, and some are probably gone home.

The question was afterwards argued in the King's Bench, and a new trial was ordered. The Attorney-General, however, gave up the prosecution.

JAMES WILLIAMS FOR PARODIES ON
THE LITANY, &c.

Nov. 25th.

The defendant had admitted judgment to go by default on an information charging him, a bookseller and stationer at Portsea, with printing and publishing a scandalous, infamous, and impious libel, tending to bring into contempt that part of the service of the Church of England, called the Litany. He was now brought up, on the motion of the Attorney-General, to receive judgment. The officer of the Court was about to read the information of the libel, when the defendant interposed, and said, that he did not wish the Court to be troubled by the repetition of the offensive matter. He then put in two affidavits by himself, in which he deposed, that he had been fifteen years in business, and had not, until now, been accused of the slightest infringement of the law. That he was entirely unconnected with, and unknown to the original publisher of the libels in question, which he had reprinted at the request of a travelling dealer, without being at all aware of their dangerous tendency; for him he had struck off 250 copies, besides some that he had reserved for himself, the sale of which he stopped immediately, when he learnt their profane and illegal nature, at the same time ordering the types to be dispersed. He had a wife and five children depending upon him for support.

Other affidavits from persons resident in Portsea were put in; they gave the defendant an excellent character for general loyalty and propriety of demeanour.

Mr Justice Bayley, in passing sentence, observed, that the libels in ques-

tion well merited the epithets bestowed upon them in the information; they were calculated to undermine the foundation of all moral and religious duties, and to bring into ridicule and contempt the sacred ordinances of the Church; to fill the minds, more especially of the lower orders, with light and trivial matters, at a time when they ought to be devoted to the service and adoration of God. The case before the Court was certainly not one of the most aggravated description; but if defendant had unpremeditatedly been the means of circulating these blasphemous productions, the evil with respect to others was the same; a slight perusal of them was sufficient to convince any man who revered the sacred institutions of his country, that they were profane and scandalous. It was said, that the Creed of St Athanasius had been objected to by some of the holiest and ablest men. It might be so; but their calm and learned discussion could be no warrant for an intemperate and impious attack like the present. With regard to others, who had first been guilty of this offence, they might or might not be more deserving of punishment, the Court always regulates its sentence by the circumstances before it, not aggravating the punishment in the case earliest brought before it, because it is the first, nor diminishing it in the latest, because it is the last. The sentence was,—That the defendant, for the first libel, should be imprisoned in Winchester jail for eight calendar months, pay a fine of 100*l.* and give security for five years, himself in 300*l.*, and two sureties in 150*l.* each. For the second libel, it was ordered, that he should be imprisoned four calendar months.

N. B. The above parodies were the same for which Hone was afterwards tried.

WILLIAM HONE FOR PARODIES.

*Court of King's Bench, Thursday,
Dec. 18th.*

1st, *Parody on the Catechism.*

Mr Shepherd opened the pleadings, and stated that this was an information filed by his Majesty's Attorney-General, against William Hone, for printing and publishing a mischievous and profane libel upon the Church of England Catechism, the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The defendant had pleaded Not Guilty.

The Attorney-General then stated the case to the jury. The libel was charged as an offence against the religion and established worship of the Church of England, as founded by law, and recognised by Act of Parliament. It had been said by all judges, in all times, and particularly by one of the most learned judges which this country ever produced—a judge learned in law as well as in science—a judge who was one of the best and most learned of men, he meant Sir M. Hale, who, in one short sentence, said, “that Christianity is parcel of the common law of England.” The service of the Church of England became a part of the statute-law in the reign of Charles II., when the book of Common Prayer was corrected in its present form, and was annexed to the Act of Parliament as a part of the act itself, so as to become the enacting form of the Liturgy of the Church of England. Therefore, if to revile, or to bring into ridicule or contempt the Liturgy so established was not an offence, Christianity would be no longer parcel of the common law of England, nor could the legislative security to which he alluded be considered as a part of the statute-law; because if this was not an offence, the

law would not be equal to protect that which was a part and parcel of the law. Whatever might be the motive of the person who penned this parody, if it had a tendency to ridicule and bring into contempt the service of the Church, he would be clearly guilty of a libel. It was unnecessary for him to argue this proposition, in order to satisfy the minds of the jury, for the inference to be drawn from the work must be obvious to their understanding, by reference to its application. If they as fathers wished their sons and daughters to become Christians, if they wished their sons and daughters to hold in reverence these sacred subjects, he only desired them to read this parody, and tell him, whether, if they were to suffer any of their children to read it, or if they were to suffer it to be put into the hands of the lower orders of the community, (who, though they might have instruction to a certain extent, were not able to cope with a dangerous work of this sort,) those children, or that class of the community, would have the same degree of reverential awe for those sacred works which was due to such subjects. That it was unnecessary for him, perhaps, now to read the libel in the terms set forth, because it would be read by the officer of the Court; they must, however, be satisfied, that, though it might have been written for the purpose of a political squib, yet it was a parody in such terms, as were obviously calculated to bring the Church of England into ridicule and contempt. That it was a parody was beyond all doubt, because the defendant had used the very terms employed in the service, and it was only necessary to refer the jury to the terms of the Church Catechism, and compare them with the libel, to satisfy them on that point. (Here the learned Attorney-General illustrated his observation, by first reading parts of the Church Catechism, and compa-

ring with the parody. The recital of some phrases in the latter occasioned a burst of laughter in the lower part of the Court).

Mr Justice Abbot—If there is any person of so light a disposition in Court, that he cannot forbear considering this as a subject of mirth, he ought, at least, not to disturb those who are more grave and sober men.

The Attorney-General resumed, and said with increased warmth, that if this parody was so ridiculous as to excite mirth, he was not sorry for the ebullition which called forth the animadversion of the learned judge, because it established the truth of his proposition, and manifested the tendency of the libel. It was impossible, however, for twelve men, who understood the nature of the law of England, as laid down by Sir M. Hale, to doubt that the publication which he read was an obnoxious and profane libel, tending to bring into ridicule and contempt the Liturgy of the Established Church. The case being fully and fairly under their consideration, he had no doubt they would give a verdict, conformably to the solemn sanction under which they were called upon to determine the guilt or innocence of the defendant.

The publication was then proved, and the libel was put in and read. The following are a few specimens:—

“Q. Rehearse the articles of thy belief.—A. I believe in George the Regent Almighty, Maker of New Streets and Knights of the Bath;—and in the present Ministry, his only choice, who were conceived of Toryism, brought forth of William Pitt, suffered loss of place under Charles James Fox, were execrated, dead and buried. In a few months they rose again from their minority; they re-ascended to the Treasury Benches, and sit at the right hand of a little man in a large wig; from whence they laugh at the petitions of the People who pray for Reform, and

that the sweat of their brow may procure them bread.

“I believe that King James the Second was a legitimate Sovereign, and King William the Third was not; that the Pretender was of the right line, and that the grandfather of George the Third was not; that the dynasty of Bourbon is immortal, and that the glass in the eye of Lord James Murray was not Betty Martin. I believe in the immaculate purity of the Committee of Finance, in the independence of the Committee of Secrecy, and that the Pitt System is immaculate. Amen.

“Q. You said that your Sureties did promise for you that you should keep the Minister's Commandments; tell me how many there be? A. Ten.—Q. Which be they? A. The same to which the Minister for the time being always obliges his creatures to swear; I the Minister am the Lord thy liege, who brought thee out of want and beggary into the House of Commons. 1. Thou shalt have no other Patron but me. 2. Thou shalt not support any measure but mine, nor shalt thou frame clauses of any bill in its progress to the House above, or in the Committee beneath, or when the mace is under the table, except it be mine. Thou shalt not bow to Lord Cochrane, nor shake hands with him, nor any other of my real opponents; for I thy Lord am a jealous Minister, and forbid familiarity of the majority with the Friends of the People, unto the third and fourth cousins of them that divide against me, and give places of thousands and tens of thousands to them that divide with me, and keep my commandments, &c.

“Q. What is required of them who submit to the Test of Bribery and Cor-

ruption? A. To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of any former honour and patriotism, steadfastly purposing henceforward to be faithful to the Minister, to draw on and off like a glove; to crouch to him like a spaniel; to purvey for him like a jackall, to be as supple to him as Alderman Sir William Turtle; to have the most lively faith in the Funds, especially in the Sinking Fund; to believe the words of Lord Castlereagh alone; to have remembrance of nothing but what is in the Courier; to hate Matthew Wood the present Lord Mayor, and his second Mayoralty, with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our soul, and with all our strength; to admire Sir John Silvester the Recorder, and Mr John Langley, and to be in charity with those only who have something to give," &c.

Mr Hone addressed the jury in a speech of nearly five hours. He complained of various instances of ill-treatment which he had met with in the course of the prosecution, particularly from Lord Ellenborough, acknowledging, however, the attentions shewn him by Sir William Garrow, the Attorney-General. He complained also of the cry raised against him in the public prints, where he had been represented as a blasphemous and an impious miscreant. The jury were not to decide upon his religious faith. Professing himself a Christian, he did it with all due reverence for the person and doctrines of the divine Author of that religion. He undertook to satisfy the jury that these calumnies were without the slightest foundation, and that he should be entitled to a verdict of acquittal. On no occasion had he lent himself to the publication of any work tending to vilify or degrade the Christian religion, and he challenged the Attorney-General to point out a single passage in any work which he had ever written or compiled, which had

that tendency. Considering the number of works he had written (for the greatest portion of his time was employed in literary publications), it was impossible but that something must be found which discovered the cloven foot, if he was really an enemy to religion; but notwithstanding the multiplicity of these works, it would be found that he had never used expressions injurious to the sacredness of religion.

Mr Hone then made complaints as to the manner in which juries were made up at the Crown-office. After some discussion on this subject, he proceeded to what he called the subject-matter of his defence, and in a speech of considerable length, endeavoured to shew that the parody for which he was prosecuted, was innocent in itself, and could not have the tendency imputed to it. From his earliest years he was given to reading black-letter books, and in the course of his studies he had met with a vast number of works called parodies, which had never been prosecuted as libellous, or tending to bring religion into contempt, although they were equally deserving of such proceedings as the present. No later than last October, a parody was published by Mr Blackwood of Edinburgh, in a Magazine conducted by that gentleman, purporting to be a parody on certain passages in the Book of Ezekiel, which, according to the doctrine of libel laid down by the Attorney-General, might be considered as bringing religion into contempt, though the object of the parody was to ridicule certain individuals named Cleghorn and Pringle, with whom Mr Blackwood had some misunderstanding—the authors of this work were respectable

Mr Justice Abbot interposed and said, he did not think their respectability would be increased by such a publication. It was incumbent on his Lordship to interpose and protest against it

being supposed that the work alluded to was innocent in its tendency. Any publication tending to bring the Holy Scriptures into ridicule or contempt, was extremely offensive.

The Attorney-General rose and objected in point of law, that the defendant had no right to bring in aid of his defence libels of the same kind, which might have been published by other persons in former times. As well might the publisher of obscene books produce upon the table of the Court volumes of obscene books, in order to justify the publication under prosecution.

Mr Hone said, that this was the only line of defence left him, and he submitted that he was entitled to shew by such means that the work for which he was prosecuted, was such as could not produce the effect imputed to it. It was impossible, that in these enlightened times—in this age of good sense, such a publication could work the mischief alleged. He would, however, abstain from reading any more of the parody which the Court had considered objectionable. He could produce books which would cover the table, containing parodies which might have been the subjects of prosecution, if they had been deemed libellous. It was only necessary for him, however, to make a selection; the first of which was a parody made in 1518 by the founder of the reformed religion, the celebrated Martin Luther, published in Dr Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*. It was a parody on the first verse of the Psalms. The next was a parody by Dr John Boys, Dean of Canterbury, on the Lord's Prayer, to be found in a printed volume of the Sermons of that reverend divine. He next adverted to a work, called "*The Fair Circassian*," by the Rev. Mr Coxal, being a free paraphrase upon the Canticles, or Solomon's Song, but which, for its obscenity, he would not read. In the *Foundling Hospital of Wit*, was

a parody upon the first and second chapters of the book of *Preferments*, evidently a political squib. Among a great many other works to which he referred, for the purpose of his argument, were the following, viz. a parody written upon the Catechism by Mr John Reeves; the King's patentee for printing the Common Prayer; the *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, in 1740, by Mr Dodsley; a parody upon the Kings of Israel; the *Royad*; the *Dutch Prayer*, edited by Mr Herriot, known to be in the service of government.

Mr Justice Abbot—It is a very improper publication. The question is, not how long the business of profane parody has continued; the question for the jury is, whether this is a profane parody? It might as well be said, that the long continuance of crime is a justification of fresh crimes. I cannot suffer profane parodies to be read. You may state the nature of them, but I cannot suffer them to be read. The effect of them upon this inquiry is another question.

Mr Hone resumed, and said, although he might not be suffered to read them, yet they were of importance to his defence, for the purpose of shewing his ignorance that he was committing any crime against religion by this publication.

The next parody he adverted to, was one on the *Te Deum*, which was printed by a most loyal bookseller in six different languages, and intended for circulation among all the troops on the continent. The publisher was Mr Richardson of Cornhill, a very respectable man; the languages in which it was printed, were Latin, English, German, Italian, French, and Spanish. It began (in English) thus:—

"O Emperor of France, we curse thee,
We acknowledge thee to be a tyrant,
Thou murdering Infidel, all the world detest
thee ;

To thee all nations cry aloud,
Boney! Boney! Boney!
Thou art universally execrated."

Mr Justice Abbott interrupted the defendant, and said, that he had read enough to shew the character of this publication; it was a most improper one.

Mr Hone continued,—Yet it had never been proceeded against; for it was on what was called the right side, and the religious scruples which were now displayed were not even thought of. But he should now speak of a parody of a person of much more importance than Mr Richardson; it was Mr Canning, one of the present ministers, who was one of those who directed the Attorney General to institute this prosecution. It was in ridicule of certain persons* in this country, who were said, by the writer, to be the followers of Lepaux, one of the men who had made themselves famous in the French revolution, and who was said to have publicly professed atheism; such at least seemed to be the assertion of the parody. It began thus,—

"Last of the anointed five, behold and least,
The directorial Lama, sovereign priest,
Lepaux, whom atheists worship; at whose
nod,
Bow their meek heads,—the men without a
God.

"Ere long, perhaps, to this astonish'd isle,
Fresh from the shores of subjugated Nile,
Shall Buonaparte's victor fleet protect
The genuine theo-philanthropic sect;
The sect of Marat, Mirabeau, Voltaire,
Led by their pontiff, good La Reveillere.
Rejoiced, our clubs shall meet him, and in-
stal
The holy hunch-back in thy dome, St Paul:
While countless votaries, thronging in his
train,
Wave their red caps, and hymn this jocund
strain:—

"Couriers and Stars, sedition's evening host,
Thou Morning Chronicle, and Morning Post,

Whether ye make the rights of man your
theme,
Your country libel, and your God blaspheme,
Or dirt on private worth and virtue throw,
Still, blasphemous or blackguard, praise Le-
paux!

And ye five other wand'ring bards that move
In sweet accord of harmony and love,
Coleridge and Southey, Lloyd, and Lamb
and Co.

Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux.

Priestley and Wakefield, humble, holy men,
Give praises to his name with tongue and
pen;
Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go,
And for your pains get pelted, praise Le-
paux.

Praise him each jacobin, or fool, or knave,
And your cropp'd heads in sign of worship
wave;
All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise
Lepaux.

And thou Leviathan,* on ocean's brim
Hugest of living things that sleep and swim;
Thou in whose nose, by Burke's gigantic
hand,
The hook was fix'd to drag thee to the land;
With Coke, Colquhoun, and Anson, in thy
train,
And Whitbread wallowing in the yeasty
main;
Still as ye snort, and puff, and spout, and
blow,
In puffing, and in spouting, praise Lepaux."

Now it was plain, that the object of Mr Canning's parody was the same as that of his own. It was political; and it proved, that the ridicule which the authors of the parodies attempted to excite was not always intended to fix on the production parodied. He should now shew, that parodies might be written with the most laudable, and even with religious intentions. He remembered hearing the Rev. Rowland Hill say, that the Devil had beauties enough in his service, and that he should try to enlist them in the service of Christ.

* The Duke of Bedford.

That popular preacher had, in fact, bestowed much attention, and even expence, on the music of his chapel, and had parodied the most popular or profane songs, that is to say, had set to the same tunes words, the general disposition of which resembled the songs in question. Rule Britannia was one. In the work, well known to Baptists, and other denominations of dissenters, called Rippon's Selection, published by Dr Rippon, were many hymns set to profane tunes. The hymn,

"There is a land of pure delight,
Where saints immortal reign," &c.

was set to the tune of "Drink to me only with thine eyes, and I will pledge with mine." Another was set to the tune of "Tell me, babbling Echo, why." And one, comparing the Christian's view of futurity to the prospect which Moses had of the promised land from the banks of the Jordan, was set to Buonaparte's March. Yet this was done by most pious men, who not only did not intend to degrade the devotional poetry which they adapted to profane or popular tunes, but who did not even fear that such associations would have a bad effect upon their flock.

He should now attempt to prove, that he had not that intention which was charged in the indictment, to create impiety and irreligion. From the beginning to the end of the production in question the subject and the object was political. It was intended to ridicule a certain set of men whose only religion was blind servility, and who subjugated their wills and understandings to persons who they thought would best promote their secular interests. The principles which he ascribed to those persons were so enumerated as to contrast with the duties which Christianity enjoined, and the Christian principles shone more bright

as contrasted with infamous time-servingness. He should quote another parody, ascribed to Mr Jekyll, now a Master in Chancery, on that well-known song of Mr Gay's, called "Black eyed Susan." The parody began thus :

"All in the Downs the fleet was moor'd,
The streamers waving in the wind,
When Castlereagh appear'd on board,
Ah ! where shall I my Curtis find ?
Tell me, ye jovial sailors, tell me true,
Does my fat William sail among your crew ?

William, who high upon the poop,
Rock'd by the billows to and fro,
Heard, as he sup'd his turtle-soup,
The well-known Viscount's voice below,
The spoon drops greasy from his savoury hands,
And quick as lightning on the deck he stands."

Mr Justice Abbott said, he could not conceive how this could be deemed relevant. It was his duty, as a Judge, to prevent the names of individuals from being unnecessarily introduced or ridiculed.

Mr Hone said, he conceived the introduction of this parody was necessary. His position was, that a parody might be written on any work without an intention to ridicule it. This was an apposite and striking instance. No one could suppose that Mr Jekyll, or whoever it was that wrote that parody, intended to ridicule the classical song in question.

Mr Justice Abbott,—You have read enough to shew that. If your position be, that there may be parodies which do not ridicule the works parodied, and that this is one of them, you have fully established it.

Mr Hone said, he, in that case, would not trouble the Jury with more of it ; he was sorry he had occasion to detain them so long, though, for his own part, he was not half exhausted. He was, however, obliged to mention some publications which he had before

omitted, and which would strongly shew the impunity which publishers of works of a description similar to his own had enjoyed. They were the works of that celebrated caricaturist Mr Gilray; works to which, in point of execution, nothing could be superior. Some of them he had before him; one of them was the masterpiece of Gilray. It was the Apotheosis of Hoche, the French general of division, to whom the expedition against Ireland, planned by the Directory, was entrusted. It represented Hoche in tri-coloured robes, with his jack-boots falling from his legs, and with a halter round his head in the form of a wreath, a guillotine in his hand as a harp, on which he seemed to be playing. In this shape he seemed to be ascending to heaven; but to what heaven? There was the rainbow, indeed, spoken of in the Revelation; but, above, instead of the seraphim and cherubim, which are represented as surrounding the throne of Justice and Mercy, were grotesque figures with red night-caps and tri-coloured cockades, having books before them on which were inscribed *Ca ira*, and the *Marseillois Hymn*. Instead of angels, were Roland and Condorcet, Marat and Petion, and many nameless figures, with poison, and daggers, and pistols, and the different implements of death. The holy army of martyrs were parodied by headless figures, holding palm-branches. But this was not all. The symbol of the mystery of the Trinity,—of the tri-une essence of the Divinity,—was represented by a triangle with a plummet, in the midst of which was inscribed *Equality*, and from it, instead of rays of glory, daggers and bayonets were represented diverging. Under this triangle were the ten commandments, beginning, “Thou shalt have no other God but me,” meaning *Equality*, which was inscribed above; “upon the thirtieth and

fortieth generation shalt thou have no mercy at all.”

Mr Justice Abbott,—You have read quite enough of this. You have shewn that it is a most improper publication, it matters not by whom published. It is to no purpose that you shew, that there have been blasphemous libels before your time; you must shew that your own publication is not one.

Mr Hone continued,—The Jury would see what the real difference was between Mr Gilray and him. Mr Gilray, who published these things to serve the purposes of the Administration, had a pension from Government.

The Attorney General said, it was not before the Court that Mr Gilray had a pension. They knew nothing of Mr Gilray.

Mr Hone said, he had his information on this subject from the relations of that gentleman. He had seen a plate of this same gentleman's, which might be called a parody on the taking up off Elijah, and leaving his mantle to Elisha. And who was in the place of Elijah and Elisha in Mr Gilray's print? Why, Mr Pitt was taken up to heaven, and his mantle was left to his political associates, among whom were the present Ministers, those who instituted this prosecution.

Mr Hone complained afresh of the hardships he had suffered. He had passed nights of anxiety and agony; and he was brought to defend himself under all the disadvantages which a poor man could labour under. The public had been prejudiced against him. The newspapers throughout the country were filled with false and ignorant charges against him. His character was blasted. Yet, be the result of this trial what it might, he should be glad he had an opportunity of defending himself; and he felt that he had done so to the satisfaction of every honest man, and, next to the consciousness of

innocence, that was what he valued most.

Evidence was called to prove, that Mr Hone had ceased to publish the libel, on learning that it had given offence.

The Attorney General replied at length.

Mr Justice Abbott explained the grounds of the legal proceedings. The Attorney General had said, and truly, that the Christian religion was part of the law of the land, and any offence against it was therefore an offence against the law. The defendant maintained, that the application of the libel was purely political, although a religious form had been adopted; but, admitting the fact, it did not follow that the tendency of it was not to promote profaneness and irreligion. As an authority against it, and a higher could not be stated, his lordship should quote one of the commandments parodied,—“Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.” Did not this libel take the name of the Almighty in vain? Did it not, allowing it to be political in some degree, apply the sacred name of the Creator to light and trivial matters? Was it not the application of the offices of religion and public worship to matters comparatively insignificant? His lordship then proceeded to read and comment upon the early parts of the libel, observing, when he arrived at the parody on the Lord’s prayer, that it was unnecessary farther to shock the ears of the jury; the publication would be handed to them, and they might judge for themselves. The question here was not what had been done in former times, but what the defendant had done in the present. It was no question, whether he were or were not in himself a religiously disposed man; it was to be hoped that he was so; but it

could neither increase nor diminish the measure of his criminality. His lordship was fully convinced, that the production was highly scandalous and irreligious, and therefore libellous; but if the jury were of a different sentiment, their verdict would, of course, be an acquittal. It, however, seemed to admit of no doubt or difficulty. The design and effect were plain upon the face of the libel; and, to young and unexperienced minds, the consequence of a perusal might be most injurious. What but a feeling of impiety, if not of ridicule, could exist on the mind of a child during divine service, if, on the Saturday night or Sunday morning, this publication had fallen in its way? His lordship then handed the publication to the jury, desiring them to read it attentively, and to make up their minds as to its object and effect.

The jury retired, and, after deliberating about half an hour, returned with a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

2d, Parody on the Litany.

Dec. 19.

Mr Shepherd opened the pleadings, and the Attorney-General stated the case to the jury. He observed, that the defendant was charged in the first count of the information, with an impious and profane libel, being a parody on the part of the Common Prayer, called the Litany; and the second count of the indictment charged the libel as a seditious one. To the nature of the libel, as described in the first count, however, he would particularly direct their attention; because he would broadly and flatly assert, that any man who scoffed at, who ridiculed, who made parodies of the Prayer of the Established Church, was guilty of blasphemous and impious libels. If ever there was a prayer constructed by

any human creature for the purpose of offering to his Deity ; if ever there was a supplication offered to the Redeemer for the forgiveness of the sins of men, which was sublime and solemn, that which was ridiculed in the present instance was one. It was utterly impossible that any man could parody that sacred form of prayer without having impious and profane ideas in his own mind, and inculcating those ideas on the weak minds of others.

It was not possible for any person to read that publication without horror and disgust, unless that person were one in whose mind were raised the impious and blasphemous principles which it was the nature of the libel in question to inculcate. Here the Attorney-General, in an impressive manner, read that beautiful reiteration of the names of the Redeemer in the Supplication, and then adverted to the imitation in the libel.

The following is a short specimen:—

“ O, Prince ! ruler of the people, have mercy upon us, thy miserable subjects.

Oh, House of Lords ! hereditary legislators, have mercy upon us, pension-paying subjects. •

“ O, House of Commons ! proceeding from corrupt borough-mongers, have mercy upon us, your should-be constituents.

“ From an unnational debt ; from unmerited pensions and sinecure places ; from an extravagant civil list ; from utter starvation—Good Prince, deliver us !

“ From taxes levied by distress ; from jails crowded with debtors ; from poor-houses overflowing with paupers—Good Prince, deliver us !

“ From a Parliament chosen only by one-tenth of the tax-payers ; from taxes levied to pay wholesale human butchers their subsidies, from false doctrines, heresy and schism, which have obscured our once glorious con-

stitution ; from conspiracies against the liberty of the people ; and from obstacles thrown in the way of the exertion of our natural and constitutional rights.—Good Prince, deliver us !

“ By your feelings as men, by your interests as members of civil society, by your duty as Christians—O Rulers, deliver us !

“ By the deprivations of millions, by the sighs of the widow, by the tears of the orphan, by the groans of the aged in distress, by the wants of all classes in the community, except your own and your dependants—We beseech ye to hear us, O Rulers !

“ That it may please ye to lessen the cares of the world unto all bishops, and church dignitaries ; giving their superabundance to the poor clergy, and no longer taxing us for their support—We beseech ye to hear us, O Rulers !

“ That it may please ye to place within the bounds of economy the expenditure of all the royal family—We beseech ye to hear us, O Rulers !

“ O, House of Lords, that taketh away so many tens of thousands of pounds in pensions—Have mercy upon us ! •

“ O, House of Commons, that votest away the money of the whole nation, instead of that of those only who elect you—Have mercy upon us !

“ O Prince hear us !”

The defendant here commenced his defence. He preceded it, by remarking, that he conceived every man his enemy, who interrupted the proceedings of the Court by any thing so indecent as laughter. He then commenced the same line of argument as yesterday, and began reading a parody.

Lord Ellenborough.—It would be well to tell you, if you are about to read irreligious parodies made by others, I shall not receive them. The commission of a crime by many individuals, does not lessen the guilt of one individual. It is my decided purpose not to receive them, as it would be illegal, and therefore you may use your own discretion whether you chuse any longer to dilate on that which I declare judicially ought not to be received in evidence.

The defendant.—I would ask your Lordship, whether you mean to send me from this place to a prison? If you do, you may prevent me from addressing the jury, but if you do not, let me make my defence.

Lord Ellenborough.—You may state what you are now stating if you think fit, but that shall not be received as evidence, which, from its nature and description, cannot be legal evidence.

Defendant.—I state seriously that I do not know what your lordship means.

Lord Ellenborough.—I have stated enough to be intelligible.

Defendant.—Not to me.

Lord Ellenborough.—Well, I cannot help it. Go on. You will use your own discretion, whether you choose to dilate.

Mr Hone then read the same parodies as on the former days, with several others, particularly some on the Litany itself. The first he mentioned, was from the “Rump, or an exact Collection of the choicest Poems and Songs, relating to the late Times. By the most eminent Wits, from Anno 1639, to Anno 1661. London, 1662.”

A LETANY FOR THE NEW-YEAR.

From all and more than I have written here,
I wish you well protected this new year;
From civil war and such uncivil things.
As ruin Law and Gospel, Priests and Kings;

From those who for self-ends would all be-
tray,
From such new saints that pistol when they
pray,
From flattering faces with infernal souls,
From new reformers such as pull down
Palls, &c.

Then followed another from the same book, called “The City of London’s Litany,” from which he read a short extract,—

“From rumps that rule against customes and
laws,
From a fardel of fancies styld a Good old
Cause,
From wives that have nails that are sharper
than claws,

Good Jove, deliver us all.

From men who seek right where it’s not to
be had,
From such who seek good where all things
are had,
From wise men, far worse than fools or
men mad,

Good Jove, &c.

The next was from a “Collection of the newest and most ingenious poems, &c. against Popery,” published soon after the Revolution.

A NEW PROTESTANT LITANY.

From cobweb-lawn-charters, from sham
freedom banters,
Our liberty-keepers and new gospel-plant-
ers,
And the trusty kind hands of our great quo
warrantors,

Libera nos Domine.

From high-court commissions, to Rome to
rejoin us,
From a Radamanth chancellor, the western
Judge Minos,
Made head of our church by new jure di-
vinos,

Libera nos, &c.

From a new-found stone doublet, to the old
sleeve of lawn,
And all to make room for the Pope-Lander
spawn,

To see a babe born through bed curtains
close drawn,

Libera nos, &c.

From resolving ore night where to lye in
to morrow,
And from cunning back-door to let mid-
wife thorow,
Eight months full grown man-child born
without pang or sorrow,

Libera nos, &c.

From a god-father Pope, to the heir of a
throne,
From three Christian names to one sur-name
unknown,
With a Tyler milch-nurse, now the mother's
milk's gone."

Libera nos, &c.

There was one from the second part
of the same Collection, beginning,—

From immoderate fines and defamation,
From Draddon's merciless subornation,
And from a bar of assassination,

Libera nos Domine.

Mr Hone read many others in the
same spirit. There was one which he
had omitted in regular order, which he
should now mention. It was a parody
on this very Litany, by Ben Jonson,
which he should now mention, in a
farce called *Cynthia's Revels*.—

Amo. From Spanish shrugs, French faces,
smirks, irps, and all affected humours,

Chorus—Good Mercury, defend us.

Pha. From secret friends, sweet servants,
loves doves, and such phantastique humours,

Chorus—Good Mereury, defend us.

Amo. From stabbing of armes, flap-dra-
gons, healths, whiffs, and all such swagger-
ing humours,

Chorus—Good Mereury, defend us.

Pha. From waving fannes, coy glances,
gleckes, cringes, and all such simpring hu-
mours,

Chorus—Good Mercury, defend us.

As this indictment was also laid for
sedition, he attempted to shew that
the attacks upon government were le-
gitimate and well-founded.

The Attorney-General replied; and

Lord Ellenborough then proceeded to
charge the jury.—They would recollect
the evidence they had heard on the part
of the defendant, that he had stopped
the circulation of this work on the 27th
of February; but when he told them
this, it was no matter of consideration
of "guilty, or not guilty." Every
man might endeavour to do away his
offence by a sort of reparation; he
had however had the painful duty of
sitting, when the crime of forgery was
brought before him, in cases where the
money had been sent back; but so
little had this been attended to, that
the severest penalties of the law had
been enforced. The fact which the
defendant has proved, could only have
effect in mitigation of punishment.
The information charged that this was
an impious and profane libel; it was
a libel on one of the most beautiful
compositions that ever came from the
hands of men. It was a part of the
ritual even before the Protestant form
of worship was established, and to
bring this into ridicule, to endeavour
to write down the Litany, was impious
and profane. It was said, that there
was no intention, but the law consider-
ed that every man intends that which
he has done. The smallness of the
price for which these works were sold,
only accelerated the sale, and increased
the danger. One offence could not be
justified by another; on the contrary,
it was aggravation to say, that persons
had done so before, and thence to add
to the number. As to going up to the
time of Martin Luther, Boyce, and so
on, the habits of those times were to-
tally different; the first scenic perfor-
mances were mysteries or representa-
tion of incidents in sacred writ. Lu-
ther himself was not very temperate
when he engaged in controversy. There
were many things of the parodies that
had been read, that must be consider-
ed as profane and impious, but this of
the defendant transcended them all in

magnitude. He would deliver them his solemn opinion, as he was required by Act of Parliament to do; and under the authority of that act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing, and hoping, that they (the jury) were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion.

The jury, at a quarter past six retired; at eight they returned, and their names having been called over, the foreman, in a steady voice, pronounced a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

3d, On the Athanasian Creed.

At half past nine, Mr Hone entered the Court, preceded by twice as many books and papers as were produced in his defence yesterday. He appeared extremely ill and exhausted.

The Attorney-General rose and addressed the Court as follows:—My Lord, I beg leave to state one circumstance, and I do desire, that what I am about to state, may not be supposed to arise from any desire on my part, not to proceed in this case, but I do observe in this Court, that the defendant appears to me to be very unwell; it was at first pointed out to me by a friend of mine, and I think it right to say what I am about to say. I believe he does not wish to make any request to put off the trial, nor do I wish he should make that sort of request. If he is not well, and he does not feel himself able to bring the whole feeling and force of his mind on his defence, as he ought to be able in such a case like this, I am sure I do not wish at present to proceed. I beg it may be understood, this suggestion arises from no wish on my part to postpone the trial, but from an anxious wish, that in

a case like this, he should have all his bodily strength, and the full use of his abilities, in his defence, which certainly are great; and if he has the slightest wish not to go on from the fatigue he has undergone, without putting that wish in the shape of a request, I am perfectly agreeable to postpone the trial, for I am very anxious that he should have every benefit in making his defence.

Defendant.—I certainly feel very much obliged by the Attorney-General's kindness, and I am sure it is kindness. The present agitation—it is weakness. I was very much exhausted yesterday by what took place, and was very much hurried this morning to get down to the Court. I feel, I know I shall be perfectly well soon.

Lord Ellenborough.—You will make a discreet election for your own benefit. It won't be in my power to stop for you when the trial has commenced. You will make your election, therefore, now that the Attorney-General kindly gives you the opportunity.

The parody was read, of which the following is a short specimen:—

“For there is one ministry of Old Bags, another of Derry Down Triangle, and another of the Doctor. But the Ministry of Old Bags, of Derry Down Triangle, and of the Doctor, is all one; the folly equal, the profusion co-eternal. Such as is Old Bags, such is Derry Down Triangle, and such is the Doctor. Old Bags a Montebank, Derry Down Triangle a Montebank, the Doctor a Montebank. Old Bags Incomprehensible, Derry Down Triangle Incomprehensible, the Doctor Incomprehensible. Old Bags a Humbug, Derry Down Triangle a Humbug, and the Doctor a Humbug. And yet they are not three Humbugs, but one Humbug. As also they are not three Incomprehensibles, nor three Montebanks, but one Montebank, and one Incomprehensible. So Old Bags is a

Quack, Derry Down Triangle is a Quack, and the Doctor is a Quack. And yet they are not three Quacks, but one Quack. So likewise Old Bags is a Fool, Derry Down Triangle is a Fool, and the Doctor a Fool. And yet they are not three Fools, but one Fool, &c."

Mr Hone, in his defence, followed a similar course as on former occasions. It was hoped, he had no doubt, by certain very grave members of the Cabinet, my Lord Sidmouth, and my Lord Liverpool, that William Hone could not stand the third day, that he would sink under his fatigues, and want of physical power. "He can't stand the third trial," said these humane and Christian ministers. "We shall have him now,—he must be crushed." Oh, no! no! no! he must not be crushed. He had a spark of liberty in his breast, which, the more it was fanned, became the more intense in its brightness, and never would suffer him to be crushed in a just cause. This spirit would support him under the most excruciating suffering, the most grinding oppression, and would go with him to the grave. The consciousness of his innocence gave him life, spirit, and strength, to go through this third ordeal of persecution and oppression. This was the last throw he had; if he could shew his heart, the jury would see that he was a man of truth, and that he had no more idea of ridiculing the Athanasian Creed, than he had of murdering that family to which he hoped he would be restored this night. But he begged leave to state, that he had reason to suppose his lordship's father was not a believer in the Athanasian Creed.

Lord Ellenborough.—It seems you know better than I do. I never heard any thing of the kind. Whatever his belief or disbelief was, he is many years gone to his account. In com-

mon delicacy, Mr Hone, not a word more upon that subject.

Mr Hone.—There existed, he knew, considerable doubts upon the authenticity of that Creed;—it being mentioned by some, that St Athanasius had nothing to do with that Creed, but that it was actually a parody upon the real Creed. Many doubts existed amongst some of the dignitaries of the Established Church on this Athanasian Creed.

Lord Ellenborough.—It is not alleged to be Athanasius' Creed here. It is only said to be commonly called the Creed of St Athanasius.

Mr Hone.—Is it not then, as it would seem to be the Attorney-General's opinion, from the form of the information to which your lordship has just referred, that the Athanasian Creed becomes apocryphal, and cannot be viewed as it is by my prosecutor.

Lord Ellenborough.—Yes; but the Act of Uniformity made it that which it is now described to be.

Mr Hone.—The Act of Uniformity; God forbid that this act could have had the effect of making this what it is deemed to be from its import by some persons. God forbid that it could make all men think alike on such a subject as this.

Lord Ellenborough.—It is not intended to have that effect. It merely operates to create uniformity amongst those who conform to certain religious opinions. It is not intended to libel those of a different persuasion.

The Attorney-General replied.

Lord Ellenborough then charged the jury. He fully concurred in the law of the case as laid down by the Attorney-General. The defendant seemed under a delusion, when he supposed that parodies were exempted from prosecution for libels. He was wrong in that; for there had been several prosecutions for offences committed in that

shape. He mentioned the cases of Woolaston and Paine. Perhaps, there had never yet been a prosecution for parody. The only question for them was, whether this was a libel? Did it force ludicrous and absurd images into the mind when the Creed was read? The Father was Old Bags; the Son was Derry Down Triangle; and the Holy Ghost was the Doctor. The defendant asked whom the laugh excited by this was against? But although the laugh might be against the persons represented under these terms, did not the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost form a part of the association in this laugh? If they found that there was a mixed profanity of this kind in the

subject of libel, they must find a verdict of Guilty; if both the subject and the object of the parody were made ridiculous in the conjunction, they must come to this conclusion. He hoped from their verdict, conscientiously and honestly found, a stop to the career of profanity and impiety. Was the rising generation to be overwhelmed with an inundation of immoral and irreligious publications? He had not a doubt but the parody before them was a profane and impious libel.

At twenty minutes after eight, the jury retired to consider their verdict. At twelve minutes before nine they returned into Court, and pronounced a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

CRIMINAL TRIALS.

THE LUDDITES AT LEICESTER.

Leicester Assizes, April 1.

At seven o'clock, a large assemblage of the principal inhabitants met at the Exchange, and being sworn in special constables, proceeded immediately afterwards to the Judge's lodgings, headed by Mr Mayor, with the magistrates of the borough, and escorted his lordship to the Castle, when the following prisoners were put to the bar, and severally arraigned: Thomas Savage, aged 39; William Withers, aged 33; William Towle, aged 22; John Amos, aged 30; John Crowther, aged 40; Joshua Mitchell, aged 29; Samuel Caldwell, aged 29; James Watson, aged 21; John Clarke, aged 29. A jury was then attempted to be impannelled, but the objections of the prisoners, through the medium of their counsel, were so numerous,

that it could not be effected. All the prisoners were then ordered from the bar, except John Clarke, *alias* Little Sam, who was put upon his trial, and a jury sworn in.

Mr Sergeant Vaughan opened the business in a very animated and eloquent address to the Court, in which he paid a high compliment to the indefatigable exertions of Mr Mundy, who, as a magistrate, had been principally instrumental in bringing the offenders to justice.

The first witness called, was Mr J. Boden, partner in the firm of Heathcote and Boden.—Mr Boden had left the factory at eleven o'clock on the night on which the depredation was committed; an extra guard had been added a few days before the outrage by the foreman, in consequence of his apprehensions. When Mr Boden left, there were six regular guards, besides the watchman: within the fac-

tory were fifty-five frames, finished and unfinished ; fifty-three were at work, twenty-three on the first floor, and thirty in the top story. On that night, ten or eleven men were employed, four or five on the first floor, and five or six on the second. After the outrage had been committed, Mr Boden sent off immediately to the police at Nottingham ; when he returned to the factory, about five o'clock in the morning, found all the frames destroyed, the lace had been cut, and burnt upon different parts of the floor ; most of the windows broken, apparently by stones from the outside ; and Asher, one of the guard on that night, he found had been shot in the head.

A model of the factory was in the Court.

The second witness, John Asher, at about a quarter past twelve, heard a noise of footsteps coming up the yard, facing the casting-shop, heard the dog bark, and a pistol go off, when the dog ceased barking ; immediately after saw three men in the shop, with something over their faces ; as soon as they came to the door-way, I pointed a pistol at them ; they had either two or three pistols ; my pistol, not being cocked, did not go off ; turning my head on one side, some person came in and fired a pistol at me. I was shot at the back of my head ; I was stunned ; when I came to myself, I found I was under the work-bench, and was bleeding very fast ; two men stood over us upon guard, Webster and Ironmonger were lying by me ; heard a great knocking as if they were breaking the machines. They were swearing, and saying, " Ned, do your duty." The men with the pistols kept guard over me all the time, and said, if I stirred, they would blow my brains out : I was bleeding very fast ; I asked them if they would let me out, or fetch a doctor. I was afraid I should bleed to death ; they

made no answer. In ten minutes, they said to the guardsmen, how is that man that is wounded ? the man said to me, how are you ? I said I was very bad—he asked me if I could do a bit longer ; I said I could, if they would make haste : he said they would not be long. They went in about five minutes, leaving me bleeding ; I was taken home ; but, before then, one of the men who had come in, said, shake hands with the wounded man ; Webster put out his hand, and I shook hands with Webster.

The third witness was Mr Palmer, surgeon, of Loughborough, who was called in to Asher, and deposed to the state he found him in, having extracted a ball or slug, from his head, &c. &c.

The fourth witness examined was John Blackburn, (one of the Ludites, who was admitted king's evidence.) After giving a long detail of the preliminary steps, he said, " We went to Loughborough, Savage called for a quart of rum at the White Lion ; Mrs Tyler delivered it to him : I then went to the Green Man, and drank a glass of ale for a signal ; they came out, and we went for the hatchets, and then went to Ashby-lane about half past eleven o'clock on Friday night, about 200 or 300 yards from the factory ; Bill Towle, William Burton, James Watson, Big Sam, Little Sam, Aaron Dahin, Jack Disney, Christopher Blackburn, Savage, Amos, Old Crowder, Bill Withers, Joshua Mitchell, Jack Heill, Slater, myself, and James Towle, were there ; Savage had got the rum in his pocket. Withers produced pistols ; he said they were loaded ; he had tried them beforehand, and they need not try them over again. Little Sam had a pistol ; some had handkerchiefs over their faces, and some changed clothes with each other. Mitchell had his coat turned inside out, Savage had a pistol. Savage produced the bottle

of rum, which was handed round. We could see the factory; some said we should be half killed before we got in—it was a dead drop. Slater had one of the hatchets, Bill Towle and Burton had each one; they stood hesitating how they were to attack; they said, would I go first? I said I would show them the place, when some set off running, and I ran. We seized a man, he was going towards the factory, he was threatened with instant death if he did not let us in without alarm; he knocked at the outside door, a dog barked. Bill Towle chopped at the dog, the hatchet flew out of his hand; Jim Towle then shot at him: the cry was, “Brush forwards, lads.” I saw my brother and Jim Watson in the place, (in the casting-shop); I went in, I saw three men sitting upon stools in the shop; one stood up instead of lying down, which they were ordered to do; one man took a pistol off the shelf and levelled it at Christopher Blackburn, (his brother). I ran in and fired a pistol, and ran out. I saw the man fall; he lay under a bench; a guard was put over them. After it was all settled, Little Sam was set sentry over; I was fixed as a sentinel from the casting-shop to the corner of Malt-Mill-lane. I loaded my own pistol after I had fired it; I had my brother’s pistol. After we had been there a quarter of an hour, there was a cry of more hands wanted, and I went up stairs; they had almost broke the frames. Bill Towle and Slater were breaking the frames; Little Sam was put sentinel over one of the factory-men at the door leading into the casting-shop; Savage stood on guard over a woman whom he had in custody. I heard one pistol fired on the outside, about Malt-Mill-lane. The whole time at the factory was about forty minutes. The pistols were all fired off when the job was done; some loaded three or four

times. The numbers were called over; we called numbers as high as ninety, (having first called over the real numbers), to make the folks believe we had more than we had. Big Sam told Slater to hit the desk which was in the shop; he broke it open, and took away two pistols and a gun belonging to the factory.

Blackburn was then cross-examined by Mr Balguy. Several respectable witnesses were called, who corroborated the evidence given in all the material points; and, after a very minute summing up of the whole by his lordship, the jury, in a few minutes, returned a verdict—*Guilty*.

On the following morning the Court met at eight o’clock, and did not finish till after eleven o’clock at night. Thomas Savage, William Withers, William Towle, John Crowther, Joshua Mitchell, John Amos, and James Watson, were severally found guilty; and, with the above John Clarke, received sentence of death.

Samuel Caldwell, or Big Sam, who should also have been tried, fainted away in Court, and was in a fit for a considerable time. He was declared by the professional gentleman who attended him, to be too ill to know what he was about, and his trial stands over for the next assizes. John Slater, another of the accomplices, (who was tried with Towle, since executed), was indicted on another count, to which he pleaded guilty, and is to be transported for life.

John Clarke, or Little Sam, after his commitment to goal, had the evidence of Blackburn read over to him by Mr Mundy, upon which he burst into tears, and said it was quite true in every respect, as far as he was concerned, and he requested to sign each sheet of the deposition, which he was permitted to do. He was transported for life.

ROGER O'CONNOR FOR ROBBERY OF
THE IRISH MAIL.

County of Meath Assizes, August 5.

The indictment having been read, Mr Serjeant Jibb, as leading counsel for the prosecution, stated the case against the prisoner. The learned counsel confined himself to a simple relation of the facts which grounded the alleged charges of felony; and adverted, in brief terms, to the evidence and circumstances upon which he was instructed those charges would be sustained. In reference to Mr O'Connor, personally, he regretted as much as any individual even amongst the friends of the unfortunate gentleman, the unhappy situation in which he was placed; and sympathizing, as he did, in common with those around him, in its painfulness, he declared he should feel the most sincere gratification in his acquittal.

Michael Owens, and Richard Waring, the informers, gave a detail of the circumstances, representing Mr O'Connor as an active accomplice with themselves in the robbery.

Thomas Thomson, Esq. solicitor to the post-office, stated, that in consequence of information which he received through Owens, he went to Dangan, in company with Alderman Darley and Captain Mockter. He proceeded to the house of the younger Mr O'Connor, on the Dangan demesne, and situated at a short distance from the prisoner's house, and there found the two blunderbusses which had been exhibited to the last witnesses. He found them in the bed-room of Mr O'Connor, standing against the chimney, in a conspicuous situation, and not in any manner concealed. He received information concerning a watch, and seized an article of that description, which he had met with, but found, on

examination, it was not such a one as was described to him—he therefore returned it. This witness next proceeded to state, that he met Mr O'Connor at the assizes of Naas, where he attended to prosecute the Owenses. He observed, in a jocose way, that “whenever the Owenses were to be tried, he was sure to meet Mr O'Connor.” Mr O'Connor replied, that they were as great vagabonds as existed. The witness mentioned, that notwithstanding that assertion of Mr O'Connor, he appeared at the trial, and gave these persons a general good character, which surprised witness so much, that he had him cross-examined as to the fact of his having had the conversation with him respecting these individuals, previous to the trial. Mr O'Connor, as witness affirmed, had not denied that he talked of the Owenses as being very bad persons, but that he was not serious when he spoke of them. Witness got nothing in the house of Mr O'Connor, jun. but the blunderbusses; and as to the house of Dangan, the searching of that place was left to Alderman Darley.

John Allen, farmer, was the next witness. He remembered the 4th of October, 1812. He saw Mr O'Connor on that day—having received a note from that gentleman, desiring him to call on him. Mr O'Connor asked whether he had not heard of the mail robbery of the 2d, and he answered he had. He then asked, what would witness think if he heard the mail had been found on Dangan demesne? Witness answered, he should be sorry to hear it was the case, as from the circumstance of a bag having before been found there, it would have a bad appearance in the country. O'Connor then brought him into a room, and shewed him, lying on a table, the mail bags, some newspapers, lottery-tickets, broken notes, &c. He further asked witness whether he could keep a se-

cret? To which he replied, that he never abused any confidence that was reposed in him. O'Connor then asked him, if he had not been security for the gaoler of Trim, and whether he was not, in consequence, likely to be a sufferer by the escape of Heavy and Savage? Witness replied he was security. O'Connor then said, that he had reason to know that Savage was lurking about Dangan, and that he would put witness in the way of securing him. On being asked whether any oath was proposed to him by O'Connor, he said there was not. O'Connor had a red book in his hand at the time of asking him whether he could keep a secret, but proposed no oath. O'Connor had asked him what he would advise him to do with the bags; and witness answered, to send them to the postmaster of Summerhill.

On his cross-examination, this witness stated, that he considered the secret he had to keep was, that Mr O'Connor had interfered in procuring the re-taking of Savage. He further asserted, that he took Mr O'Connor's interposition on this occasion, to be an act of kindness, and intended to shew his gratitude to the witness, and his brother-in-law, the gaoler, for acts of civility received, while he (Mr O'Connor) was confined in Trim gaol for an assault, for which he had been convicted.

The following were the principal witnesses for the defendant:—

Michael Parry, Esq. agent to Mr O'Connor, deposed, that on the 2d November, 1811, he had remitted to Mr O'Connor 4793*l.*—that on the 17th of August 1812, he remitted him 1400*l.*—and that on the 27th September 1812, he sent him 500*l.*, for the purpose of purchasing cattle at the fair of Ballinasloe. He had enclosed the 500*l.* in a letter to Mr O'Connor; and had written to the Bank of Ireland, making them acquainted with the circum-

stances, and desiring them not to pay the notes to any order but that of Mr O'Connor. His letter to Mr O'Connor was then in court, and he said he would, if permitted, refer to it. The letter was handed to him, and he read from it a mention of the inclosure of the money. Since the commencement of his intercourse with Mr O'Connor, their money dealings amounted to 25,000*l.*; and at the time of the alleged robbery, he would have transmitted him 2000*l.*, if he wanted it. In the course of his dealings he never met with a more honourable or upright man. Witness further stated, that the amount of Mr O'Connor's rental in Cork, was 1800*l.* per annum.

Jeremiah Keller, Esq. barrister-at-law, stated he had known Mr O'Connor for a great number of years, during which, they had been intimate friends. Mr O'Connor was formerly of the Munster bar. Speaking generally of his character, he conceived it to be excellent. He would mention an instance of his disinterestedness and generosity. He had married a lady in early life, without a fortune; notwithstanding which, he had made a most liberal settlement upon her. Witness knew him afterwards to support the lady's father in a creditable style, which he continued to do until his death. He thought it next to an impossibility that he would be guilty of such an act as had been imputed to him.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he was acquainted with Mr O'Connor since 1796, about the period he (Sir F.) had returned to England. He always entertained the highest opinion of his honour and principles. On being asked whether he had any money transactions with Mr O'Connor, he answered it was unpleasant to allude to such matters; but as it was conceived to be useful to Mr O'Connor's defence, he would mention, that embarrassments, which he need not particularize, had rendered

different small advances to Mr O'Connor necessary, and of which he (Sir F.) had never made any memorandum. A circumstance having at one time occurred, which he would not then explain, he had written to Mr O'Connor to place 400*l* to his credit, at his banker's. Mr O'Connor, in answer, wrote to him, saying, he had not a demand for 400*l*. but 1000*l*. and enclosed him his bond for that amount. On witness's next meeting him, he told Mr O'Connor he had entirely misunderstood his intentions, and, returning the bond, desired him to pay the money at his convenience. Witness said, he was once before in Ireland for a short time ; and that his present visit was for the purpose of serving Mr O'Connor as far as he was able. He was then asked, from what he had known of Mr O'Connor, and calling him, as he did, his friend, what were his feelings on hearing of the charge of felony which had been preferred against him. Sir Francis replied, with great emphasis, " I thought I should have sunk into the earth." Counsel observed, that it was well known the witness was a gentleman of large fortune ; and asked him whether or not he would have advanced him money if he had applied to him at the period of the imputed offence. Sir Francis replied, " I know not the sum of money that I would not have placed at his disposal if he had applied to me."

The learned judge (Daly) addressed a few words to the jury. He said there was certainly legal evidence to go to the jury ; but, in the course of his experience, he never knew a charge so strongly rebutted as that which it was produced to sustain. If the jury felt any reasonable doubts, he would recapitulate the evidence ; but, if they thought with him, it was unnecessary for him to do so.

The foreman of the jury replied,

that himself and his brethren were all of his lordship's opinion.

The verdict of *acquittal* was immediately pronounced.

THE ASHCROFTS, &c. FOR MURDER.

Lancaster Assizes, September 5.

James Ashcroft, the elder, aged 53 ; David Ashcroft, his brother, aged 48 ; James Ashcroft, the younger, aged 32 ; William Holden, aged 47 ; and John Robinson, aged 53, charged with the murder of Margaret Marsden and Hannah Partington, in the dwelling-house of Thomas Littlewood, at Pendleton, near Manchester, on the 26th day of April last, pleaded *not guilty*.

The dreadful atrocity of the murder, unparalleled even by the murder of Marr and his family, the hour of the day, (two o'clock in the afternoon), and the public place in which the horrid deed was perpetrated, together with the number of the accused, and the nicety of the evidence, had excited the very highest curiosity. At seven o'clock the Court was excessively crowded. Within the bar, the counsel could with difficulty find room to sit or stand. Without the bar all was one entire mass, that stood and moved as if inseparable. After a jury was sworn, the elder Ashcroft flung his hand upwards with a theatrical air, and exclaimed, " Not Guilty ;" his brother followed his example, and his son, and Holden. Robinson scarcely raised his hand to young Ashcroft's shoulder.

Mr Cross, in a speech of great force and pathos, opened the case. It was his painful duty to detail, and their not less painful duty to investigate, the circumstances of a murder, the most atrocious which the experience

of any of them had observed. That the deed was perpetrated was not matter of question; their only task was to select the perpetrators. "Now, gentlemen, you will find the four prisoners, on the evening of Friday, the 25th of April, met together in a public house in Manchester, not drinking and making merry, but engaged in cool, deliberate, serious, important consultation. You will find them on the next, the fatal day, walking backwards and forwards near Mr Littlewood's house, sometimes together, sometimes separate, now here, now there, at one time on the public road, at another time in the private path. Holden is seen in the kitchen between one and two o'clock; the young woman that saw him, will swear to him. At two o'clock another young woman saw the kitchen window shut, when the murder must have been committed. About three, young James Ashcroft, David Ashcroft, and Holden are seen coming out at the iron gate with bundles in their hands. They are again seen at the Black Horse, and at the Horse Shoe. In the evening young Ashcroft is seen in a play ground, flushed, probably with intoxication, displaying a bundle of notes, and handfuls of gold. But here I must state the deeds perpetrated within the house. The family consisted of Mr and Mrs Littlewood, Mrs Marsden, an ancient lady, long in the family, and what is of importance, long before well known to the Ashcrofts, and a beautiful young girl, the unfortunate Hannah Partington. Mr Littlewood had a grocer's shop in Manchester, to which he and his wife regularly went every Saturday morning, when there is a market in Manchester; they did so on Saturday, the 26th, and left Mrs Marsden, and Hannah Partington in the house. Mr Littlewood had a very considerable sum

of money in the house, which he kept in a drawer that he never locked; in this sum were nineteen guineas in gold. All the money was taken away. The display of property, therefore, made by young Ashcroft, is pregnant with suspicion, especially when you will find it proved, that he could not pay 2s. the day before. But old Ashcroft is still untouched. He is seen deliberating and walking with the rest, but he is not connected with Littlewood's house. This man, then confined in the same cell with one charged with felony, but proved fully innocent, holds frequent conversations on the subject with his fellow prisoner, and with that impatience to unload a guilty conscience which criminals feel, and which prompts them to make disclosures, however foul the deed, or fatal the secret, to their associate; he relates to him, that he kept watch in the three-nooked field, while the others committed the atrocious act of murder. These circumstances will derive confirmation from the contradictory confessions of the prisoners, and the anxiety of Holden to conceal the shirt he had on. It must be admitted that the property, has not been traced. There were no marks on the notes or the gold. Only a seven shillings piece was taken away, and a seven shillings piece was found on one of the prisoners. Neither is any mark of blood found upon their clothes. The evidence consists of the circumstances I have detailed. If they satisfy your minds that the prisoners are guilty, you will of course find your verdict accordingly, however painful the task. If you can reasonably doubt the force of all the evidence that will be laid before you, God forbid I should urge you to convict the prisoners.

Martha Baker.—I keep the Crown and Anchor. I remember Mr Mortimer being there on the 25th, in the

bar. I was there also. No one was with him for some time ; the first that came in was David Ashcroft. I don't know the persons or names of the three that came in together, and whom I introduced into the bar. I saw them come in at the lobby-door ; they said nothing, but appeared to be strangers in the house. Mortimer was there for about half an hour after I introduced them. David Ashcroft moved into the chair that Mortimer got out of, the other persons sat on a form at the table ; they sat two and two together, on opposite sides of the table, facing each other, with their hands on the table, the right hand clasped in the left. They were conversing in a kind of whisper. I could not hear what they said. They continued till about eleven o'clock, an hour after Mortimer went away ; they were talking so the whole of the time. They had, I rather think, two gills a-piece of ale ; three gills was the outside of it. I saw no laughing or joking to the best of my recollection. I sat and looked at them, wondering what they had so much to whisper about.

Mary Hallows, (by Mr Cross.)—I lived on the opposite side of the turnpike-road to Mr Littlewood's. I went that day to Littlewood's pump. I came across the road, at the iron gate, along by the front of the house, and into the yard to the pump. It was between one and two. I saw in at the window as I passed by the front of the house. I saw two in the kitchen ; Mrs Marsden with her back towards the window, sitting between the window and the fire ; the other person, a man, sitting with his face towards the window. I had a clear view of him. In the yard I saw the young woman Hannah Partington. She had come for a shovel-full of coals. I had some conversation with her. I went back with my pitcher the same way. I did not look into the kitchen then. I

have seen the man again. He had on a yellow silk handkerchief, a dark coat, I think blue, and a dark waistcoat. I saw him again on Monday following. I had told the magistrate of what I had seen. I went on the Monday into Littlewood's parlour, for the purpose of looking if I could know the man. There were more than ten men in the room. I looked, and immediately knew him. It is William Holden. Before I spoke, he said, " You are wrong, young woman." I said, " I believe that to be the man I saw in the kitchen." I have no doubt at all that he is the man. I looked particularly at him as I passed the window—I could hardly get past. He looked as earnestly at me. On Monday he had on the same handkerchief, I think the same coat, and a lighter waistcoat. Cross-examined by Mr Starkie.—I looked because I had seldom seen a man there ; and I looked to see if it was the girl's father. He did not attempt to conceal himself. I could see him in every corner of the kitchen. I could not see Mrs Marsden if I had not looked back. The situation he was in was most open to be seen. I did not stop at all ; I had lost sight of him when I saw Mrs Marsden. I saw a nice new handkerchief on the table. I looked at it. When a man looks a woman in the face, a modest woman does not look back again.—Is it your practice?—(Mr Cross.) She does not deserve this.—Judge—No, not at all.—I thought he would consider me a very impudent woman. I had no reason to look in. I don't know how I happened to look. I did look. Going back, I had my can of water, and could not well look in. I looked in when I had no reason, and did not look in when I had reason. He spoke on Monday before I spoke, but not before I had fixed my eye upon him. He was placed in the same situation in the kitchen,

and I looked at him in the same way, through the window on the Monday. I can't tell what there is particular in his face, but I am fully persuaded that it is the man by his features, and his hair being straight over his forehead, and his round shoulders.

Mr Cross.—If you should to-morrow see the gentleman that has now questioned you, you would know him? Yes, sir, I should.

The Judge.—He has given you some reason.

Mr Cross.—You have conducted yourself with great propriety.

Mr Starkie objected to the panegyric on a witness.

The Judge.—No, no, she has given her evidence with great fairness. I never saw a young woman bear an examination better. It is for the jury to judge of credibility.

Mr Thomas Littlewood.—My house is in Pendleton. I have a grocer's shop in Salford. My family consisted of myself, my wife, Mrs Marsden, in her 75th year, who lived with me ten years, Hannah Partington, in her 20th year, she lived with me two years. It was my custom to go, together with my wife, to the shop every market-day. We went on the 26th about nine in the morning, and returned in the evening at eight. I had left about 160*l.*, 140*l.* in notes, and nineteen guineas in gold, half-a-guinea, and a seven-shilling piece. We left the money in a drawer where we slept; the drawer was not locked. I saw the money at seven in the morning. There was plate in the kitchen. I heard of the alarm as I came to the iron-gate; I went on in front of the house; the shutters were to, but not fastened; there is a loose board to fasten them, which the men did not understand. I tried the door, it was locked; the yard-door was locked, and the key in it. I go in at a lobby at the end of the house; I found the key of the door under the

bear next morning. We took a ladder and went in by an upper window; some went in before me; I went straight into the kitchen; Mrs Marsden was sitting in the chair she always occupied; Hannah Partington was lying under the dresser, with her knees bent towards her head; they were quite dead and cold; the kitchen was covered with blood; the poker was bent and very bloody; the cleaver, which was always hung in the kitchen, I found in their bed-room, with a little blood on it; the money was all gone; the notes were 1*l.* and 2*l.* Bank of England notes; out of the same drawer were taken shirts and silk handkerchiefs; from other drawers, in the same chest, were taken shawls and things belonging to my wife; all could be put into two or three small bundles; a person, standing in the Three-nooked Field, can see the house and front-way as clear as if they were on the premises.

Cross-examined.—I never saw the Ashcrofts in my life. I did not examine the wounds. I could not stand that. There was scattered blood. I did not see any account of examinations in the Manchester papers. Partington was a very handsome girl; she had no sweetheart. I am sure she had none.

Ely Dyson, weaver, was passing about four in the afternoon of the 26th. He saw James and David Ashcroft and Holden come out of Littlewood's gate with a bundle. Did not suspect them, as they appeared to be gentlemen, but was surprised that they looked so earnestly at him.

A number of other witnesses had seen the persons about the house at the time.

William Collins.—I was removing to Manchester, in April, on a Friday, (25th.) Removed my things in a cart belonging to John Astley. When I got to Manchester, Richard Young

claimed the cart. He took me up, and got me taken to the New Bailey on Saturday forenoon. I was put into the lock-ups. On Sunday night, I saw old James. He was in the same cell with me the first night. I tell'd my case over, and he tell'd me his. One day, as he came back, I said, "How are you going on now?" He said, he was in very poor heart, for they brought fresh witnesses against him every time. He said it was very doubtful but what they would be all hanged. He said, that there was him and his son, and his brother David and Holden, had made it up for to murder and rob Mr Littlewood's house. He said, that him and his son and Holden went; but when they gaed nearly to Mr Littlewood's house, they saw some person, and they were afraid to go in; that he went to a butcher's shop for a little pith to rub his corns; then they went past the Hare and Hounds, then turned back again; they went down to see a raven kept by a gentleman, and then came back again. After they had passed Littlewood's a third time, Holden went into a barber's shop to shave himself; they went then to a place to buy some cheese and bread; then they went to a public-house, where they had some beer; I went down a lane into a field near Mr Weston's manufactory, and sat under a hedge in that field; I saw my son James and Holden go into Littlewood's; I was a-back of that hedge for a signal for them at the window; if I seed any body go towards Mr Littlewood's house, I was to lay my hat on a thorn that I sat under for a signal; I never saw any body, and never lay my hat on the hedge; after seeing them come out, I went towards them. Just as he said that, they put other prisoners in with us, and we never had any conversation after that. We were never alone after that.

The Chief Baron summed up the

evidence in a very luminous address of more than an hour and a half. Towards the conclusion of it, David Ashcroft begged to be allowed to say something farther. The Chief Baron said, it was quite irregular, but he would certainly indulge him. He then threw out many incoherent charges against the evidence for the prosecution, and begged to have Mr Wright, a magistrate, and Mr Witherton, a constable, examined, to contradict Mary Hallows.

The Judge said, he would allow it, but insisted that Mr Williams, the counsel for the Ashcrofts, and Mr Starkie, the counsel for Holden, should be sent for.

After a considerable interval, Mr Williams appeared; and, after he had conversed for a considerable time with his lordship and with the prisoners, David Ashcroft said, he would leave the case as it was to God Almighty, who, he hoped, would direct his lordship and the jury to do justice.

James Ashcroft the elder.—"O! may God, by his Holy Spirit, inspire the jury to perceive the truth, and to give a true verdict, for we are all innocent of this murder."

The Chief Baron.—I'll listen to any thing for which you can offer evidence; but you must not be allowed to make speeches of that kind. His Lordship then concluded, by a very impartial and solemn peroration.

The jury in two minutes returned their verdict. James Ashcroft the elder, David Ashcroft, James Ashcroft the younger, and William Holden, *Guilty*. John Robinson, *Not Guilty*.

James Ashcroft the elder.—This is murdering us in cold blood. God will reveal this injustice. I pray earnestly, that he would now send two angels to declare upon that table who committed thus murder. We are innocent, and I will declare so to the last.

David Ashcroft invoked God, and protested his innocence in the same manner.

James Ashcroft the younger.—If I must suffer death for a crime I never committed, I implore your honour to look in mercy on my poor wife and children. (Here a tremendous shriek burst from a female in the crowd, who it was found was his unfortunate wife.)

William Holden.—Silence, silence ! (flinging one arm towards Heaven, and the other towards his earthly judge.) There is a God yonder, who knows that we are innocent, and who will make amends for this.

The Chief Baron.—Mr Shuttleworth, proceed.

The prisoners again repeated their innocence, and declared all the evidence against them to be perjuries and lies.

The awful sentence of death was then pronounced. They were ordered for execution on Monday next. The

Judge declared, that no sensible person who had heard the evidence, could have a doubt of their guilt ; that he owed it to justice to say, that he considered the verdict the only one an intelligent jury could have returned. The moment sentence was pronounced, James Ashcroft the elder, waved his right hand, with a white bundle in it, over his head, and exclaimed aloud, "Glory to God !" David Ashcroft said, he hoped God would not allow the injustice done to them to be always unknown. James Ashcroft the younger said, he would meet a higher Judge with a conscience clear of this guilt. William Holden vociferated in a wild tone, "There is Mr Nadin, and there is Mr Fox, (attorney for the prosecution,) and, before they leave the earth, God will punish them." Thus they were hurried away from the bar, while every person in Court was penetrated with a chilling horror at such a dreadful scene.

PROSECUTIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS CASES.

MR SOUTHEY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF WAT TYLER ; WITH OBSERVATIONS MADE IN PARLIAMENT BY MR SMITH, AND REPLY BY MR SOUTHEY.

Tuesday, March 18.

In the Court of Chancery, Mr Hart moved for an injunction to restrain Messrs Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, from printing and publishing the poem of "Wat Tyler," a juvenile production of Robert Southey, Esq. poet laureat. Sir Samuel Romilly resisted the ap-

plication, on the ground that it was not such a publication as entitled the author to the protection of the Court. He would venture to say, that a more dangerous, mischievous, and seditious publication, had never issued from the press. Clothed in the most seductive language, it was calculated to excite a spirit of disaffection and hatred to the government and constitution of the country, as well as open rebellion against the sovereign. The Lord Chancellor was of opinion, that if the book deserved the character that had been given of it, he certainly, as a judge of

a court of equity, had no right to interpose; it was the province of the Attorney-General to look to it. He should take the book home with him and read it, in order to satisfy his mind whether it had the pernicious tendency ascribed to it. The following day, the Lord Chancellor gave his opinion. His lordship said, he had given some attention to prior cases on the same subject, and he found in all of them, that the Court had acted on the principle of not giving protection to the author of a work which was, or must be, represented in a legal sense, as immoral or seditious. He had no opinion to give on the character or merits of the publication in question; but it was a principle on which the Court uniformly acted, to refuse an injunction in every case where the author could not maintain an action for the infringement of a copy right. It was a singular feature in this case that the manuscript should have so long been neglected. With the merits of the publication, he, as a public individual, had nothing to do, as it did not lie within his jurisdiction. It was not, however, a work that he could feel himself justified in granting any protection to. The courts of law had the cognizance of all libellous matters, and of all attacks on principle and character; but his jurisdiction as Chancellor was solely confined to property.

The injunction was refused.

This trial was brought into notice by the observations made upon it in the House of Commons by Mr William Smith, who observed, "He did not think it dishonourable for any man to change his early sentiments, when the change arose out of mature reflection, and appeared not to be connected with interested motives; but if there was one thing more disgusting and offensive than another, it was the

heat and malignancy of a renegado." He then compared several passages of the poem with some articles which Mr Southey was understood to have written in the Quarterly Review, and added: "The poem appeared to him the most seditious book that ever was written; its author did not stop short of general anarchy; he vilified kings, priests, and nobles, and was for universal suffrage, and perfect equality. The Spencean plan could not be compared with it."

To this attack Mr Southey published a reply, from which we select the following, as the most important passages.

"For the book itself, (*Wat Tyler*), I deny that it is a seditious performance; for it places in the mouths of the personages who are introduced, nothing more than a correct statement of their real principles. That it is a mischievous publication, I know; the errors which it contains being especially dangerous at this time. Therefore I came forward without hesitation to avow it; to claim it as my own property, which had never been alienated; and to suppress it. And I am desirous, that my motives in thus acting should not be misunderstood. The piece was written under the influence of opinions, which I have long since out-grown, and repeatedly disclaimed, but for which I have never affected to feel either shame or contrition; they were taken up conscientiously in early youth; they were acted upon in disregard of all worldly considerations, and they were left behind in the same straight-forward course, as I advanced in years. It was written when republicanism was confined to a very small number of the educated classes; when those who were known to entertain such opinions were exposed to personal danger from the populace; and when

a spirit of anti-jacobinism was predominant, which I cannot characterize more truly than by saying, that it was as unjust and intolerant, though not quite so ferocious, as the jacobinism of the present day.

“In my youth, when my stock of knowledge consisted of such an acquaintance with Greek and Roman history as is required in the course of regular scholastic education, when my heart was full of poetry and romance, and Lucan and Akenside were at my tongue’s end, I fell into the political opinions which the French revolution was then scattering throughout Europe; and following those opinions with ardour, wherever they led, I soon perceived that inequalities of rank were a light evil compared to the inequalities of property, and those more fearful distinctions which the want of moral and intellectual culture occasions between man and man. At that time, and with those opinions, or rather feelings, (for their root was in the heart, and not in the understanding), I wrote *Wat Tyler*, as one who was impatient of “all the oppressions that are done under the sun.” The subject was injudiciously chosen; and it was treated, as might be expected by a youth of twenty, in such times, who regarded only one side of the question. There is no other misrepresentation. The sentiments of the historical characters are correctly stated. Were I now to dramatize the same story, there would be much to add, but little to alter. I should not express those sentiments less strongly; but I should oppose to them more enlarged views of the nature of man, and the progress of society. I should set forth with equal force the oppressions of the feudal system, the excesses of the insurgents, and the treachery of the government; and hold up the errors and crimes which were then committed, as a warning for this and for future ages. I should write as a man, not

as a stripling; with the same heart, and the same desires, but with a ripened understanding, and competent stores of knowledge.

“In my productions, Mr William Smith may have seen expressed an enthusiastic love of liberty, a detestation of tyranny wherever it exists, and in whatever form; an ardent abhorrence of all wicked ambition, and a sympathy not less ardent with those who were engaged in war for the defence of their country, and in a righteous cause—feelings just, as well as generous in themselves. He might have perceived also frequent indications, that, in the opinion of the youthful writer, a far happier system of society was possible than any under which mankind are at present existing, or ever have existed since the patriarchal ages,—and no equivocal aspirations after such a state. In all this he might have seen something that was erroneous, and more that was visionary; but nothing that savoured of intemperance or violence. I insist, therefore, that in as much as *Wat Tyler* may differ in character from these works, the difference arises necessarily from the nature of dramatic composition. I maintain that this is the inference which must be drawn by every honest and judicious mind, and I affirm that such an inference would be strictly conformable to the fact.

“Do not, however, sir, suppose that I shall seek to shrink from a full avowal of what my opinions have been; neither before God or man am I ashamed of them. I have as little cause for humiliation in recalling them, as Gibbon had, when he related how he had knelt at the feet of a confessor; for while I imbibed the republican opinions of the day, I escaped the atheism and the leprous immorality which generally accompanied them. I cannot, therefore, join with Beattie in blessing

“ ——— The hour when I escaped the
wrangling crew,
From Pyrrho's maze, and Epicurus' sty ;”

for I was never lost in the one, nor defiled in the other. My progress was of a different kind. From building castles in the air, to framing commonwealths, was an easy transition. The next step was, to realize the vision ; and, in the hope of accomplishing this, I forsook the course of life for which I had been designed, and the prospects of advancement which, I may say without presumption, were within my reach. My purpose was, to retire with a few friends into the wilds of America, and there lay the foundations of a community, upon what we believed to be the political system of Christianity. It matters not in what manner the vision was dissolved. I am not writing my own memoirs, and it is sufficient simply to state the fact.

“ We were connected with no clubs, no societies, no party. The course which we would have pursued might have proved destructive to ourselves ; but as it related to all other persons, never did the aberrations of youth take a more innocent direction.

“ How far the writings of Mr Southey may be found to deserve a favourable acceptance from after-ages, time will decide ; but a name, which, whether worthily or not, has been conspicuous in the literary history of its age, will certainly not perish. Some account of his life will always be prefixed to his works, and transferred to literary histories, and to the biographical dictionaries, not only of this, but of other countries. There it will be related, that he lived in the bosom of his family, in absolute retirement ; that in all his writings there breathed the same abhorrence of oppression and immorality, the same spirit of devotion, and the same ardent wishes for the amelioration of mankind ; and that

the only charge which malice could bring against him was, that, as he grew older, his opinions altered concerning the means by which that amelioration was to be effected ; and that, as he learnt to understand the institutions of his country, he learnt to appreciate them rightly, to love, and to revere, and to defend them. It will be said of him, that, in an age of personality, he abstained from satire ; and that, during the course of his literary life, often as he was assailed, the only occasion on which he ever condescended to reply was, when a certain Mr William Smith insulted him in parliament with the appellation of Renegade. On that occasion it will be said, that he vindicated himself as it became him to do, and treated his calumniator with just and memorable severity.

“ Whether it shall be added, that Mr William Smith redeemed his own character, by coming forward with honest manliness, and acknowledging that he had spoken rashly and unjustly, concerns himself ; but is not of the slightest importance to me.

“ ROBERT SOUTHEY.”

SIR MONTAGUE ROGER BURGOYNE,
FOR NON-ATTENDANCE AT PUBLIC
WORSHIP.

Bedfordshire Lent Assizes.

This was an action of a very novel, as well as of a very extraordinary description, and excited a considerable degree of interest throughout the county. The prosecutor, Dr Free, Rector of Sutton, appeared in court, dressed in his canonicals, prepared to take part in the conduct of his own cause. The Court throughout was crowded almost to suffocation. The jury, which was common, having been sworn,

Dr Free addressed the learned judge

on the bench. He observed, that he had been driven into Court on the present occasion, in consequence of a motion made by the learned counsel on the other side, for judgment, in consequence of his not having proceeded to trial at the last assizes—aided by the remarkable fondness of the attorney, on the same side, for money. It was not his intention to have taken any farther steps in this business; because he had observed, with satisfaction, that Sir Montague had begun to return to reason, by coming to church on the 7th of April last. The steps taken by the defendant's legal advisers, however, had compelled him to come forward; and, in doing so, he felt he was vindicating the cause, not alone of his brother clergymen, who had been but too frequently maligned, but of the Church of England itself. He trusted the example which would be made of the defendant, would operate as a warning to others, and prevent that inexcusable inattention to divine worship, which, when occurring with a person of influence in the county, had the worst effects upon the habits and manners of the lower orders of society. Having made this short preface, he should leave his counsel to proceed with the case, reserving the power to himself of occasionally addressing the Court.

Mr Baron Graham.—You must either leave the duty of conducting your case altogether to your counsel, or take it upon yourself. I shall be happy to hear you; but it is not regular or consistent with the forms of the Court, to have you constantly interrupting your counsel, where he may not exactly meet your ideas.

Dr Free.—Am I to be silent if I see persons coming forward, with the most audacious front, to commit perjury?

Mr Baron Graham.—The rules of the Court are imperative. You will therefore exercise your own discretion

in taking the cause into your own hands, or leaving it in those of your counsel.

Dr Free.—If that is the law, I must abide by it. I have every confidence in the ability of my counsel.

Mr Jamesson, counsel for the plaintiff.—I had much rather Dr Free would take the business in his own hands; but if he leaves it with me, I shall exert my humble efforts in his behalf.

Dr Free.—I shall leave my interests with my counsel.

Mr Jamesson said, it became his duty to detail to the Court and jury the particulars of this case. The plaintiff was Rector of the parish of Sutton, and the defendant was Lord of the Manor in which the said parish was situated. The action was brought, as stated by his learned friend, to recover penalties under the statute of Elizabeth, for non-attendance at divine worship at his parish church; thereby, and in consequence of his example, spreading contagion around the country in which he resided. It was his wish to abstain altogether from a statement of the circumstances under which this action had been brought; he should therefore confine himself to the simple observation, that the plaintiff, in coming forwards as the accuser of the defendant, was solely actuated by a desire to enforce the laws for the observance of religious worship. The statute under which this action was brought, was the 23d of Elizabeth, by the fifth section of which, it was enacted, that all persons in England, absenting themselves from divine worship, either at their own parish church, or some other place appointed for public prayer, for one month, forfeited a penalty of 20*l*. This penalty was equally divided into three parts, one of which went to the queen, another to the poor of the parish, and the third to the informer. He should be enabled to prove, in this case, that the defendant had ab-

sented himself from his parish church for nineteen months ; and having done so, he should be entitled to a verdict for the full amount of the penalties ; or, in all events, for twelve months, which was the period within which the statute required the action to be brought. Witnesses were then called to prove the case.

Mr Serjeant Blossett now addressed the jury, on the part of the defendant. He said, that however unwilling he might be to trespass on the Court by any very extended observations in this case ; yet he could not help remarking, that the assertion made by Dr Free, that he had stood forward as the champion of the Church of England, and of the clergy, was not borne out by the facts. When a reverend gentleman came forward into a court of justice, in his canonicals, and in the character of an informer, to support a *quintum* action upon a statute, which, although unrepealed, had been in disuse for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, he rather apprehended he would not be hailed by those whose interests he professed to represent, as a person likely to reflect much credit upon their sacred character. That such conduct was consistent with the true spirit of the Christian religion, he believed no man of liberal feelings would allow. With regard to the statute on which this action was brought, he was willing to admit, that it remained unrepealed ; but, at the same time, it was proper to remark, that it originated in causes of a political nature, and was by no means applicable to times like the present. Its operations were meant only to apply to Roman Catholics and dissenters, at a period when the Church of England might be considered as in danger. The principles of toleration, which had since been disseminated, however, and the firm foundation upon which the Church of England had been established, were such, that no man

possessing the slightest claims to liberality, would venture to put the construction upon the statute, which it had received from the reverend plaintiff in this case. Without entering on the construction of the statute, however, he should be enabled to meet the plaintiff in the most conclusive manner ; for, in the first instance, he should be enabled to prove, that for several months of that period during which the servant of the reverend plaintiff has so positively sworn that she had regularly attended Sutton church, no divine service had been performed in the church at all ; he meant the months of June, July, August, and part of September ; during which months, the plaintiff had so carelessly neglected his duties, that he had received admonition from the bishop of the diocese. On this head of defence, he should be enabled to prove, that Sir Montague Burgoyne, who was a General in the British service, had returned from Gibraltar in 1814, in a most precarious state of health, and had continued thus afflicted, down to the present day—a circumstance which, he hoped, in addition to the uncertainty of the performance of church service at Sutton, would be considered a sufficient excuse for his non-attendance. With regard to his sentiments on the subject of religion, those would be best proved by the evidence he would adduce of its being his invariable practice to read the church prayers to his family every Sunday, when capable, from the state of his health, so to do ; and, if unable himself to perform that duty, to call upon Lady Burgoyne to read for him.

Mr Baron Graham summed up the evidence. His lordship abstained from making any remark upon the motives by which the plaintiff had been actuated in this action ; but at the same time remarked, that no liberal mind could have construed the statute of Elizabeth in the manner in which it

had been construed by him. He left it for the jury to say, whether a reasonable excuse had not been proved for the non-attendance of the defendant at church; and whether, in other respects, the case of the plaintiff had not received a complete answer.

The jury, without hesitation, found the defendant *Not Guilty*.

MR SCARLETT, FOR DEFAMATION AT THE BAR.

Lancaster—September 10.

Mr Richardson stated the action to be brought by Peter Hodgson, gentleman, for damages, on account of words spoken by James Scarlett, Esq. at the last Spring Assizes in this Court.

Mr Raine.—May it please your lordship, gentlemen of the jury, It often happens to all of us, owing to professional accident, to be engaged in actions painful to our feelings. Painful, I can with truth assure you, the present action is to my feelings. Having travelled in our professional walk with a gentleman of Mr Scarlett's character, for more than twenty-six years, having known him in private life for a still longer period, I cannot be supposed capable, by any who know me, of harbouring an unkind sentiment towards him, and still less of giving utterance to such a sentiment, if I could entertain it. But what I owe to my client; what I owe to the profession to which I belong; what I owe, if I may say it without arrogance, to myself, oblige me to lay before you the grounds of the present action. Peter Hodgson is, and has long been an attorney in Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland, and applies to you now in consequence of the wound given to his professional

reputation by Mr Scarlett's language at this bar. The freedom of speech at the bar is of the utmost importance. During the present assize, I heard, with much pleasure, Mr Scarlett descant upon this topic. I could not help believing that he spoke then in anticipation of this action. This freedom of speech is of the greatest importance, not only to the dignity of the bar, but to the interests of the public, whose high and delicate interests are trusted at the bar. Of this freedom none can be a more strenuous and tenacious friend than I. In importance and utility, I hold it to be of the same rank as freedom of discussion in the Commons' House of Parliament. I have thus made the highest admission in favour of Mr Scarlett; but bounds must be set to this freedom of speech; otherwise, from the greatest blessing, it becomes the bitterest curse that can infest and annoy society. These bounds were overleaped in this case. Mr Scarlett, while addressing the jury for the defendant, in an action in this court, went out of his way to traduce and vilify the character of the attorney for the plaintiff, and to wound his reputation. I shall not go into the particulars of that action; they are not upon the record, and his Lordship will tell you that it was not necessary they should. The words charged, and which we shall prove to have been spoken, are these—"Some actions are founded in folly, some in knavery,"—(Mr Baron Wood. That is surely true.—Mr Raine. Yes, my Lord, these are certainly truisms, but they are thus connected,)—"some in both; some actions in the folly and knavery of attorneys, and some in the folly and knavery of the parties." My friend is not apt to deal in metaphysical abstractions; you know very well that he does not use words without application. We shall not attempt to prove

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his whole speech. You know with how little credit a long story is received from witnesses ; but we shall prove the words here entered upon the record. “ Mr Peter Hodgson was the attorney for the plaintiff ; he drew the promissory note ; he fraudulently got Beaumont to pay 150*l.* to the plaintiff. This was the most profligate thing I ever knew done ,by a professional man.” Then follows the particular expression which we have charged in the second count on the record ; it concludes the remarks already stated to you. The sting is always in the tail. “ Mr Hodgson is a fraudulent and wicked attorney.” Now, gentlemen, I ask you, if you were wrong in any action brought into this Court, how would you like such abuse of the freedom of speech by a gentleman holding a high reputation at the bar ? A humbler individual, if he had not the spirit and the honour to vindicate his fame from such an attack, would be ruined. My client has the spirit and honour to repel it.

Mr Baron Wood.—Can you mention any action of the same kind, or upon what principle it can be maintained ?

Mr Raine.—I do not know that any action of the kind has ever been brought.

Mr Baron Wood.—It appears to me that an action cannot be maintained for words spoken in judicial proceedings. If a counsel misbehaves, or goes too far, the Judge who presides corrects his misconduct ; but if an action is once maintained, there is no end of it. Actions of this kind would perpetually occupy the Court. If a counsel were to pause in his pleadings, and to say such a man is a great rogue, that would be actionable.

Mr Topping.—I did expect to hear some observations by your lordship on the novelty of this action. Its ten-

dency and nature are important, not only to the bar, but to the client. If such an action can be maintained, very different will be the situation of every client in a court of justice, when deprived of the free and vigorous exertions of his counsel, at full liberty to apply his talents, learning, and industry to the cause to which he is engaged. The words in the record are only the opinion, the inference, the comment, which my honourable and learned friend felt at the time to be merited. The facts of the case warranted the comment. Mr Raine very judiciously and very ably—I observe he shakes his head, but I will say—(Mr Raine. I read every word,)—if Mr Raine had not interrupted me, he would have heard me say, in terms no ways disrespectful to him, that he shewed great prudence and discretion in not communicating the facts and circumstances of the case. The words were severe, because my honourable and learned friend felt severity to be warranted. They were the comments which the learning and ability of my friend suggested on the facts proved, “ Some actions are founded in folly.” That action was so, for it ended in a nonsuit. The whole passage was not respecting the character of Mr Hodgson in general, but in this case. If the counsel are not allowed to comment on the facts proved, there is an end of the British bar’s utility ; its energies are paralyzed for ever : without those fair and honourable exertions which are thus attempted to be suppressed, it will neither be creditable nor useful. The expressions used by my friend were called for and merited in my opinion. But it was necessary to prove, not only that they were false, but malicious. Good God ! will it be said that we feel any malice against a party, against whom we exert ourselves at this bar ? Will your

lordship be the first judge to fetter the bar; and, if I may use a coarse and vulgar expression, to oblige every counsel to address a jury with a halter about his neck? The danger is palpable and plain. Your Lordship will not allow, in 1817, a principle to be established hitherto unknown to English law.

Mr Baron Wood was not for giving sanction to this action, of a first impression, brought for the first time, because it would be most mischievous, not merely to the bar, but to the public. The words might overstep the bounds of propriety, and be too severe, but they were not to be corrected by such an action. If they had been said elsewhere, if they had been published, they could be punished. In the privileges of Parliament it was the same. The principle was this,—whatever is said in judicial or legal proceedings is not actionable. If published, it is. It had been said, some limits must be set. His objection to this action was the difficulty of fixing limits. During one assize, they could do nothing but try actions brought for words used by counsel at the former assize. The words might be too severe; I cannot say any thing of that. —Plaintiff non-suited.

A rule to shew cause was afterwards moved for in the Court of King's Bench, and granted by Lord Ellenborough, who observed, that he did not conceive any counsel entitled to go out of his way, in order to abuse an individual.

The new trial did not come on during the present year.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE STATESMAN, FOR A LIBEL AGAINST THE PROPRIETOR OF THE COURIER.

Court of King's Bench, May 30.

Mr Chitty opened the pleadings, and stated, that it was an action brought by Mr D. Stuart, one of the proprietors of the *Courier* newspaper, against Mr Lovell, the proprietor of the *Statesman* newspaper, for a libel, inserted in the *Statesman* on the 11th of December, 1816.

The libel ran through two pages, of which the following passage is the most remarkable:—

“The *Courier* lifts his hand against every man, and except the caterpillars of the State, every man's hand is lifted against him. Among his other freaks, he has lately taken it into his head to catechise the Lord Mayor, respecting his lordship's conduct to Spencer and Hooper; the former secretary, and the latter treasurer, to the Spencean society. Now we recollect, that the *Courier* himself filled both these offices to the society called the Friends of the People in 1795; and if our memory fails not, we rather think he had the good fortune to pocket six or seven hundred pounds of money belonging to the fund of that society. This, to be sure, happened before he betrayed his patrons; and, perhaps, before even his treachery was suspected. Either of the Lords Erskine or Grey, could throw much light upon this subject; and it was certainly rumoured at the time, that some steps of a legal kind were in agitation, to compel the man of the *Courier* to disgorge the money. Now, whatever may be the other sins of Spencer and Hooper, we have not heard that they can be charged with betraying their employers, and seizing the common fund.”

J. P. Wanless, clerk to the Courier Office, and publisher of that paper, deposed, that the proprietors thereof were Mr Stuart and Mr Street. They were so in the month of December last, and continue so at present. The money was always accounted for to Mr Stuart.

Upon a cross-examination by Mr Scarlett, the witness stated, that the paper had a very extensive sale, which had not diminished, to his knowledge, since the publication of the libel.

Mr Tierney was then called, when

Lord Ellenborough observed, that if the right honourable gentleman was called to prove the falsehood of the libel, he could not receive his evidence. If there had been a justification pleaded by the defendant, it would then be competent for the plaintiff's counsel to produce testimony which might rebut it; but that not being the case, he could not hear evidence on one side only.

Mr Tierney was accordingly examined by Mr Gurney, only to a few unimportant facts. He stated, that he was a member of the society called the Friends of the People; he acted as treasurer; Mr Stuart was the secretary. Many subscriptions he received himself, the rest were received by Mr Stuart, who accounted for them to the society. He had read the paragraph set forth in the record, and could have no doubt in his own mind, that it applied to Mr Stuart.

Cross-examined by Mr Scarlett.—Do you believe that the Mr Stuart who acted as secretary to the society already mentioned, and Mr Stuart, the co-proprietor of the Courier, are one and the same person? A. I certainly do. I have no grounds for a different opinion.

The libel was then read by the clerk of the Court. But an objection was taken by Lord Ellenborough to reading certain defamatory passages against

the plaintiff, in subsequent numbers of the Statesman, on the 15th and 16th of January, merely to enhance the malignity of the facts already set forth. If they were to be read in explanation of something that was ambiguous, he should feel no objection.

Mr Marryat said, there was certainly nothing which required explanation in the libel, and therefore he should not press the matter.

Mr Street was then called, and deposed, that Mr Stuart was in partnership with him in the Courier newspaper. He alone, (Mr Street) was the editor of that paper, and conducted the literary department. Mr Stuart was merely concerned in the pecuniary transactions of the concern. He had read the libel, and was perfectly satisfied in his own mind that it applied to Mr Stuart.

Cross-examined by Mr Scarlett.—Do you know what paper Mr Stuart takes in for his own private perusal?—A. No, I do not.—Q. I suppose he reads a paper, the political sentiments of which are consonant with his own?—A. Most likely.—Q. I dare say he reads the Statesman regularly?—A. Certainly not.—Q. You do not mean to affirm that the political opinions of the Courier are in unison with those of Mr Stuart?—A. I am sure the political sentiments of the Courier are the political sentiments of Mr Stuart.

Earl Grey was next called.—He was a member of the society of the Friends of the People when Mr Stuart acted as secretary; he had heard the libel read, and in his own mind could have no doubt that it applied to Mr Stuart. His conduct, while secretary, was under his continual observation; he had not, for many years, had any direct intercourse with Mr Stuart, but he had every reason to believe that he was the same person as was now a proprietor of the Courier.

Lord Ellenborough summed up. He

stated the present action to have been brought by Mr Stuart, one of the proprietors of the *Courier* newspaper, against Mr Lovell, the proprietor of another newspaper, called the *Statesman*, for defamation, contained in an article inserted in a number of that paper published in December last, which had been read in Court. The article contained two matters of complaint. In the first place, the prosecutor was mentioned as the "prostituted *Courier*," and his "full-blown baseness and infamy," were described to hold him fast to his present connexions, and to preclude him from forming new ones. Now, looking at this language, it was for the jury to determine, though one newspaper might be allowed to comment on another, and to exercise all the rights of free criticism on what it might contain, as on the contents of any other literary publication, whether such language, applied to an individual, ought to be tolerated. In the case of "*Heriot versus Stuart*," it had been laid down, that, in a qualified manner, one writer might attack another on the principles he maintained, or on the want of ability with which his publication was conducted; but the admission of such a right did not give the privilege of attacking private character with impunity. The writer of a newspaper had, in common with every other subject, a right to repel the calumnies which might be cast on his character as an individual. If, then, the defendant in this case had thought proper to stigmatize the prosecutor as "the venerable apostle of tyranny and oppression," and as a man "whose full-blown baseness and infamy" held him fast to his present connexions, because they left him without means of forming new ones, he had undoubtedly overstepped the line which had been drawn, and by which his conduct ought to have been regulated. But there was another part of the case on which the counsel for

the plaintiff seemed particularly to rely, as he (Lord Ellenborough) supposed the plaintiff himself did. He referred to that part of the alleged libel which spoke of the conduct of the prosecutor with respect to a pecuniary trust, and which represented him to have acted with dishonesty. This was a most serious charge to bring against any individual. By the course which Mr Stuart had taken in bringing this action, he had given Mr Lovell the opportunity of defending his conduct by putting in a justification, as a justification would be a defence in a case where an action was brought for damages. If then the defendant could prove what he had asserted—if he should shew that Mr Stuart had converted to his own use, six or seven hundred pounds belonging to the society called the *Friends of the People*—if he could justify this language on the ground that it was true, he might have done so, and thus an answer would have been given to the present action; but, not having done this, a verdict must go against him, as it must be inferred he had stated that which was untrue. It had been argued by the counsel for the defendant, that the passage in question might mean no more than that the plaintiff had received or withheld a sum of money from "*The Friends of the People*;" but he would put it to the jury, if, from the wording of the paragraph, the conclusion that would naturally be come to was, that he had possessed himself of it in an unwarrantable manner, and rather in the nature of embezzlement, than in any other way. The article set forth that—"it was certainly rumoured at the time, that some steps of a legal kind were in agitation to compel the man of the *Courier* to disgorge the money." This certainly implied that he had obtained the money in a dishonest manner, and might be understood to intimate that he had committed fraud in the charac-

ter of the secretary of the Friends of the People. A verdict must be given for the plaintiff. He must have damages; but what the measure of them should be, it was not for him (Lord Ellenborough) to say: that was a question for the consideration of the jury. They would bear in mind the situation of the parties, the profits arising from a newspaper, and the terms of the libel, and return such a verdict as would give the plaintiff that fair reparation for the injury he had sustained, which he deserved, under all the circumstances of the case.

The jury, after some consultation, gave a verdict of 100*l.* damages.

BRYER AND HARPER, FOR A PLACARD.

Mansion-House—Saturday, Feb. 8.

Mr Henry Bryer, printer, of Bridge-street, Blackfriars, and Mr James Harper, jun. of Fleet-street, bookseller, appeared before the Lord Mayor, to answer a complaint of the following very novel and extraordinary nature:—Mr Neville Brown, one of the city marshals, deposed, that on Friday evening he saw posted up on St Dunstan's church, and other parts of Fleet-street, a placard, of which the following is a copy:

SPA-FIELDS ROW!!!

TRUTH FOR A PENNY—46, FLEET-STREET.

GO IT, MY BOYS!!!

To this was attached in the usual place, "Printed for James Harper, 46, Fleet-street, by H. Bryer, Bridge-street, Blackfriars;" and Mr Brown, conceiving it to be a paper of the most dangerous nature, lost no time in acquainting the Lord Mayor of the circumstance. His Lordship, upon receiving the information, promptly in-

stituted an inquiry as to the cause of so inflammatory a production, (as it appeared to be upon the face of it,) being circulated, and immediately waited upon Mr Bryer, the printer. Here his lordship asked Mr Bryer if he could accommodate him with a copy of the bill? The latter replied in the affirmative, and one was produced. He next inquired the motives which could have induced Mr Bryer to be a party in the circulation of such a paper, contrary to the principle of his well-known loyalty?

Mr Bryer assured the Lord Mayor, that his object was strictly loyal, although he confessed it struck his own mind, upon perusing it, previous to its having been printed, that it was of a dangerous nature, and this he had communicated to the party from whom he received it. His fears, however, were allayed, and he had the order for printing the bills executed. Mr Bryer further explained to his lordship, that the object of the bill was to direct the attention of the lower orders of the people to a publication, entitled, "One Pennyworth of Truth to Mr Citizen John Bull, from his Brother Thomas Bull, the Ploughman," which, instead of exciting mischief, was strongly calculated to prevent it. In reply to the further inquiries of the Lord Mayor, he made known to his lordship the person by whom he had been employed to print the placard. The full and candid explanation of Mr Bryer, however, could not serve to arrest the evil which in the mind of the Lord Mayor, had been created, or was likely to be produced; his lordship ordered the attendance of Messrs Bryer and Harper at the Mansion-house on Saturday.

The city solicitor, Messrs Aldermen Curtis, Birch, J. J. Smith, Heygate, and Messrs Waithman, Davis, &c. were present at the investigation.

The whole of the above gentlemen concurred with the Lord Mayor, that however unintentionally wrong the placard in question might have been penned and published, and with whatsoever object, even by parties of such well-known loyalty, yet that it was of the most inflammatory and dangerous nature, and called for the investigation of another court. The Lord Mayor further expressed his firm conviction, that the ignorant, the misguided, or the desperate mendicant, were all likely to be influenced by the publication, which he thought pretty strongly invited them to the "Spa-fields Row," and as forcibly recommended something more by the prominent line of "Go it, my Boys."

Mr Harper being called upon for his defence, Mr Harmer stated, on the part of that gentleman, that there was not the remotest idea of impropriety entertained in the circulation of the placard, and that, in fact, it was intended, if rightly understood, to lead to the prevention of much mischief. His client, soon after its dissemination, having heard that it was read with a contrary feeling, instantly promulgated another placard, as widely and as conspicuously as possible, and calculated not only to obviate any erroneous effect from the former, but to shew that his motives were as loyal as they were intended for the public good. The following is a copy:—

"Truth for a Penny, 46, Fleet-street—God save the King!"

The Lord Mayor, in considering the case, neither looked to the second placard, which had arisen from the acknowledged evil of the first, nor to the publication itself, however excellent, to which both referred. He therefore ordered Mr Harper to find bail, to answer for the offence of publishing the first placard, before another tribunal.

Mr Harmer was of opinion that no offence was made out; that to constitute the offence, the intention of evil should be proved. He further submitted that the Lord Mayor had no jurisdiction in such a case.

These objections were over-ruled, and Mr Harper immediately entered into bail, and the investigation terminated.

GWINNAPE, FOR FRAUD IN PICTURE DEALING.

Court of King's Bench—Feb. 22.

The Attorney-General stated, that this was an action of very considerable importance. The plaintiff (Mr Gray) was a merchant of eminence and affluence, an encourager of the fine arts, and a very great admirer of paintings, in which he had expended many thousand pounds, and had purchased many pictures of the defendant, who was a picture-dealer, in whom, relying on his skill, integrity, and veracity, he had placed the most entire confidence; and whenever the defendant produced a picture which he represented as coming from foreign parts, and being by a foreign master, he had only to name his own price, and immediately to receive it. But Mr Gray did not purchase pictures for his own gratification; he was in the habit of exhibiting them occasionally to his friends, who did not always display that extraordinary enthusiasm which might naturally be supposed to arise in the minds of real judges of the art, on seeing displayed before them the first works of the first masters of the Italian and Flemish schools, as Mr Gray had been told by the defendant his pictures were, on which he so liberally expended thousands. His friends, when partaking

of his hospitality, were unwilling to be so uncivil as to tell him what they really thought of his purchases. At last, however, on a fortunate day for him, but an evil one for the defendant, a gentleman went to view Mr Gray's collection, who was not restrained by this mistaken delicacy; and on being shewn one of the newly acquired treasures of Mr Gray, started back in surprise, and inquired where he had got that miserable daub; the reply was, "Oh, I bought it of Mr Gwinnape, and gave him so many hundred pounds for it." The gentleman immediately opened the eyes of Mr Gray to the fraud, told him the picture in question had been his, and that he had sold it for a price which, in shillings, would not equal in number the pounds which he (Mr Gray) had given for it. This led to a further inquiry and further discovery, when it appeared that a Holy Family, which the defendant had represented to be by *Guido*, and sold to the plaintiff for 472*l.*, had, in fact, been bought for 26*l.* 5*s.*; a candle-light piece, for which he gave 10*l.* 10*s.*, was sold Mr Gray for 147*l.*; a landscape, represented to be the work of Ruysdale, and sold to Mr Gray for 315*l.*, the defendant had bought for 40 guineas, with the name of Vandroom upon it; and a landscape and figures, which cost Mr Gray 945*l.*, defendant was so fortunate as to purchase for 150*l.* On discovering these circumstances, the plaintiff had determined to endeavour to recover back some of the hundreds thus obtained from him, and with that view he had brought the present action.

After the examination of two witnesses for the plaintiff, it was agreed on the suggestion of Lord Ellenborough, that a verdict should be taken for the plaintiff—Damages *Ten Thousand Pounds*, subject to a reference to Mr A. More.

MR FIELDER, FOR KEEPING A GAMING-HOUSE.

Court of King's Bench—July 5.

Mr Marriott addressed the jury, and stated the particulars of this case. It was an indictment preferred against the defendant, for keeping a common gaming-house in the parish of Saint George's, Hanover-square. The learned counsel having detailed his evidence, and at the same time professed his ignorance of the arts of gaming, he proceeded to call his witnesses, who deposed as follows:—

Mr William Aston Holland knows the house, No. 9, Bennett-street, St James's. Had been there repeatedly; was there on the 29th of March last. Observed, on entering the street door, a porter, who, on his knocking, opened it. Ascended the stairs, and in a room on the first floor, saw a great number of persons playing at the game of Rouge et Noir. The name of the porter was Oldfield. Mr Fielder was in the room, and was receiving and paying money. In the game of Rouge et Noir, there was a table marked with divisions formed by tape or silk. The table was covered with green cloth, and in the centre was a sort of well in which the cards used were placed. Stakes were laid on the event of red or black cards turning up, and according to the number turned up upon the cards, either the red or black were the winners, except in certain events, which were in favour of the keeper of the table, who, if the number of thirty-one was turned up in both colours, won without the chance of losing. Mr John Aldridge was the dealer of the cards. On the evening in question he saw from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* deposited on the table by Mr Fielder, as the banker and keeper of the table.

There were other persons belonging to the house in the room ; George Tomkins, a waiter ; William Luller, his assistant, and Thomas Allen, who stood looking on at the game. Knew some of the players ; among them were Mr Guest and Mr William Barton ; could not be positive to the names of the others ; there were twelve or fifteen in number ; there was a large entrance to the house next the street ; there was then a door, in which was an oval glass, through which the porter recognised the persons coming for admission ; this door was kept locked ; there was a second door also locked. After passing these, the person admitted ascended the stairs, where there was a room, in which was a Rouge et Noir table ; opposite to this was another room, containing a circular table, round the margin of which were oval inlets, such as have been seen in old card tables ; this was called a Macoa Table. There were rooms at the upper part of the house, which he could not describe. Was at the house again on the 1st of April. He went at a little after twelve, and stopped till three. Witnessed a repetition of the game of Rouge et Noir during that time. On that occasion he recognised again Mr Guest and Mr Barton, and the servants of the house. On that night John Aldridge was paying and receiving, as well as Mr Fielder. They relieved each other in dealing and paying. Mr Fielder always acted as the master of the house. On various other occasions witnessed the repetition of the game of Rouge et Noir.

Cross-examined.—Commenced going to this house the latter part of January. Did not see Mr Miller there ; was an independent man ; had been so about ten years ; during that time had been in no man's employment. Did not subsist exactly by his independence. Has a mechanical exhibition ; has the

honour of exhibiting an improved machine, called Lutherburg's Hydrophusicon ; goes about the country shewing it—It was Mr Miller's property, and he took it as he would take a house. Mr Fielder was taken up twice upon a Judge's warrant on a Saturday night ; would not say for the purpose of preventing his giving bail. The play mostly took place on the Opera nights.

Robert Oldfield was in the employment of Mr Fielder, No. 9, Bennett-street. He opened the outer door and the inner door. In the evening the door next the street was shut in general ; kept a key of the inner door, which led up stairs. There were two doors within the house beside the street door. Was stationed at the doors in question to let gentlemen in. He saw these gentlemen before he let them in, through an oval glass in the street door. There was an outer door besides those he kept, which was always open. His duty was to keep out such persons as it was thought proper to exclude. The game of Rouge et Noir was going on up stairs. Besides the Rouge et Noir table, there were other tables in the house, including a Hazard table ; on that he never saw Hazard played ; did see Hazard played between the 29th of March and the 14th of April, a little after three ; they played in the back room on the first floor ; Mr Fielder was there ; there were eight or ten present ; if three mains at Hazard were thrown by one person, the keeper of the table was entitled to a box ; witness received this money, which he handed over to Mr Fielder's servant ; the value of a box was proportioned to the stakes played for ; on this occasion the gentlemen playing wanted to play for half a pound, but Mr Fielder said as it was so late the boxes must be pounds. Mr Fielder's boxes were therefore a pound

each. Witness that morning received for Mr Fielder about 25% ; could name some of the gentlemen present.

Mr Marriott.—I have no wish that these persons should be mentioned by the witness.

Mr Justice Bayley.—It is much better he should mention them ; the public are interested in this. It ought to be known who these people are.

Witness.—The gentlemen would sometimes stake from 20% to 40%. The servants there were the servants of Mr Fielder. On the morning in question, at Hazard, he thought Sir Godfrey Webster won all that was won—six or seven hundred pounds. Mr Barton lost considerably. He had been a winner, but Sir Godfrey urged him, kept him on playing, and he lost it all. Mr Barton was about seven or eight and twenty. Mr Fielder's house was shut up this day three weeks. From the 29th of March down to the 1st of April, the play went on every night, except when stopped by informations at Bow-street ; Sundays as well as other days. From twenty to thirty attended every night. They began to play generally at ten o'clock. When officers came, witness was ordered not to let them in by Mr Fielder. Mrs Fielder was in attendance to prepare refreshments.

Cross-examined.—Was at the house in Mr Miller's time. Does not know Mr Miller conducts the prosecution.

Mr William Barton (an officer of the Guards) was at Mr Fielder's house on different evenings between the 29th of March and the 14th of April. Was there several times during that period. Saw play going forward every night he was there. Saw Rouge et Noir played, and Hazard but once. Saw Sir Godfrey Webster there on that occasion, and eight or ten others. They began after three o'clock, and continued playing till seven o'clock. Sir Godfrey won about two or three hun-

dred pounds. Always understood there were two masters to the house, Mr Miller and Mr Fielder. Mr Fielder was there on the night Hazard was played ; he was merely looking on. Witness is the person alluded to by the last witness ; is but one-and-twenty years of age.

Cross-examined.—Mr Fielder objected to Hazard being played, and, after the play was done, took away the boxes. Never saw the game played before or since. The game of Rouge et Noir was a game of chance. Always understood it was very much in favour of the banker. Could not say whether the only advantage to the banker was upon a calculation of chances, as 15s. in 100%. Thought Mr Fielder's conduct was always fair.

Examined by Mr Justice Bayley.—Had seen a single stake of 100% at Rouge et Noir. The stakes were from 50% to 150% each deal. They dealt from 40 to 50 times within the hour. The play began at 10 and lasted till three.

Mr Robert Butler.—This gentleman objected to give evidence, but Mr Justice Bayley said he owed it to the public. He is collector of rates in St George's, Hanover-square. He received the rates of the house in Bennett-street, from Mr Fielder.

William Godfrey, a police officer, went to search the house of Fielder, on the 3d of May.

Mr Gurney.—That was a month after the time specified in the indictment.

Mr Justice Bayley.—You have a right to examine as to who was the proprietor of the house at that time.

Witness.—Did not see Mr Fielder on that occasion.

John Wilson apprehended Mr Fielder on the 3d of May, in the evening, at eleven o'clock ; went to search his house. There was resistance to his entrance. Found Mr Fielder in the

house. Found a key in Oldfield's pocket, but still could not open the door, as it was barricaded with bolts and bars. On a former occasion, when he apprehended Mr Fielder on a judge's warrant, he admitted that he was the owner of the house in Bennett-street. When witness went there, he saw four or five and twenty gentlemen present. They all seemed much confused. Found two scrapers. Mr Holland being called back, looked at the scrapers, and said they were used for the purpose of scraping the sums of money won, and drawing them towards the bank. There were cards used in which punctures were made to denote the number of red or black cards turned up during the evening.

This was the case for the prosecution.

Mr Gurney then addressed the jury on the part of the defendant. He was as ignorant of gambling as his learned friend, and he considered ignorance a bliss. He observed that the jury in this prosecution would be only doing their duty by halves; for it was a prosecution instituted by one gambler against another. If they had only heard the evidence of the independent showman, Mr Holland, he might have anticipated an acquittal for his client; but he was fearful the effect of the other testimony adduced, would produce a different result. It certainly did appear that persons of condition met at the house of Mr Fielder for the purpose of gaming, but there was not the slightest insinuation that Mr Fielder had acted unfairly. If the jury believed the witnesses who had been called to prove the case, and found the defendant guilty, he could only hope for a favourable consideration of his case when he was brought up for judgment.

Mr Justice Bayley having summed up the evidence, the jury found the prisoner—*Guilty*.

The Learned Judge, in the course of his summing up, expressed great satisfaction at Mr Barton's being called, as the exposure of gamblers in this way would do more to prevent the practice in which he had indulged, than any other preventive means which could be adopted.

SCOTS APPEAL OF BLACK *versus* CAMPBELL.

• At a general election in 1812, General Campbell and the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, G. C. B. were candidates for the Inverkeithing district of burghs. Mr Black is, and then was, clerk of the burghs of Dunfermline and Inverkeithing.

The set or constitution of the burgh of Inverkeithing is peculiar—the councillors are required to be *inhabitant burgesses*, and they remain councillors as long as they continue to be resident.

The election of the delegate for that burgh took place on 15th October, 1812. Twenty-seven individuals appeared, claiming to be members of the council, two of whom were proved to be *non-resident*, and to have been summoned at residences *without the burgh*. It became obvious, in the course of the day, that if the votes of those two persons were marked by Mr Black, the returning clerk, but not otherwise, the election of the delegate for Inverkeithing would terminate in favour of General Campbell.

Much discussion took place at the election between the gentlemen who appeared on the part of General Campbell and Sir Thomas Maitland, each party claiming the election. At last, at a late period of the evening, Mr Black pronounced a deliverance, stating his opinion to be, that the votes of the non-resident councillors were

not good, but that he would, in the mean time, mark their votes, if tendered under protest, and “ would reckon them in making his return, *if, after due consideration and advice*, he should find that it was not strictly competent to him to reject the votes.”

. Accordingly, Mr Black communicated the minutes of the election to a lawyer of the highest legal and parliamentary knowledge and experience, by whom he was advised “ only to count the votes of real *bona fide* resident councillors,” and “ that he was bound by his oath, and according to the impartial exercise of his trust, to incur the responsibility incident to his making out a commission in favour of General Maitland.”

Mr Black, following this advice, which coincided with his own opinion, made out a commission in favour of General Maitland, and for having done so, General Campbell accused him before the Court of Session of having made a wrongful return, and prayed the Court to inflict the statutory penalties for that offence, viz. a fine of 500*l.* imprisonment for six months, accompanied with the declaration of his disability to enjoy the office of town-clerk of Inverkeithing in time to come, and payment of expences.

General Campbell's complaint against Mr Black described him as a “ misguided and guilty individual,” “ a willing and ready tool,” “ prepared to go all lengths,” “ totally unrestrained by the obligation of an oath and the fear of disgrace, who, after mature consideration, had, with his eyes open, subjected himself to the consequences of deliberate perjury,” and who, “ setting the provisions of the law at defiance, had called down upon his head the infamy he had incurred.” And General Campbell professed himself to be “ impelled by a sense of *the duty which he owed to the independent burghs*, which

he had the honour to represent, to call upon the Court to award to the fullest extent the statutory penalties.”

Mr Black's defence was, that he had clearly acted with the most perfect *bona fides*; that the persons whose votes he had disallowed, had really and truly no greater right to be considered councillors of Inverkeithing than any persons totally strangers to the burgh, who might have come forward and seated themselves at the council table; that General Campbell had himself called on him to disallow, for the same reason of non-residence, the votes of other councillors in General Maitland's interest; that he was bound to make the return, according to the best of his honest judgment, of a majority of legal votes; and that the statute had provided no rule for the very peculiar constitution of the burgh of Inverkeithing, as had been decided in cases to which Mr Black referred.

General Campbell's complaint was advised on two occasions by the Second Division of the Court, in May, 1813, and January, 1814, after very long and elaborate written pleadings, and on both occasions the Court found Mr Black liable in the statutory penalties, which have been already mentioned. Doubts as to the judgment were expressed by some of the judges, especially by the late Lord Meadowbank, who thought it “ contrary to the general policy of our criminal law to inflict disabilities without some criminal intention;” but, in the sequel, the judges considered themselves tied up by the statute, and their judgment was pronounced unanimously. Some of the judges, however, condemned the style of the complaint, and others, especially Lords Glenlee and Bannatyne, recommended that General Campbell should withdraw the criminal part of it; Lord Glenlee at the same time remarking, that, “ after all he had heard

of the *bona fides* of judges, he should not be fond of the situation, if this gentleman should, in the mean time, be imprisoned, and after all the judgment should be reversed." General Campbell did not listen to this recommendation from the bench; he exacted payment of the fine of 500*l.* and expences; and after Mr Black had entered his appeal to the House of Peers, he applied to the Court to put their sentence of disability into execution, pending the appeal.

The Court, however, refused to interfere farther, and found General Campbell liable to Mr Black in the expences occasioned by this application.

The case was heard in the House of Lords on Wednesday the 7th and Friday the 9th instant, and, in the course of the pleadings, the Lord Chancellor expressed his most decided disapprobation of the language used in the complaint at the instance of General Campbell against Mr Black, and his belief that if such a paper had appeared in a court of justice in England, it would, on account of the impertinence of the language used in it, have been sent to a Master in Chancery. His lordship also said, that *this was the hardest case he ever knew*, and that *so far as related to character, he considered Mr Black to have been by much the worst used gentleman of the two parties in the case.*

In pronouncing the judgment of unqualified reversal, upon Friday the 16th instant, the Lord Chancellor read to the House the calumnious passages of General Campbell's complaint, which he was astonished to find had been allowed to form part of the record. His lordship condemned, in pointed terms, the notice taken in the complaint of the supposed accordance of Mr Black's political sentiments with the party to whom he gave the return at Inverkeithing, and expressed strong doubts

as to the construction given to the statute, upon which the complaint was founded, particularly so far as respected the burgh of Inverkeithing. Lord Redesdale entirely concurred with the Lord Chancellor, and said, that if the constitution of the burgh of Inverkeithing was what it was represented to be, Mr Black was bound to exercise his judgment as to the votes of the two persons which he disallowed. But they both were clearly of opinion, that the charge against Mr Black was not made with sufficient precision, and that there was no proof or admission to substantiate it.

MARY RYAN, FOR ATTEMPTING HER HUSBAND'S ESCAPE.

London Sessions—May 5.

Mary Brown, *alias* Ryan, (the unfortunate wife of a man who had been executed in the morning,) was put to the bar, charged with endeavouring to procure, and to aid and abet the escape of her husband, and two other persons, named Hallard and Handley, from his majesty's jail of Newgate, on the 18th of April last. The prisoner, as might well be supposed, exhibited the most wretched appearance; she was convulsed in agony, and had an infant at her breast.

Ann Somers deposed, that she was employed to search the females who were in the habit of visiting the prisoners, and on Sunday, the 13th of April last, the wife of Brown, then confined under sentence of death in Newgate, was searched upon her arrival at the prison. Witness found nothing in her pockets; but imagining there was a protuberance of person, she insisted upon searching beneath her clothes, and discovered that her body was braced round with a quanti-

ty of rope. Witness being convinced that this must have been wound about her while in an undressed state, taxed her to this effect. The prisoner, however, denied it, stating that she had picked up the rope on her way to the prison, and meant no harm with it. The rope which she took from the person of the prisoner was in length about twelve yards, and in substance capable of assisting by ascent or descent in the escape of two or three individuals.

Several witnesses corroborated this statement.

Mr Barry, who, with feelings of the greatest humanity, volunteered to plead the cause of the wretched prisoner, addressed the Court. The subject, he said, of the offence imputed to the prisoner, and whether that offence was brought sufficiently home to her, was a question for the decision of the jury. In considering this they would take, he had no doubt, the circumstances under which she was placed at the time the offence was committed—a weak, but affectionate woman, endeavouring, by desperate means, (of the impropriety or consequence of which she was, perhaps, utterly ignorant,) to rescue her husband from his perilous situation. He submitted this, not with a view of turning aside the minds of the jury from the law or the fact, but to shew how small a proportion of the guilt of the unfortunate woman might be attributed to a criminal intention. The learned counsel concluded an affecting appeal, by stating, that if, in the minds of a British jury, whom he then had the honour to address, conviction should be established against the prisoner, he would then turn to the Court, and, appealing to its mercy, say, that the pangs, the contrition, the

grief, and the sorrow, that at present inundated the soul of this unfortunate widow and mother, were to her a far greater punishment than all the pains and penalties of the most sanguinary law.

The Recorder having summed up the evidence with great humanity, the jury, after some minutes consultation, pronounced a verdict of *Guilty*, but, through their foreman, thus addressed the Court:—

“My lord and gentlemen, we most earnestly recommend this almost helpless and wretched woman to your mercy. The whole Court, we feel, has, with ourselves, been agonized at the circumstance, that she, who this morning, but a few hours since, was a wife, is now a widow, cast upon society under circumstances of the most heart-rending nature, to seek protection for herself and orphans. We beg that in mercy you will visit her with the most lenient punishment possible.”

The Court having consulted a few moments together, the Recorder proceeded to pass sentence upon the prisoner, and having highly complimented the jury for their very humane recommendation, in which, he said, the bench heartily concurred, *ordered her to be confined in Newgate for one calendar month!*

The prisoner, in a flood of tears, begged the Court would suffer her “to go to the *wake* of her husband, (he being an Irishman and Roman Catholic,) and see the last of him.”

The Court said it was not in their power to grant such a request.

She was then conveyed in custody from the Court; the jury, however, and almost every individual in Court, previously bestowing upon her sums of money.

MATHEWSON AND OTHERS, FOR ILL
TREATMENT OF PASSENGERS ON
SHIPBOARD.

Marine Court, New York:

This was an action of assault and battery, alleged to have been committed on board the British ship *Thomas*, of Lancaster, while on the high seas, of which ship Mathewson was the captain, the other defendants seamen, and the plaintiff one of the passengers.

It appeared, that the ship came from the chalky cliffs of Albion, with a number of passengers, and arrived on the Banks of Newfoundland. The sons of the deity who rules the wide domain through which they had past in safety, with joy breathing in every eye met and conferred. By a recurrence to ancient legends, coeval with the common law, and among them of greater validity, it was found, that as often as a landsman came in view of the Banks before them, he must produce a bottle of old Cognac, or rum, as an acceptable sacrifice to Neptune.

The nature of the sacrifice was explained to the landsmen, and the greater part complied with a requisition sanctioned by immemorial usage; the defendant, with others, refused.

Whereupon the seamen invoked the god with sad complaints:—

“O omnipotent father, King of the Ocean, behold the rebellious sons of Terra, who have dared to intrude into thy dominions, refusing to bend before thy divine altar, and to render to thee an accustomed libation. Their beards, O father, are long, uncouth, and indecent; retained by them in defiance of thy laws, and in defiance of thy divinity.”

The Father of Ocean heard, and lifted his awful head above the sublime waves, attended by the Tritons, the

Nereides, and all the daughters of the azure main.

He saw his children, and thus responded to their complaints, through a brazen trumpet, whose reverberations shook the distant promontory of Chapeau Rouge, and re-echoed through the spacious bay of Placentia:—

“Carry these impious mortals from my presence—behold their beards, which they dare to retain in despite of my authority! They shall be shaved.”

— “*Si fata sinant.*”

He said, and taking his razor and shaving-box from his car, while Amphitrite held his horses, he seized the prow, and ascended by the head-rails into the lofty ship. His presence inspired his children with joy. But while imparting his commands through his brazen trumpet to the crew, the landsmen below trembled—“Bring hither that tub, and fill it with sea water.” ’Twas done. “Bring forth the long-bearded tribe, one by one.” The command was obeyed; but Duffie, when it came to his turn, was inclined to be refractory, and resisted; but who can resist when gods command?

The razor used by his godship was manufactured in the caverns of *Ætna*, by one of the Cyclops, from an iron hoop; and though somewhat *rough on the edge*, did good business.

Held above the tub, Duffie underwent the operation with streaming eye, while the most unsavoury smell from the lather entered his nostrils. As soon as the office of the razor was accomplished, and the awful oath, which binds even gods above, was administered, the tub below received him; the ceremony was done, and the god descended into the bosom of the “vasty deep.”

It appeared that a lady passenger, named Ann Jones, was subjected to the same ceremony, the humour of which was enjoyed by Duffie, in com-

mon with the others. Markwell personated Neptune, and the captain acted in the capacity of assistant to the deity, and was aiding, abetting, and assisting in the ceremony.

After the arguments of the counsel, Mr Justice Swanton charged the jury, that it was the duty of the master of a ship to treat his passengers with attention and politeness. The captain stood in the same relation to the passengers as a master of an inn, or hotel, did towards his guests. Having the superintendence of his vessel, the law had invested the captain with the authority necessary for preserving peace and good order.

On this occasion, the captain not only failed in treating the plaintiff with becoming decorum, but countenanced, and actually had some agency in the injury charged in the declaration. The conduct of the defendants towards the plaintiff was highly reprehensible. After taking into consideration the wounded feelings of the plaintiff on the one hand, and the circumstances of the defendants on the other, it would be the duty of the jury to render such a verdict as they considered just and equitable.

The jury rendered a verdict in favour of the plaintiff, for 46 dollars.

YOUNG, FOR PAYMENT OF A RUMP AND DOZEN.

Northumberland Assizes—August 13.

Mr Richardson opened the pleadings, by stating that a conversation arose between the plaintiff and the defendant concerning the price of flour, when the plaintiff betted the defendant a rump and dozen that the average price of flour did not exceed 3*l.* per sack, in the markets of Berwick, Alnwick, Morpeth, and Newcastle, on

any day between the 3d of December and the 1st of April; that the defendant lost the wager; that the rump and dozen was ordered, and that the defendant refused to pay for it.

Mr Scarlett said, he did not wonder to hear his Lordship express his surprise that a case of this sort should be defended.

Mr Baron Richards said he was surprised it should be here at all.

Mr Scarlett observed, it never would have been here, if the defendant had not refused to pay for the rump and dozen, which had been eaten and drank. This case was not without precedent, for he recollected having been counsel in a cause of the same kind some time ago, when the determination was in favour of festivity, to which the law of England was extremely indulgent. In no place were the people more fond of mirth and festivity than in Northumberland; and he really thought the defendant could not belong to the county, otherwise he never could have defended such an action. He believed almost all men had a correct notion of what was meant by a rump and dozen, but it was nowhere better understood than in Northumberland. In the Court of Common Pleas in the South, where a similar cause had been tried, the learned Judge did not know what a rump and dozen meant.

Lord Chief Baron.—O! ignorant judge, not to know the meaning of a rump and dozen.

Mr Scarlett said, the plaintiff was a corn factor, and the defendant a farmer. It was the interest of the one that the price of corn should rise, and of the other that it should fall; and upon the event of the rising or falling within a certain period, they had laid the wager in question. The defendant having lost the wager, was applied to in order to know when it would suit his convenience to have the dinner. He said there was an unsettled account

between him and the plaintiff, and that the wager might as well be set off against it. That, however, was not what was meant by a wager of a rump and dozen. It was not to be satisfied in pounds, shillings, and pence, to the party, but was to be eat and drank by themselves and their mutual friends. Upon the defendant receiving notice of the day appointed by the winner, he declined attending. The plaintiff therefore invited his friends, and was obliged to pay near 10*l.* for the dinner. The defendant had refused to repay him, and the action was brought to compel him. He thought the party against whom the verdict went ought to pay for another rump and dozen, and that the jury should be invited to partake of the feast.

The Lord Chief Baron earnestly recommended the parties to arrange their dispute amicably, but they were not disposed to take his lordship's advice. Upon the written paper, containing the terms of the wager, being put in, Mr Topping objected that it was without a stamp. He was aware he should be told, that the agreement had reference to a sum that did not exceed 20*l.*, and therefore was excluded from the operation of the stamp act. To this he would answer, that the amount of the bill for the rump and dozen depended upon the capacity of the stomachs of those who were to be invited; they might eat and drink to the amount of 10*l.* or three times 10*l.*; possibly, therefore, the wager might extend to a sum beyond 10*l.*, and if it did the agreement would require a stamp.

The Lord Chief Baron said he would save the point. The cause then proceeded; but it appearing that an alteration in the terms of the wager had been made after it had been reduced to writing, the plaintiff was non-suited. The plaintiff, however, declared his in-

tention of renewing the action at the next assizes.

SEAMAN DEMANDING HIS MOTHER'S HEAD.

Mansion-House—Dec. 3.

The Lord Mayor was surprised by a most extraordinary application from a young seaman, who begged that some hard-hearted fellows in the Borough should be compelled to give him up his mother's head.

The Lord Mayor.—Your mother's head! For the love of God, is it separated from the body?

Seaman.—Yes, my lord, they cut away the head, and told me I might have the body if I pleased. Accordingly I took the body, but I can't bear to think of leaving the head behind, and I hope your lordship will see it delivered to me.

The Lord Mayor.—This is the most strange thing I ever heard of. For God's sake, is the man serious, in saying that his mother has lost her head?

Mr Hobler said, the charge was not without foundation. The poor fellow had spoken to him at an early hour upon the subject, and seemed very much agitated in describing his mother's death; which, however, took place some days before her decapitation, in St Thomas's Hospital.

The Lord Mayor.—Oh, then, it is of the surgeons of St Thomas's you complain?

Seaman.—Yes, my lord, of the butchers there. They are willing to let me do what I please with the body, but are determined to keep the head for themselves as a curiosity, for my mother died of a tooth-ache.

The Lord Mayor.—Of a tooth-ache? This is still more extraordinary.

I have certainly heard that the most effectual way of curing the tooth-ache is by cutting off the head ; but I never before heard that such a complaint would cause death.

Mr Hobler said, the seaman meant that his mother died in consequence of a bungling attempt to extract a tooth. The gums of the deceased had been so lacerated by the operation that a gangrene took place, and death soon followed. She had been taken to St Thomas's Hospital, where the surgeons, probably finding that the case presented great novelty, asked and obtained leave to examine the head.

The seaman said, the moment he was told it might be of service to his fellow-creatures, he allowed the surgeons to dissect the head ; but at the same time that he allowed that, he never had a notion of leaving any part of his mother in their hands, and he thought their refusal to give up the head was quite unnatural. He had had the body at home these two days, and there it should lie until he had the means of making it complete, by putting the head in its proper place.

The Lord Mayor.—They certainly are not justified in detaining the head, and should have restored it to you, after it had served their professional purposes.

A gentleman in the medical line observed to his lordship, that he apprehended the professional purposes of the surgeons would not be answered until the head was in pickle.

The Lord Mayor.—This is indeed a very indefensible practice ; besides, it will terrify the relatives of patients who die in the hospital, by giving them reason to suppose that when they are following the deceased to their graves, they are following bodies without heads or heads without bodies.

The medical man said, the interests

of society were paramount ; and for his part, if he was going off in a disorder little known to practitioners, he would not care into how many pieces he was cut for the benefit of society.

And yet, said the Lord Mayor, although that is the common talk of physicians, I never knew one of the profession who had any inclination to have his bones-dangling in an anatomy-room, or his head in a bottle.

The physician observed, that there might be cases of the kind which were concealed, in consideration of the prejudices of the weaker sex.

The Lord Mayor.—I don't know how we can prosecute resurrection-men for stealing dead bodies, if such practices are allowed. A thing of this kind is more distressing to the feelings than a church-yard robbery ; for our habits are such that we cannot endure the burial of a body piecemeal. Even in a field of battle we should go about and endeavour to collect the mangled limbs of a friend, before we could think of covering an atom of him with earth. At home, then, where the rights of sepulture are attended to so scrupulously, it is barbarous to mangle a body and torture the feelings of a son by keeping the head of his mother for exhibition.

The physician said, that in all probability the case was such as rendered this proceeding of the surgeons indispensable. The head, it was reported, had, by the disease, been swelled to a most enormous magnitude, and was actually too large to be placed in the coffin with the body. This extraordinary circumstance, combined with the disorder which had proved fatal, was likely to render a constant recurrence to the subject necessary. The manner, then, in which it might have been prudent to act, was to substitute the head of another body, which would be just as useful, at the same time that

the imposition would be very excusable, and no detection could take place.

The Lord Mayor declared, that the surgeons were highly reprehensible in detaining the head. It was notorious that those disturbers of the dead called resurrection-men, who were in many cases robbers of the living, were in the habit of serving the hospital with subjects; and it would now appear as if the surgeons intended to vie with them in their trade, against which the public had so great a horror.

The seaman said he had often seen death in its most frightful shapes, and had given many of his companions graves in distant parts of the world, where there was not much care whether bodies were buried or not, and in fact where he was indifferent whether in case of his own death he should undergo that ceremony; but his mother was different; and he should go to the hospital, and stay there until his demand was agreed to, whatever reception he should meet with, even if they were to take it into their heads to cut off his own.

The Lord Mayor said he felt convinced, that when the surgeons should consider the cruelty of persisting in the refusal, there could no longer be any hesitation. His lordship ordered Cartwright, the marshalman, to attend the seaman to St Thomas's, and inquire the cause of the conduct complained of.

Upon his return, Cartwright astonished the whole office, by saying, that he heard at the hospital that the seaman's father had sold the head for a pound to the surgeons. He said, the poor son acknowledged he had been present when the bargain was made, but that he abhorred the proposal of disposing of the head at any price.

In order to satisfy the Lord Mayor that a proper arrangement had been

made about the head, the principal surgeon sent word that he would wait upon his lordship to-morrow morning (this day.)

CURIOUS EXAMINATION OF A WITNESS BEFORE THE SCOTS JURY COURT.

THE following examination took place in a question lately tried in the Jury Court between the trustees on the Queensferry passage and the town of Kirkcaldy. The witness was called on the part of the trustees, and apparently full of their interest. The counsel having heard that the man had got a present of a coat from the clerk to the trustees before coming to attend the trial, thought proper to interrogate him on that point; as by proving this, it would have the effect of completely setting aside his testimony.—

Q. Pray where did you get that coat? The witness (looking obliquely down to the sleeve of his coat, and from thence to the counsel) with a mixture of effrontery and confusion, exclaimed,

A. Coat, coat, sir! Whare gat I that coat?

Q. I wish to know where you got that coat?

A. May be ye ken whare I got it?

Q. No, but we wish to know from whom you got it?

A. Did ye gie me that coat?

Q. Tell the jury where you got that coat?

A. What's your business wi' that?

Q. It is material that you tell the Court where you got the coat?

A. 'Am no obliged to tell about ma coat?

Q. Do you not recollect whether you bought that coat, or whether it was given to you?

A. I canna recollect every thing about ma coats; whan I get them, or whare I get them.

Q. You said you remembered perfectly well about the boats 42 years ago; and the people who lived at Kirkcaldy then; and John More's boat; and can you not recollect where you got the coat you have on at present?

A. 'Am no gaun to say ony thing about coats.

Q. Did Mr Douglas, clerk to the trustees, give you that coat?

A. How do you ken ony thing about that?

Q. I ask you, did Mr Douglas, clerk to the trustees, give you that coat?

A. 'Am no bound to answer that question, but merely to tell the truth.

Q. So you wont tell where you got that coat?

A. I didna get the coat to do ony thing wrang for't; I didna engage to say ony thing that wasna true.

The Lord Chief Commissioner, when the witness was going out of the box, called him back, and observed, "the court wish to know from you something farther about this coat. It is not believed or suspected that you got it improperly or dishonestly, or that there is any reason for your concealing it. You may have been disinclined to speak about it, thinking that there was something of insult or reproach in the questions put from the bar. You must be sensible that the bench can have no such intention; and it is for your credit, and the sake of

your testimony, to disclose fairly where you got it. There may be discredit in concealing, but none in telling where you got it."

Q. Where did you get the coat?

A. 'Am no obliged to tell about ma coat.

Q. True, you are not obliged to tell where you got it; but it is for your own credit to tell.

A. I didna come here to tell about coats, but to tell about boats and pin-naces.

Q. If you do not tell, I must throw aside your evidence altogether.

A. 'Am no gaun to say ony thing about ma coat; 'am no obliged to say ony thing about it.

Witness went away, and was called back by Lord Gillies.

Q. How long have you had that coat?

A. I dinna ken how lang I hae had my coat. I hae plenty o' coats. I dinna mind about this coat or that coat.

Q. Do you remember any thing near the time; have you had it a year, a month, or a week? Have you had it a week?

A. Hoot ay, I dare say I may.

Q. Have you had it a month?

A. I dinna ken; I cam here to speak about boats, and no about coats.

Q. Did you buy the coat?

A. I didna mind what coat I bought, or what I got.

The consequence was, that their lordships were forced to reject the evidence of this witness.

No. II.

PROCEEDINGS OF PUBLIC SOCIETIES.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

On Saturday, November 30th,* the society held its annual meeting for the election of the office-bearers for the ensuing year. There were elected,

PRESIDENT,

Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.

G. C. B.

SECRETARIES,

William Thomas Brande, Esq. and
Taylor Combe, Esq.

TREASURER,

Samuel Lysons, Esq.

There remained of the old council,

Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.

John Barrow, Esq.

Taylor Combe, Esq.

Sir Humphry Davy,

Sir Everard Home, Bart.

Samuel Lysons, Esq.

The Earl of Morton,

John Pond, Esq.

William Hyde Wollaston, M. D.

Thomas Young, M. D.

There were elected into the council,

William Thomas Brande, Esq.

John George Children, Esq.

John Wilson Croker, Esq.

Charles Konig, Esq.

Alexander Macleay, Esq.

Alexander Marcet, M. D.

Colonel William Mudge,

William Haseldyne Pepys, Esq.

The Earl of Spencer,

Sir John Thomas Stanley, Bart.

Twenty members have died since the last anniversary, and thirty-two new members have been admitted into the society. The present list of Fellows contains 619 names. Of these 44 are foreign members.

On Thursday, December 5, a paper by Mr Tod was read, giving an account of some experiments made on torpedos at Rochelle. The object of the experiments was to ascertain, whether the animal possesses a voluntary power over its electrical organs. When the fish is held by the tail, the person holding it does not receive shocks, nor are they communicated when the animal is held by the anterior part of the body. The electric shocks were given without any apparent diminution, when an incision was made round the electric organs, and even when they communicated with the rest of the animal only by the nerves. When a portion of the electric organ was cut off, the strength of the shock was diminished; but Mr Tod was not certain whether this diminution was owing to the diminution of the organ, or to the exhausted state of the fish. The nerves of the electric organs are

* The proceedings for the whole winter session 1816-17 are here introduced, from the analyses given in the Journals of Thomson and Brande.

supplied from the *medulla oblongata*. When Mr Tod was cutting the electric organs, he received shocks through the scalpel. The author states a circumstance respecting the torpedo, which he has been told, he conceives, on good authority, though he never witnessed it himself. Where torpedos abound, boys are in the habit of playing the following trick to those who are not in the secret. They persuade the ignorant boy to make urine upon the torpedo. The consequence is, that an electrical shock is conveyed along the stream of urine.

At the same meeting, a paper, by Mr Hatchett, was read, describing a method of destroying the musty taste in grain. Must, the author conceives, is an alteration which is produced in the amylaceous part of the grain, and in general it is confined to the surface of the corn immediately under the husk. To remove it, the corn must be put into any vessel capable of holding thrice the quantity of corn put into it. The vessel is then to be filled with boiling-hot water, and the liquid allowed to remain till it be cool. Then the light and rotten grains, which swim on the surface, may be skimmed off, and the water allowed to drain. It will be proper afterwards to pour some cold water on the grain, and stir it about in order to wash away completely the water which holds the must in solution. Grain thus treated, will be found quite free from all musty taste. In a year like the present, when so much of the corn has been injured by wet, this information must be of great importance to the country.

On Thursday, December 12, a paper, by Mr Brande, on an astringent substance, from China, was read. It was given to Mr Brande for examination by Sir Joseph Banks. It consisted of vesicular bodies like nutgalls adhering to the smaller branches of a tree. Insects could be perceived in it. There is a

description of it by Duhalde, who says, that it varies from the size of a nutgall to that of a chesnut. Mr Brande found its constituents as follows :

Tannin and gallic acid,	. 75
Resin,	2
Woody fibre,	23

100

On Thursday, December 19, a paper, by M. Dupin, was read, on the improvements lately introduced into ship-building by Mr Seppings. The author, in order to obtain materials for his projected work on Ship-Building, had been induced to visit Great Britain, and he expressed himself in the highest terms of the reception he met with from those gentlemen to whom he had occasion to apply. He stated a number of historical facts to shew that the principle upon which Mr Seppings's plan is founded had been previously known and employed in France, though afterwards abandoned. But he allows that Mr Seppings has introduced so many improvements, and has so happily got over difficulties to be overcome, as to have made his method in a great measure his own.

On Thursday, January 9, 1817, part of a paper, by Sir Humphry Davy, on flame was read. The author divided his subject under four heads : 1. On the effect produced by rarefaction by means of the air-pump on the inflammation of gases. A small jet of hydrogen gas from a glass tube was extinguished when the air was rarefied six times. But when the jet was larger, it was not extinguished till the rarefaction amounted to ten times. In the second case, the point of the tube from which the gas proceeded was white-hot, and the gas continued to burn till the tube ceased to be visibly red. It immediately occurred to the author, that the cause of the extinction was not the deficiency of oxygen, but the want of sufficient heat. Hence it

followed, that those bodies which produce most heat, and which require the least for combustion, would burn the longest; and a set of experiments made on purpose confirmed these ideas. Hydrogen burned till the atmosphere was rarefied ten times; olefiant gas, till the rarefaction was nearly as great; carbonic oxide was extinguished when the rarefaction amounted to five times; and carbureted hydrogen when it was only four times. Sulphur continued to burn till the rarefaction was thirty; phosphorus, till it was sixty; and phosphureted hydrogen gas burned in the best vacuum which he could form by means of his air-pump. 2. On the effect of rarefaction by heat on the combustibility of the gases. Grotthus has stated, that, when gaseous mixtures are rarefied four times by heat, they cease to explode. Our author was able only to produce an expansion of two and a half times. It was produced by a cherry-red heat; which of course indicates a heat of about 1032° . The result of his experiments is precisely the reverse of that of Grotthus. He found that rarefaction by heat increases the explodability of gaseous mixtures. He infers, likewise, from his experiments, that the hypothesis of Dr Higgins, Berthollet, &c., that the reason why gaseous bodies explode by electricity is the compression occasioned by the sudden expansion of the heated portion of gas is erroneous. He considers the heat evolved by the combustion as the sole cause of the explosion.

On Thursday, January 16, Sir Humphry Davy's paper on flame was concluded. In the third part of his paper the author treats of the effect of different mixtures of other gaseous bodies on the combustibility of exploding compounds by the electric spark. He made a mixture of two volumes hydrogen and one volume oxygen gas, and tried the effect pro-

duced by adding various mixtures of other gaseous bodies. Olefiant gas was found to have the greatest effect in preventing the explosion of this mixture by electricity. The quantity of each gas necessary to prevent the explosion was different. From his experiments it appears that the effect does not depend upon the specific heat or the specific gravity of the gas added. He is of opinion, that it depends chiefly upon the property of the gas to conduct heat. Gases, he thinks, differ as much in their conducting powers as solid bodies, and those which conduct best will act most powerfully in preventing explosion, by carrying off the heat, and cooling the mixture below the exploding point.

The fourth part of the paper consisted in general remarks, and practical inferences. He finds that neither the rarefaction nor condensation of common air produces much effect upon flame burning in it. The effect of wire-gauze in preventing explosions, he considers as owing entirely to its property of carrying off the heat, and thus reducing the temperature of the gases that pass through it below the exploding point. He gave an account of various improvements introduced of late into the construction of the safe-lamps for coal mines; and pointed out advantages arising from the yielding nature of the wire-gauze of which they are constructed.

On Thursday, January 23, a curious paper, by Sir Humphry Davy, was read, constituting an important addition to his preceding memoir. He had concluded from his former investigations, that flame consisted of gaseous bodies heated above whiteness; and he had found that oxygen and hydrogen, as well as oxygen and charcoal, might be made to combine silently at a temperature below redness, and to form respectively, water and carbonic acid. It occurred to him, that during these

combinations heat was given out, and that, though not sufficient to cause the explosion of the gaseous mixture, it might, notwithstanding, be able to heat a metallic body to redness. While thinking of an experiment to determine this point, the phenomenon exhibited itself accidentally while he was making an experiment with a safe-lamp in a mixture of carbureted hydrogen and air. He plunged the lighted safe-lamp into this mixture, and then caused an additional quantity of carbureted hydrogen to pass into the mixture. The lamp was extinguished, but a platinum wire, that was above the flame, became red-hot, and continued so for several minutes; and, when it ceased to be luminous, the mixture had entirely lost its exploding properties. It was immediately obvious that the heat was evolved by the silent combination of the carbureted hydrogen with the oxygen of the mixture; and that, though not capable of exploding the mixture, it was yet capable of heating the platinum to redness. On making exploding mixtures of oxygen with hydrogen and other inflammable gases, and plunging a hot platinum wire into them, he found that it became red-hot, and continued so till the mixture had lost its power of exploding. He terminated his communication with a practical application to coal-mines. If a wire of platinum be suspended over the flame of a safety-lamp properly coiled up, and if the lamp be taken into an exploding mixture, it will be extinguished, but the platinum wire will become red-hot, and will continue to give out light till the mixture loses its exploding qualities. By this light the miner may direct his way out of the exploding mixture.

Dr Thomson considers this as one of the most beautiful discoveries which Sir Humphry Davy has made. The numerous practical applications of it to

gaseous experiments must be obvious to chemists in general.

At the same meeting a paper, by Dr Brewster, on light, was read. This paper consisting of a great number of detached facts, it is difficult to give any account of it. He shewed how the metals, by their polarization of light, form the supplementary colours. He stated also, that common salt and flour spar, when in pieces large enough, act upon light in the same way as double-refracting bodies.

Thursday, February 6, a paper on fulminating platinum, by E. Davy, Esq., was read, and continued on the 13th. The author succeeded in forming a fulminating compound of platinum by the following process: sulphuret of platinum, prepared by passing sulphureted hydrogen through the aqueous solution of muriate of platinum is converted into sulphate of platinum by nitrous acid. To the aqueous solution of this sulphate, ammonia is added in slight excess. The precipitate thus formed is boiled in a solution of caustic potash, washed and dried at 212° . It explodes when heated to about 400° , and consists of

Platinum,	. . . .	73.5
Oxygene	. . . .	8.75
Ammonia and water,		17.50

100.

On Thursday, February 20, a paper, by Mr Pond, the astronomer royal, was read, on the parallax of the fixed stars. It is well known that Dr Brinkley has for several years past been observing certain fixed stars with a circular instrument at the Dublin observatory; that he has observed a sensible parallax in several of them amounting to about $2''$: that this parallax has constantly appeared in every year's observations, and that it is too great to be ascribed to errors of observation. It was desirable, that these observa-

tions should be confirmed by other astronomers. The circular instrument at Greenwich was considered as well adapted for the purpose : accordingly Mr Pond made observations with it in 1812 and 1813 ; but he soon found that it would not answer the expected object, unless it could be wholly devoted to such observations. In consequence, he proposed at the last visitation, that two ten-foot telescopes, fitted with micrometers, should be fixed to stone pillars, for the purpose of observing the parallax of the fixed stars ; which proposal was approved of. Till these can be erected, two temporary telescopes have been fixed for making observations.

The object of the present communication was to state the result of the observations made in 1812 and 1813. The stars observed were a *Aquilæ*, a *Lyræ*, and a *Cygni*. The amount of the parallax did not exceed one-fourth of what Dr Brinkley had observed, but it was constant, like that observed by Dr Brinkley. Mr Pond suspects that the difference is owing to some other cause than parallax ; but he is far from being of opinion that the observations which he has already made are sufficient to decide the point. He hopes soon to be able to offer a new set of observations on this interesting subject.

On Thursday, February 27th, a paper by Sir Everard Home, Bart. was read, giving an account of a number of fossil bones of the *Rhinoceros*, found in a lime-stone cavern near Plymouth, by Mr Whitby. Sir Joseph Banks had requested Mr Whitby, when he went to superintend the break-water, at present constructing at Plymouth, to inspect all the caverns that should be met with in the lime-stone rocks during the quarrying, and to send him up any fossil bones that might be found. The fossil bones described in this paper occurred in a cavern in a

lime-stone rock on the south side of the Cat Water. This lime-stone is decidedly transition. The cavern was found after they had quarried 160 feet into the solid rock. It was 45 feet long, and filled with clay, and had no communication whatever with the external surface. The bones were remarkably perfect specimens. They were all, decidedly bones of the *Rhinoceros* ; but they belonged to three different animals. They consisted of teeth, bones of the spine, of the scapula, of the fore legs, and of the metatarsal bones of the hind legs. They were compared by Sir Everard with the bones of the skeleton of a *Rhinoceros* in the possession of Mr Brookes, which is considered as belonging to the largest of the species ever seen in England. The fossil bones were mostly of a larger size, though some of them belonged to a smaller animal. Several of them were analysed by Mr Braude. He found one specimen composed as follows :—

Phosphate of lime,	. . .	60
Carbonate of lime,	. . .	28
Animal matter,	. . . .	2
Water,	. . . . .	10

100

The teeth, as usual, contained a greater proportion of phosphate of lime than the other bones. These bones were remarkably clean and perfect, and constitute the finest specimens of fossil bones ever found in this country.

At the same meeting, two papers, by Thomas Knight, Esq. were announced, as presented to the society ; a paper on the construction of logarithms, and a paper on the functions of differences.

On Thursday, March 6th, a paper, by the Rev. Francis Hyde Wollaston, was read, describing a thermometer constructed by him, for determining the height of mountains, instead of the barometer. It is well known, that the temperature at which water

boils diminishes as the height of the place increases at which the experiment is made, and this diminution was suggested, first by Fahrenheit, and afterwards by Mr Cavendish, as a means of determining the height of places above the sea. Mr Wollaston's thermometer is as sensible as the common mountain barometer. Every degree of Fahrenheit on it occupies an inch in length. The thermometer, together with the lamp and vessel for boiling water, when packed into a case, weighs about a pound and a quarter, and is much more portable and convenient than the common mountain barometer. It is sufficiently sensible to point out the difference in height between the floor and the top of a common table. Mr Wollaston gave two trials with it, compared with the same heights measured by General Roy by the barometer. The difference between the two results did not exceed two feet.

On Thursday, March 13, an appendix to Mr Pond's paper on the parallax of the fixed stars was read. Conjecturing that the small difference which occasioned the suspicion of a parallax was owing to the difference between the heights of the external and internal thermometer in summer and winter, Mr Pond endeavoured to keep the inside of the observatory last winter of the same temperature as the outside, which the mildness of the season enabled him to accomplish. Many observations on a Lyra were made. No deviation whatever was observed; or, if any minute deviations existed, they were in an opposite direction from that of a parallax.

At the same meeting, part of a paper, by Mr Marshall, on the *laurus cinnamomum*, or cinnamon-tree, was read.

On Thursday, March 20, Mr Marshall's paper on the *laurus cinnamomum* was continued. He took a review of the descriptions of this plant given by preceding botanical writers, and point-

ed out numerous mistakes into which they had all fallen, from not being aware of the meaning of the different names given to the plant, and its varieties by the natives of Ceylon. Linnæus gave to his *laurus cassia* the properties of the *laurus cinnamomum*; and Thunberg, the last botanist, who describes this tree, does not correct the errors of his predecessors, and probably was not aware of their existence. The cinnamon tree is cultivated in four different places in Ceylon, and it grows wild abundantly in the jungles. The cinnamon obtained from the cultivated places amounts to rather more than 2000 bales, and that collected in the jungles is about an equal quantity. What is called cassia, is the receptacle and unripe seeds of the *laurus cinnamomum*.

On Thursday, March 27, Mr Marshall's paper on the *laurus cinnamomum* was continued. He described the way in which the cinnamon was collected, the frauds practised by those employed in gathering it, and the way in which it is stowed in the ships to be transported to Europe. It is usually stowed along with black pepper, in order to save room; or if pepper be wanting, coffee is substituted in its place. The Dutch sometimes ordered an oil to be extracted from the coarser kinds of cinnamon, which were not considered as fit for the home market. The method is simple. The bark is reduced to a coarse powder, macerated for some days in sea water, and then put along with water into a still. The oil comes over with the water. There are two kinds of oil obtained; a light oil, which swims on the surface of the water, and a heavy oil, which sinks to the bottom. The whole of the light oil separates in twenty-four hours; but the heavy oil continues to subside for ten or twelve days; 80lb. of fresh bark yield 2½oz. of the light oil, and 5½oz. of the heavy. The product

is a little diminished where the bark has been kept for some years before it is distilled.

Cinnamon, when first separated from the branch, has an orange colour, and a very agreeable fragrant odour. The colour diminishes, and the smell nearly disappears by keeping.

Cinnamon is confined to the torrid zones. Besides Ceylon, it grows on the Malabar coast, in Cochin China, in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, the Isle of France, Guiana, Jamaica, and other West Indian islands.

On Thursday, April 17, the remainder of Mr Marshall's paper was read.

It was taken up with endeavouring to trace the origin of the terms cinnamon and cassia. Herodotus informs us that the Greeks adopted their term cinnamon from the Phenicians. The Phenicians probably would adopt the word used in India. The Malays express cinnamon by the phrase *kaya mènes*, sweet wood; and Mr Marshall is of opinion that this is the origin both of the words cinnamon and cassia.

At the same meeting, three mathematical papers were presented to the society; two by Thomas Knight, Esq., and a third by Charles Babbage, Esq., containing observations on the application of analogical reasoning to mathematical investigations. These papers were not of a nature to be read to the society.

April 24. An account of an electrical increaser was read, communicated by H. Upington, Esq. through Dr G. Pearson. It appeared to differ but little from the multiplier already known to electricians.

May 1. A paper of much interest to physiologists was communicated by Sir E. Home; containing many new facts respecting the passage of the *ovum* from the *ovarium* to the *uterus*. The facts detailed in this paper, were illustrated by several very beautiful draw-

ings from the microscopic pencil of Mr Bauer, whose talents promise to be of as valuable application to anatomy, as they have already proved to the botanist.

May 8. A paper was read by Sir Everard Home, entitled, Further Observations on the use of *Colchicum Autumnale* in Gout. It may now be considered as proved, that *Colchicum* is the active principal of the justly celebrated *eau-medicinale*, for a vinous tincture of that root has cured many persons of the gout, exactly in the same way as the French remedy. Sir Everard furnishes sufferers from gout with a curious fact, in this paper, viz. that the part which gripes and vomits is contained in the sediment of these tinctures, and that although the clear part certainly cures the gout, it does not produce those rough effects which seem to belong exclusively to the sediment; he therefore advises filtering the *eau-medicinale* to get rid of this mischievous deposit.

At the same meeting, a paper was presented by Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. containing observations on the extent of the expansion and contraction of timber in different directions, relative to the medulla of the tree. This paper seemed to throw some light upon the obscure question of the motion of the sap in trees.

May 22. Mr Sewel, assistant professor at the Veterinary College, gave a short account of the mode of curing chronic lameness, to which hunters, chargers, and other valuable horses are liable, after any considerable exertion. It consisted in dividing the nervous trunk, and extirpating a portion of it, where it enters the foot behind the pastern joint. A successful case was annexed to the paper.

At the same meeting, Sir H. Davy presented to the society a letter from his brother, Dr Davy, containing a series of observations on the tempera-

ture of the ocean and atmosphere, and on the density of sea water. This paper forms part of a journal kept by Dr Davy, in his voyages to Ceylon, and embraces several curious topics of inquiry.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

January 6th. The Reverend Mr Alison read the second part of his Biographical Account of the Life and Writings of the late Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee.

January 13th. The annual meeting was held for the election of office-bearers. Lord Glenlee was chosen one of the Vice-Presidents in room of the late Lord Meadowbank; and Professor Jameson, Colonel Imrie, Dr Macknight, and Professor Dunbar, Councillors, in room of Walter Scott, Esq., Dr Jamieson, Dr Brewster, and Mr Bryce, who went out by rotation.

January 20th. A paper was read by Thomas Lauder Dick, Esq. on the appearances called the "Parallel Roads" in Glenroy, in the parish of Kilmanivaig, Inverness-shire. Mr Lauder Dick took an opportunity of examining Glenroy in the course of a pedestrian tour which he made to the West Highlands, along with a party of friends, last autumn. In this essay, he describes with great minuteness the appearance of these "roads" or "shelves," (as he is rather disposed to call them,) both when viewed at a distance and upon a close inspection. The whole extent of the glen is about eight or nine miles, extending from north-east to south-west. It consists of six or seven distinct vistas or reaches, into which it is naturally divided by the projections and bendings of the hills which bound it. It is extremely narrow throughout its whole length, and the river Roy runs along the bot-

tom of it. On the sloping surfaces of the hills, on the opposite sides of the valley, the appearances which have been called the "Parallel Roads" present themselves. These are a series of shelves, situated one above the other, which extend throughout the whole glen. In most parts they are three in number; in some parts only two can be seen; but at one point no fewer than five are distinctly perceptible. From one end of the valley to the other, they preserve the same absolute and relative height, and seem to be perfectly horizontal throughout their whole length. The second road seems to be about thirty yards lower than the first or highest, and the third about sixty yards lower than the second. In number, height, and horizontality, they correspond precisely with each other on the opposite sides of the valley; and this correspondence is preserved round all the bendings, projections, and hollows of the hills. They are various in their depth or breadth at different parts; and are evidently much modified by the nature of the ground. Where the hill forms an acute or rounded promontory, or where it is composed of comparatively soft materials, the shelves are always deep; in a harder soil, their indentation is less; and on the surface of rock, the eye can merely trace them, and that is all. At their deeper and more distinct parts their outer edge may be observed to be considerably rounded off, while they are connected, interiorly, to the acclivity above them, by a highly sloping talus. Their surface inclines outwards in a slope of about one foot in five; and is almost every where covered with immense blocks of stone, some of them many tons in weight, lying for the most part quite detached on the surface. At the broadest part their surface did not seem to exceed twenty yards.

Mr Lauder Dick rejects the hypothesis entertained by some, that these singular shelves are the work of man ; and embraces the opinion that they have been produced by the action of the surface of a vast lake, which, at some former period, had filled the whole valley ; but which had undergone a series of successive subsidences from the bursting out of its waters, corresponding to the number of "roads" now visible. He has even discovered a point in the glen, through which he conceives the waters may have rushed out when the lake subsided from the level of the first to that of the second "road." He supports this theory by a number of observations made on the margins of deep Highland lakes ; and also by a perfectly analogous instance of a horizontal road or shelf which surrounds a valley a little above the town of Subiaco, forty-six miles eastward from Rome ; which valley is known to have been at one time filled with water.

The ruins of the Baths of Nero, and the remains of the mouth of the Aqueduct by which Appius Claudius conveyed water into Rome, are still to be seen on this horizontal road, which now appears high upon the face of the hills bounding the valley on each side.

Mr Lauder Dick's description was illustrated by sketches and a plan.

January 27th. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society.

The Right Hon. Earl of Wemyss and March,

The Right Hon. the Lord Advocate of Scotland,

Mr Baron Clerk Rattray,
Lord Reston,

Dr Francis Buchanan, F. R. S. and F. A. S.

Dr David Hosack, F. R. S. London, F. L. S., and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the

University of the State of New York,

John Wilson, Esq. Advocate,
John Fleming, Esq. late President of the Medical Board of Calcutta,

Dr David James Hamilton Dickson,

James Skene, Esq. of Rubislaw,

Dr William Pultney Alison,

Dr John Howell,

Reverend Robert Morehead,

Robert Bald, Esq., Civil Engineer,

Thomas Sivright, Esq. of Meggetland.

February 3d. A paper, by Dr Brewster, was read, containing an account of experiments made by himself and Dr Gordon, on the human eye. These experiments, which were made upon a very recent eye, related principally to the refractive power of the aqueous, vitreous, and crystalline humours, and to the polarising structure of the different parts of the organ. The aqueous and vitreous humours were found, contrary to the received opinion, to have refractive powers perceptibly greater than that of water, the refractive power of the vitreous humour being the highest. The crystalline lens exhibited a polarising structure, exactly the same as quartz, or one set of doubly refracting crystals, or the same as the middle coats of the crystalline lens in fishes. (*See Philosophical Transactions of London for 1816, p. 311.*) The iris had the very same structure, but the cornea had an opposite structure, nearly the same as that of calcareous spar, or the same as the outer and inner coats of the crystalline lens in fishes. The tint polarised by the human crystalline was a faint blue of the first order.

At the same meeting, the Reverend Dr Brunton read a paper, written by Dr Craigie, on the Affinity between the Persian, and the Greek and Latin Languages.

Sir George Mackenzie read an extract of a letter from Thomas Allan,

Esq. containing a sketch of the mineralogical structure of the country round Nice. It is composed almost wholly of limestone, the strata of which are disposed in the most irregular manner. They enclose shells of the same description with those which are found in the sea beneath.

February 17th. Sir George Mackenzie read the first part of an Essay on the Theory of Association in Matters of Taste.

This paper was intended to be read at the meetings of 3d and 17th March, and has since been published in a separate form.

April 7. Mr Campbell read a paper on the theory of vision. He stated the opinions of Dr Reid, Paley, and philosophers in general, to be, that the sensation of vision is produced by pictures painted on the retina, pictures similar to those which may be formed on the hands or the cheek, by means of proper glasses. This opinion he opposed, on the ground that no such pictures are formed on the human eye, the retina being so transparent, as to transmit all the rays of light, and these, when they have passed through the retina, being all absorbed by the choroides. He proposed, as an explanation of the problem, the following theory. Vision consists in two kinds of perception—the discrimination of dimensions and figure, and the discrimination of colour. In discriminating dimensions and figure, the eye obtains information similar to the organ of touch, an assemblage of rays, corresponding exactly in figure and relative dimension to the body seen, penetrating the retina, and exciting there a corresponding area of the optic nerve. In discriminating colour again, the power is more analogous to that of the organs of smell and taste. The different coloured rays having peculiar modes of affecting the retina, excite the area differently, according to

these peculiar modes; an excitement is thus produced on the retina, or optic nerve, by which it communicates information to the mind, and intimations of the figure and colours of visible objects.

A paper from Dr Murray was read, on the means of obviating the risk of explosion in the newly invented blow-pipe of Mr Brooke. The difficulty that has been found in the methods formerly employed, of having two separate reservoirs, is that of adjusting the issue of the gases in the requisite proportion of two volumes of hydrogen to one of oxygen, a difficulty, which, by any adjustment of pressure, or of area of tube, is not easily obviated.

Dr Murray, conceiving that the method of having two reservoirs, must always be superior in safety to that of having the gases mixed in a single reservoir, thought of obviating this difficulty by forming a combustible mixture, the volume of which would be equal to that of the oxygen necessary for the combustion. Such a mixture is obtained by the addition of a requisite proportion of olefiant, or of coal gas. From the results of some experiments, the heat produced by such a mixture, seemed scarcely equal to that with pure hydrogen; but the experiments had not been brought to such accuracy as to render it certain, that this might not be owing to some adventitious circumstances.

Dr Murray also proposed another method which, on the whole, he thought preferable, in which pure hydrogen is used, that of having three reservoirs fixed down on a board by a cross bar, one of oxygen with one of hydrogen on each side, connected with a tube from each, with stop-cocks, and terminated in a common tube, fitted also with a stop-cock. The gases would thus be easily presented to one another in the requisite propor-

tion, and all the risk completely obviated.

April 21. A paper, by Dr Brewster, was read, containing an account of some new properties of light and of crystallized bodies, which he had lately discovered; some of these properties were exhibited before the society.

At the same meeting, a paper, by Dr Trail of Liverpool, was read. It contained an analysis of a new mineral substance which he found at Stromness, in the Orkney Islands. It consisted of a sulphate of barytes and carbonate of strontian: but it did not appear to be ascertained that these ingredients were in a state of chemical combination. Dr Trail proposed to call the mineral Stromnessite, from the place where it was discovered, or Barystrontianite, from its composition.

May 5. Dr Hope exhibited to the society an improvement upon the new blow-pipe, by which it is rendered perfectly secure from explosion. This improvement consisted in interposing about one hundred folds of wire-gauze between the reservoir which holds the gases, and the mouths from which they issue.

At the same meeting, Dr Dewar exhibited a specimen of a phial which he proposes for preserving volatile and deliquescent substances accurately from communication with the surrounding air, by means of mercury. The phial was made with a deep rim round the shoulder, which was intended to contain a small quantity of mercury, and into this, the mouth of an inverted glass cover, enveloping the mouth and stopper of the phial, was to be immersed. This apparatus, Dr Dewar conceived, would contribute materially to the convenience of the practical chemist, the druggist, and others, in a considerable variety of instances.

On the 19th, a paper, by Mr Stevenson, civil engineer, was read, regarding the operation of the waters of

the ocean and of the river Dee, in the basin or harbour of Aberdeen; from which it appears, that Mr Stevenson, in the month of April, 1812, with the use of an instrument, (of which he exhibited a drawing,) has been able to lift salt water from the bottom, while it was quite fresh at the surface, and has satisfactorily ascertained that the tidal or salt water keeps in a distinct stratum or layer, under the fresh water of the river Dee. This anomaly, with regard to the salt and fresh waters, appears in a very striking manner at Aberdeen, where the fall of the Dee is such as to cause the river water to run down with a velocity which seems to increase as the tide rises in the harbour, and smooths the bed of the river. These observations shew, that the salt water insinuates itself under the fresh water, and that the river is lifted bodily upwards; thus producing the regular effect of flood and ebb tide in the basin, while the river flows downward all the while with a current which, for a time, seems to increase as the tide rises.

These facts, with regard to the continued course of the river Dee downward, is such a contrast to the operations of the waters of the Thames, as seen by a spectator from London bridge, that Mr Stevenson was induced to extend his experiments to that river, in the years 1815 and 1816, by a train of experiments and observations from about opposite to Billingsgate all the way to Gravesend. The waters of the Thames opposite the London Dock gates were found to be perfectly fresh throughout; at Blackwall, even in spring tides, the water was found to be only slightly saline; at Woolwich, the proportion of salt water increases, and so on to Gravesend. But the strata of salt and fresh water are less distinctly marked in the Thames than in any of those rivers on which he has hitherto had an opportunity of making his

observations. But these inquiries are meant to be extended to most of the principal rivers in the kingdom, when an account of the whole will be given.

From the series of observations made at and below London bridge, compared with the river as far up as Kew and Oxford, Mr Stevenson is of opinion, that the waters of the Thames seldom change, but are probably carried up and down with the turn of the alternate tides, for an indefinite period, which he is of opinion may be one, if not the principal cause of what is termed the extreme softness of the waters of the Thames.

Mr Stevenson has made similar experiments on the rivers Forth and Tay, and at Loch Eil, where the Caledonian Canal joins the Western Sea. The aperture at Curran Ferry for the tidal waters of that loch, being small compared to the surface of Loch Eil, which forms the drainage of a great extent of country; it therefore occurred to Mr Stevenson, that the waters of the surface must have less of the saline particles than the waters of the bottom. He accordingly lifted water from the surface at the anchorage off Fort William, and found it to be 1008.2

At the depth of 9 fathoms, 1025.5

At the depth of 30 fathoms
in the central parts of the

loch it was 1027.2

Indicating the greater specific gravity, and consequently more of the saline particles, as the depth of the water is increased.

At the same meeting, a notice, by Dr Brewster, was read. It relates to the discovery of a general principle respecting forces which emanate from the axes of doubly-refracting crystals.

June 2. The Reverend Mr Morehead read a paper entitled, Observations on the Agamemnon of Æschylus, illustrated with Translations.

At the same meeting, Dr Gordon

communicated an account of the circumstances attending a narrow escape which Mitchell, the blind and deaf boy, had made from being drowned.

16. Mr Morehead concluded his Observations on the Agamemnon of Æschylus.

A communication on the laws of double refraction and polarisation, by Dr Brewster, was laid before the society.

The meetings of the society were adjourned till the 1st of November.

THE LINNEAN SOCIETY.

ON Tuesday, Dec. 3, a description was read of fossil belemnite on flint, by Dr Arnold. The specimen was remarkable, because it exhibited a very distinct jointed syphunculus passing through the fossil. Very little is known respecting the nature of the animal that inhabited this fossil. Dr Arnold conceives that it was capable of rising or sinking in water at pleasure, and that its structure was somewhat similar to that of the nautilus or cornu ammonis.

At the same meeting, several specimens of an unknown fossil in flint, sent by Dr Arnold, were exhibited. They consist of small flat spherical bodies, having a depression in the centre, in which is a small tubercle, so as to give an appearance somewhat similar to a small acorn before it is ripe, and while still in its cup. Each of these spherical bodies sends a vessel into each of the spheres that surround it, so that the fossil resembles a kind of net-work. The usual size of the spheres is rather less than a peppercorn, and the vessels are as fine as hairs. No name has hitherto been given to this fossil. At the same meeting, a specimen of an unknown fungus from Virginia, sent to the society by Dr Mitchell, was exhibited. It was very heavy, white,

roundish, had a starchy smell, and when burned, gave out no animal odour. It was probably some tuber rather than a fungus.

At the same meeting, the remainder of Mr Beechino's paper, on the British junci, was read.

On Tuesday, December 17, a paper by Dr Arnold was read, giving a description of a remarkable volcanic mountain in the island of Java. Dr Arnold paid a visit to this mountain, and drew up his description of it on the spot. It is called by the natives Tankubaupraw. The road to it is very difficult, being through an almost impenetrable jungle.

The crater has nearly the form of a truncated cone inverted. The sides are about 500 feet high, and in many places nearly perpendicular. There is a small lake at the bottom filled with water, having the taste of a solution of sulphuric acid. This water was boiling in several parts of the lake. But its temperature at the edge, taken by Dr Horsfield, was 112° . It was surrounded by a soft mud, apparently a mixture of sulphur and clay. Dr Arnold is of opinion, that it occasionally emits flames, for the trees round its edge had the appearance of being scorched. On the west side of this crater, and merely separated from it by a thin diaphragm of rocks, is another crater, rather larger than the other, and having at its bottom a lake of cold water. From this circumstance, Dr Arnold concludes that the two craters, though so near each other, had not any connection.

On Tuesday, January 21, a paper, by Sir James Edward Smith, was read, on the genus of plants, called *Tofieldia*. He described six species of this genus, the first five of which had hitherto been confounded together by botanists, under the Linnæan name of *authericum caliculatum*. These he called

Tofieldia palustris, a native of Scotland.

Alpina, a native of Switzerland.

Stenopetala.

Cernua.

On Tuesday, February 4, part of a paper, by the late G. Anderson, Esq. F. L. S. was read, entitled, A Monograph of the Genus *Pæonia*. Linnæus at first confounded all the species of *pæonia* under the name *pæonia officinalis*. He afterwards added *pæonia tennifolia*, and *pæonia anomala* was admitted into his *Mantissa*. Since that time, very little has been done by botanists to this genus, which is still involved in much confusion. The present monograph was owing to the zeal of Mr Sabine, F.L.S. who collected into his garden all the varieties of *pæonia* to be found in Great Britain, to the number of more than seventy. The descriptions were drawn up by Mr Sabine and Mr Anderson conjointly, from living specimens.

All the species of *pæonia* belong to the northern hemisphere, and to cold climates. None of them have been observed in America. They are all hardy enough to stand the winter in England. The species described are the following:—

1. *Montana*. This constitutes the pride of the Chinese gardens, in which it has been cultivated above 1400 years. More than 200 varieties are known, and prized as much by the Chinese as the tulips are by the Dutch gardeners. This species is remarkable for the beauty and variety of its colours.

2. *Albiflora*.—Originally from Tartary. Introduced by seeds from Pallas. Different varieties are cultivated in England.

3. *Anomala*.—Originally from Siberia. Admitted by Linnæus into his *Mantissa*.

4. *Tennifolia*.—Easily distinguished from the preceding species by its

linear leaves. Admitted by Linnæus in the third edition of his *Species Plantarum*.

On Tuesday, February 18, a paper, by Captain Marriott, of the Royal Navy, was read, giving a description of two shells. One a new species of *mitra* from the Mediterranean. The other, which he constituted a new genus, under the name of *cyclosterna*, was observed in a collection of shells, chiefly West Indian.

At the same meeting, the remainder of Mr Anderson's Monograph of the genus *Pæonia* was read. Nine other species were described, making 13 in all; the principal of which were *P. officinalis*, *corallina*, *humilis*, *arietina*, *peregrina*, *mollis*, *humilis*.

On Tuesday, March 4, a paper was read, communicated by Dr Leach, from the manuscripts of the late Colonel Montague, describing a new genus of verines, distinguished by the name of *amphiro*. Five British species were described. They are all inhabitants of the sea, distinguished by long *tentaculæ*, organs of respiration, and substances which answer the purposes of feet.

At the same meeting, a paper, by F. A. Knight, Esq., was read, containing a vindication of his hypothesis respecting the cause why the radicles of plants vegetate downwards, and the stems upwards, against the attack made upon it by the Reverend Patrick Keith, in the last volume of the Transactions of the Linnæan Society. Mr Knight admits, that, if his hypothesis had been supported only in the way in which it has been represented by Mr Keith, the refutation of it would have been very easy; but Mr Keith, he affirms, has omitted the principal arguments which he had advanced in support of it. This, he admits, was owing to a defect of memory on the part of Mr Keith. But he conceives that every person who takes upon himself to con-

trovert the statements of another, ought, in honour, to be in a state to represent these statements fairly, and that he is responsible for the accuracy of the representation which he gives of the opinion of another.

Mr Knight then proceeded to give his arguments in favour of the hypothesis which he advanced, and shewed the omissions of which Mr Keith had been guilty. He next adverted to the facts which Mr Keith has brought forward in opposition to Mr Knight's hypothesis, and gave an explanation of them. He concluded his paper by some observations on Mr Keith's own hypothesis, instinct, which he considered as unsatisfactory and unmeaning.

On Tuesday, March 18, a paper, by Sir James Edward Smith, Pr. L. S., was read, elucidating some obscurities in the genus *Tordilium*. The author shews that the species *apulium* and *officinale* have been frequently confounded by preceding botanists. He points out the distinction, and explains the proper references.

At the same meeting was read a description, by Dr Leach, of the Wapiti deer, a species of animal from the banks of the Missouri, four of which, brought from America by Mr Taylor, are at present exhibiting in the King's Mews, London. The animal is gentle, docile, and elegant. It is said to be domesticated in America by the natives. Mr Taylor is of opinion that it might be used with advantage in this country, in many cases, as a substitute for horses.

At the same meeting, a letter, from Sir John Jamieson to Mr Macleay, was read, giving an account of a striking peculiarity in the *ornithorinchus paradoxus* of New Holland. Sir John Jamieson, who is at present in New Holland, shot one of these animals with small shot, and his overseer went and picked up the wounded animal.

It ran one of its spurs into his hand. In a short time, his arm swelled, his jaw became clenched, and he exhibited all the symptoms of persons bitten by venomous serpents. The symptoms yielded to the external application of oil, and the internal of ammonia; but the man suffered acute pain, and had not recovered the use of his arm in a month. On examining the spur, it was found to be hollow, and on pressing it, a quantity of venom was squirted out. For what purpose the animal is supplied with this venom does not appear, though probably it is to wound and destroy its prey.

On Tuesday, April 1, part of a paper, by M. de Brisson, was read, giving an account of hymenopterous and dypterous insects, not yet described by systematic writers.

On Tuesday, April 15, a short account of an uncommon species of serpent, found in Dorsetshire, and long ago described by Linnæus, was given by Mr Rackett. It is more poisonous than the common viper.

At the same meeting, a paper, by Mr Colebrook, was read, describing some little known Indian plants.

On Tuesday, May 6, a paper, by Andrew Knight, Esq. on the species of the common strawberry, was read. The author is of opinion that no plants can be considered as constituting different species, excepting those incapable of propagating with each other. He therefore planted all the different varieties of strawberry known in this country, in garden pots, and cultivated them in the proper situation to impregnate one another, and continued his experiments for several years. The result was, that there are only three distinct species of strawberry known in this country, though some of them assume many various appearances.

At the same meeting, a description of some fossil bones, found on the coast of Norfolk, by Dr Arnold, was read.

The bones in question had some resemblance to those of the turkey; but the author of this paper did not attempt to make them out.

At the same meeting, some further observations on alcyonia, by Dr Arnold, were read.

On Saturday, May 24, the society met for the election of office-bearers for the ensuing year. The following members were chosen:

PRESIDENT,

Sir James Edward Smith.

TREASURER,

Edward Forster, Esq.

SECRETARY,

Alexander Macleay, Esq.

UNDER SECRETARY.

Mr Richard Taylor.

There remained of the old council—Sir James Edward Smith; Samuel, Lord Bishop of Carlisle; Edward Forster, Esq.; George Bellas Greenough, Esq.; Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq.; William Horton Lloyd, Esq.; Alexander Macleay, Esq.; William George Matou, M. D.; Joseph Sabine, Esq.; Lord Stanley.

There were elected into the council—Michael Bland, Esq.; George, Earl of Mountmorris; Sir Christopher Pegge; William Pilkington, Esq.; Charles Stokes, Esq.

On Tuesday, June 3, a paper, by Mr Salisbury, was read, containing a description of the seeds of the lycopodium denticulatum. He found the description of Brotero in most particulars correct. He exhibited drawings of the seeds from the earliest periods in which they have been perceived, to their ripe state.

At the same meeting, a description of a new species of malaxis, by Dr H. Barton, was read. Dr Barton found that species near Philadelphia, and called it longifolia, because its leaves are twice the length of those of the two species previously known.

At the same meeting, a description

of the *lycoperdon solidum*, by Dr Macbride, of Charleston, Carolina, was read. The substance so called is an immense tuber, sometimes forty pounds in weight, found in the southern parts of the United States. It may be used as food. Soon after it is dug up it becomes very hard. It exhibits no regular structure, and seems to have the property of uniting with the roots of those trees near which it grows. It vegetates under the earth, and is usually found in fields that have been cleared of wood only about three years.

On Tuesday, June 17, a paper, by Sir James Edward Smith, was read, giving a description of a *rhizomorpha* found in a well at Derby.

At the same meeting, a paper, by Mr Seaton, was read, on the red and white varieties of the *lychnis dioica*. Some botanists are of opinion, that these two plants constitute two distinct species, while others think that they are only varieties. To decide the point, Mr Seaton placed them near each other. The produce was a hybrid plant, with pink flowers, which was capable of producing seeds like any other plant. Hence he conceived it to follow, that they are only varieties.

At the same meeting, Dr Leach announced that he had examined the specimen, sent from Hull, under the name of the many-headed serpent, and found it to be the penis of a sow.

WERNERIAN SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

1817, January 4. Dr Macknight read the first part of an account of the mineralogy of Ben Cruachan, and of the country from thence towards Fort William.

January 15. Dr Macknight read the remainder of the above paper.

February 1. The Secretary read

the first part of Mr Wilson's paper on the genus *falco*; and Professor Jameson read an account of the mineralogy of the country between Perth and Garvismore.

February 15. The Secretary read the remaining part of Mr Wilson's paper on the genus *falco* of Linnæus.

March 7. The Secretary read a communication from Mr Scoresby on the effects of the pressure of the waters of the ocean at great depth; and Professor Jameson gave an account of some remarkable geognostical appearances observed by him on the east coast of Scotland, particularly near Montrose.

March 15. Professor Jameson continued his description of the geognosy of the east coast of Scotland.

April 19. The Secretary read a communication from Alexander Stewart, Esq. of Calcutta, mentioning the occurrence of the *Tapir* in the Malay peninsula, accompanied with a reduced drawing of the animal, and a representation of the skull of the natural size.—Professor Jameson continued his account of the geognosy of the east coast of Scotland.

May 3. Professor Jameson continued his observations on the geognosy of the east coast of Scotland.

May 17. The Secretary read a communication from Thomas Lauder Dick, Esq. contained in a letter to Dr Gordon, giving an account of the transportation to some distance, by natural means, of a mass of rock weighing about eight tons, situated near Castle Stewart, in Inverness-shire.

The Secretary read a communication from Mr John Mackenzie, at Irvine, addressed to Colonel Fullerton, giving an account of some fossil bones, apparently those of an elephant, found in tiring a sandstone quarry in Ayrshire; also two communications from Mr Braid, surgeon at Leadhills, ad-

dressed to Dr Charles Anderson, Leith; the one describing a thunder storm which occurred on the 15th February, 1817; and the other giving an account of some curious effects of a noxious gas on several persons exposed to it in the mines.

November 1815. The society having met for the first time this session, it was moved by Professor Jamieson, and unanimously agreed to, That in consequence of the melancholy event of the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the society should immediately adjourn without proceeding to business.

December 6. Professor Jameson read a communication from Mr Scoresby, containing an account of his examination of the remote and desolate island named Jan Moyer's Land, and which appeared to him to be principally composed of volcanic rock, and those of the floetz-trap formation.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

ON Thursday, June 5, this society held its annual meeting. The following speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury will explain the present state of its affairs and proceedings.

"I have the honour to meet you for the sixth time to receive the annual report of your general committee, and I meet you with more than ordinary satisfaction, because the hopes I ventured to express when last I filled this chair have been realized. The law officers of the crown, by the gracious directions of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, have prepared a charter, which having received the sanction of the great seal, has been this day accepted by your committee, on behalf of the members at large; and the National Society now constitutes one of

the great incorporated charities of the empire.

"It appears that the number of scholars in your central school has increased 169, making the number now in attendance 974, being as many as the school can conveniently hold; a decisive proof that the master and mistress have discharged their duty. The state of the central school is a matter of the very first importance, on the ground that it is the resort from whence all other schools are to receive information.

"The training of masters, another important branch of the committee's care, has received particular attention, and great numbers of those thus trained are now diffusing the system both in this kingdom and abroad. These exertions have not been made without incurring great expence, and it appears that the disbursements have exceeded the annual receipts by upwards of 1000*l*. This circumstance has been occasioned by many persons having withdrawn their subscriptions from the general fund, and applied them to the support of schools in their own immediate neighbourhood. The expense of training masters in the central school alone during the last year, has been upwards of 500*l*.

"The extent to which the labours of the committee have gone, may be estimated, when we learn that not fewer than 253 schools have been united to the society in the course of the last year, making the whole number now united 1009.

"Your attention is further called to the increased number of children now under instruction in the principles of the Established Church. It is estimated that the scholars now taught upon the plan and principles of our society, of whom no official intimation has been received by the committee, amount to no less than 40,000. Of these, it is probable that many are in fact united to district committees in the country,

though no regular return has yet been received from them. I am happy to say, that the scholars of whom regular returns have been received by the secretary, amount to 155,000. The number of scholars now educating according to the plan and principles of our society, cannot, therefore, be much less than 200,000. When you connect this statement with the rapid succession of scholars which takes place in our schools, some idea may be formed of the good which has been done, and is now doing, throughout the island. Nor has the benefit of our plan been confined to this kingdom only; but the colonies and several foreign nations have largely participated; a reflection which to the liberal feelings of an Englishman will afford the highest gratification."

"The expenditure of our funds, we are told, and we are told correctly, has proceeded nearly to their whole extent; and I trust we have not been faulty in giving this assurance, that although there is a deficiency at present, we expect a fresh spring in the bounty of our fellow-countrymen. Three thousand pounds only now remains, and this we will liberally dispense, trusting that when the public knows our wants, and sees our efforts, we shall not have reason to regret our liberality."

"The result of the whole appears to be, that with a sum of about 30,000*l.* upward of a *thousand schools* have been united with the society, and 200,000 children are enjoying the benefit of a religious education. We hope this result shews that your committee have endeavoured to do their duty."

"It must not, and will not be forgotten, that putting books into the hands of this immense population may be the means of doing infinite good, if rightly superintended; and the means of doing infinite mischief, if let loose and undirected to their proper channel."

HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.

THE following account of the objects and state of this society are given in the report of its committee.

That in Ireland the condition of the poor is characterised by gross ignorance and immorality; that their children are rising into life, without instruction to enlighten, or principles to moralize them; that the Catholic religion, by systematically and determinately withholding the Scriptures from the greater part of the population, prevents the diffusion of divine light and influence, and perpetuates mental degradation and depravity; are truths, too evident to be doubted, too serious to be slighted, and too awful to be neglected; and they unite to produce a conviction on every reflecting mind, that Ireland presents a most impressive spectacle for the exercise of Christian benevolence, and a very extensive field for the ardour of Christian exertion.

The committee are truly happy to report, that the Institution "has lengthened its cords, and strengthened its stakes"—that Divine Providence has continued to enlarge the sphere of its operations—and that by the quarterly return which was made up to the 31st December, it appears, that the number of schools is more than three hundred, and that the children and adults educated therein exceed nineteen thousand.

The present state of the schools is reported to the committee to be such, as to admit of the most favourable representation being made of them. A correspondent of the society writes thus—"In a school at S— there are 117 children; their parents, in general, are so poor that the education of their children would have been neglected; and so depraved, that their example might have had a fatal influence on

their offspring. These children are almost literally new creatures; never did I witness such a change. Filth has given place to cleanliness; forwardness the most indelicate, to a meekness and modesty the most engaging. Their proficiency in the Scriptures is very pleasing; and, from the answers they give, and the striking change in their whole deportment, it may be hoped that God has written his truth on their heart.

The visitors to the schools (consisting principally of resident clergymen) report very favourably of the proficiency of the children in learning, and in their scripture lessons; and also of the readiness and pertinency with which they answer such questions as are put to them, concerning what they read.

From the schools the word of God extends an enlightening and purifying influence to the cottages, and penetrates the strong holds of ignorance and superstition. The New Testament is the school-book for the children; their parents are pleased at hearing it read to them; it speaks for itself; their attention is engaged; they soon perceive that it was not that pernicious thing they were taught to believe it was; prejudice subsides, and admiration increases to an affectionate attachment and sincere reverence for the word of God; which, but for the schools, they probably would never have heard of. And so sensible of the value of these schools for their children, have some parents been, that when distance and the severity of the season would have prevented the children from travelling to the schools, their parents have actually brought them thereto on their backs.

Teaching to read in Irish is sedulously promoted in every district in which that language is known; an Irish class is formed in every school, when it is desired by the people, and likely to be useful.

The committee have also the pleasure to state, that the greatest attention is paid to adults, who live in the neighbourhood of the schools, and who can be induced to learn to read, either in English or Irish, after the working hours of the day, and on Sundays; that in the course of one quarter's attendance and instruction, many of them are able to read the New Testament intelligibly; and that these become Irish readers in the different villages where they reside. This collateral branch of the proceedings of the Hibernian Society is acquiring strength and enlargement—is assuming an aspect of the most favourable nature, and affording an anticipation of the most important and extensive benefits.

It is indeed truly pleasing, that none of the districts, in which our schools have been established have been at all disturbed; and were the disturbances to extend to the counties wherein the schools are placed, though they might more or less prevail, as the number of adults hitherto benefitted bears but a small proportion to the population of those districts, yet I think that the evils would by no means have such a general spread in them, as in districts less favoured with scriptural light and instruction. But it is when the rising generation, the *materiel* of the schools, come into action, that the salutary effects of the operations of the Hibernian Society will be fully developed. The change may then be expected to be most important and glorious. The political incendiary, and the intolerant and bigotted priest, will lose their influence; every succeeding generation will be removed farther from their grasp; error, superstition, and disloyalty will give place to religion, industry, domestic and national peace, and all Erin stretch forth her hands to God, and lift her voice to him, in thanks and praise.

The British and Foreign Bible So-

ciety, with its wonted liberality, has presented thirteen hundred Irish, and one thousand English Testaments.

In Ireland, the Roscommon Auxiliary Bible Society, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Elphin, has favoured this institution with eight hundred Testaments, and the Sligo Branch Society with three hundred Testaments.

The enlarged operations of the society during the last year, have produced an increase of above 7000 pupils in the schools under its patronage, which now present an aggregate of upwards of 19,000 scholars of both sexes, who are partaking the privileges of education, and the blessings of scriptural instruction, at the expence of this institution. Another point is, that applications for opening additional schools, and facilities for extending this important and benevolent system to other countries, than those which have hitherto been benefitted by it, are continually presented to the views and wishes of the committee; but these they cannot venture to prosecute until the pecuniary concerns of the society shall receive such a necessary and appropriate increase, as shall enable the committee to discharge the present debt to the treasurer, and also afford them fair and just encouragement to extend the operations of the society.

STATE OF THE SOCIETY'S FUNDS.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Balance in hand	8	9	3
Sale of Exchequer Bills . .	409	3	2
Annual Subscriptions . . .	400	13	6
Life Subscriptions and Donations	476	3	0
Auxiliary Societies	1215	14	10
Congregational Collections . .	115	9	
Collection at Annual Meeting	42	18	11
Balance due to Treasurer . .	624	3	6
	L.3352	15	4

<i>Disbursements,</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Salaries of School Masters, Inspectors and Agents .	2802	17	0
Printing an Edition of 30,000 Spelling Books	333	14	7
Purchase of Testaments . .	50	0	0
Printing Reports, &c. . . .	93	7	9
Postage, Carriage, &c. . . .	27	15	0
Assistant Secretary's Salary	25	0	0
Collector's Poundage	20	1	0
	L.3352	15	4

HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

The anniversary general meeting of this Society was held at Edinburgh, on the 14th January, when the following were duly admitted members :

- Major General Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple of Cranston and Cousland, Bart.
- Sir Charles Macdonald Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath, Bart.
- Richard Bempde Johnston Honeyman, Esq. M. P. for the county of Orkney.
- George Forbes, Esq. Banker, Edinburgh.
- Charles Lennox Cramming, Esq. of Rosile.
- Walter Campbell, Esq. of Shawfield.
- Alexander Norman Macleod, Esq. of Harris.
- John Campbell, Esq. of Saddell.
- Robert Graeme, Esq. Advocate.
- Roderick Macniel, Esq. younger of Barra, Captain 22d Light Dragoons.
- Robert Maciachlan, Esq. younger of Maciachlan, Advocate.
- James Stewart Hall, Esq. late of India.
- Colonel William Macleod, Hon. Bart. India Company's Service.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald, 92d Highlanders C. B.
- Major Archibald Menzies, 42d, or Royal Highlanders.

A. Fraser, Esq. Provost of the City of Aberdeen.

George More Nisbett, Esq. of Cairn-hill.

Andrew Skene, Esq. of Lethinty.

Robert Sutherland, Esq. of the Island of St Vincent's.

George Augustus Borthwick, M. D. Edinburgh.

Donald Horne, Esq. Writer to the Signet.

Hugh Tod, Esq. Writer to the Signet.

William Macgillwray, Esq. Hilside Estate, Jamaica.

Thomas Fraser, Esq. Royal Navy, son of Admiral Fraser.

John Stewart, Esq. of Fasnacloich.

William Murray, Esq. Banker, Tain, Factor on the estate of Balnagoun.

Richard Prentice, Esq. Solicitor at Law.

Peter Macdowall, Esq. Accountant, Edinburgh.

James Scott, Esq. Accountant, Edinburgh.

Archibald Duncan, Esq. Edinburgh.

Donald Stewart, Esq. Factor on the estate of Harris.

Mr Innes, the Treasurer, submitted to the meeting the state of the society's funds, its income, and expenditure last year, from an accurate report and state thereof, prepared by Mr Robert Wilson, accountant in Edinburgh, the Society's auditor of accounts. Upon recapitulating the abstract of the receipts and payments under their different heads, it appeared that the expenditure in the course of the year, had exceeded the income; this, Mr Innes remarked, was, in some measure, owing to the expences at London, connected with the bill for obtaining an Equalization of Weights and Measures, and some other matters which did not usually occur in the course of the annual expenditure, but was more particularly to be attributed to the circumstance of the parliamentary grant to the society having ex-

pired in 1815, and which had not yet been renewed. The meeting expressed their particular approbation of the distinct and accurate statement of the funds which had been made by the treasurer; and, upon his motion, the society voted a sum to be laid out by the directors in promoting the objects of the institution, by premiums in 1817.

Mr Innes also reported, that the society, finding a considerable sum of arrears was due by several of its members liable in the annual payments of L.1 : 3 : 6d. had appointed a committee, to facilitate the recovery of these arrears;—this committee, of which Vans Hathorn, Esq. of Garthland, is convener, addressed letters to these gentlemen, and most of them had in consequence paid up their subscriptions. There were, however, certain members who had not settled their arrears, and the committee had in consequence recommended, that the few reported to be in this situation should be struck off the roll of the society's members, unless they should pay their subscriptions on or before a day to be fixed by this meeting. The society approved of the steps taken by the committee, and directed intimation to be made to these members, that should their arrears not be paid on or before the 1st day of April next, the measure recommended in the committee's report would be definitively adopted.

The proceedings of the directors since the general meeting in July, 1816, with the sums awarded by them to competitors for the several classes of premiums offered in 1816; were thereafter submitted by the Secretary to the meeting, and approved. From this report, it appeared that the directors had appropriated the sum placed at their disposal last year—1st, For essays containing information on various subjects. 2d, In encouraging the cultivation of green crops in those dis-

tricts of the country where the improved system of husbandry was less generally practised or understood. 3d, For improving the breed of black cattle and horses in a variety of districts. 4th, In premiums to ploughmen for improvement in ploughing where such encouragements were still considered beneficial or necessary—with certain other premiums less general in their application or adapted to peculiar local circumstances. From the proceedings, it appeared that very particular attention had been paid by the conveners and resident members to the black cattle and ploughing competitions held in their respective districts; and that several public-spirited individuals, as well as local agricultural associations, had given certain premiums competed for at the same time; among the former, the Secretary mentioned that the Marquis of Stafford in Sutherlandshire—the Marquis of Bute in Bute—and the Marquis of Douglas in Arran, had respectively bestowed sums in premiums, which were competed for at the same time with those offered by the society in these districts. The premiums awarded, with the names of the successful competitors, were ordered to be published in the usual manner. The meeting referred to the proper committee the numerous requests for premiums to be offered this year, with instructions to attend to these applications so far as is practicable, and as the sum placed at their disposal will admit.

Henry Mackenzie, Esq. from the special committee appointed by the directors to consider of any useful measures which it might be in the power of the society to take in consequence of the injury the crop of last year had sustained, particularly in the high and late districts of the country, from frost and other varieties of bad weather—reported, that the committee had already circulated such informa-

tion as the society was possessed of, in regard to restoring potatoes which had been partially injured by frosts, and that the attention of the committee had also, in a more particular manner, been directed to the subject of *seed corn*, and he had the satisfaction of submitting to the society certain suggestions extracted from the communications of two eminent and respectable members extremely conversant in the subject, the late Benjamin Bell, Esq. and Dr Coventry, founded upon a variety of experiments made by them, calculated to warn agriculturists, particularly those of the higher districts, where faulty corn of crop 1816 is most likely to be found, against the use of bad or weak seed, and to possess them of the best means which it is believed have yet been discovered of trying grain intended to be sown, so as to judge of its comparative qualities for seed corn. The meeting directed the important suggestions contained in this paper to be printed, and immediately circulated for the information of the public.

It was reported to the meeting from the committee on *kelp*, of which John Tait, Esq. is convener, that two very valuable essays, founded on an extensive chemical analysis of numerous varieties of this article, had been offered in competition for one of the premiums held out in the advertisement of last year. That the committee had awarded the premium of fifty guineas advertised, to Dr Andrew Fyfe, junior, Edinburgh; and considering the other essay by Mr Samuel Parkes, of London, also to possess a great degree of merit, particularly in pointing out the various uses to which the component parts of kelp might be advantageously applied, they had resolved to vote a premium of twenty-five guineas to the author. The society remitted these papers, together with a report by the Kelp Committee in reference thereto,

to the Standing Committee on Publications.

The proceedings of the Committee on Machinery were next submitted to the meeting, and in terms of recent reports by that committee, approved by the directors, the meeting voted the following premiums and honorary marks of the society's approbation:—viz. The society's gold medal to Sir Alexander Gordon, for certain improvements made by him in the construction of wheel carriages, particularly his invention of a spring-draught gauge for ascertaining the power of draught animals, on a new principle.—To John Graham Dalyell, Esq. advocate, for a self-regulating calendar (or mangle) on an ingenious and new principle, invented by him, the society's gold medal; and to Mr Samuel Morton, agricultural implement maker, Leith Walk, on account of the invention of his revolving Brake Harrow, or weed extirpator, a premium of ten guineas.

J. H. Forbes, Esq. convener of the Committee on the Distillery Laws, after adverting to the measures which had formerly been adopted by the society to procure an alteration in these laws—stated, that the operation of the late act had increased the revenue and diminished smuggling in a very great degree, but had not succeeded in wholly suppressing it, principally from certain regulations and restrictions which it required, having been found in practice so ill suited to the use of small stills, as completely to prevent their general establishment. Mr Forbes then submitted to the meeting resolutions embracing the substance of a report by the committee, and approved by the directors, stating the satisfaction with which the society had witnessed the exertions of the landholders, in suppressing illicit distillation, and the success which had attended them, the conviction of the society that the

present regulations were such as to render unprofitable, if not impracticable, the use of small stills; that their general introduction was essential to the suppressing of smuggling, and to fulfil the intention of the legislature, in passing the recent act: That the restrictions complained of might be modified, so as to relieve the manufacturer, without injuring the revenue: That copies of the resolutions, signed by the Vice-President in the Chair, should be transmitted to the Chairman of the Board of Excise, Edinburgh, and to his Grace the Duke of Atholl, Chairman of the Committee at London, according to whose suggestions the Distillery Act was framed.

Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. younger of Applecross, in seconding the resolutions, stated, that the adoption of the alterations contemplated by the committee, would not only render practicable the use of forty-gallon stills, but would facilitate the operation of large stills; and laid before the meeting a model of the apparatus at present required, which he had received from the Duke of Atholl. After some discussion, in which Sir Patrick Walker, Sir William Honyman, Mr Forbes, and Mr T. Mackenzie participated, in the course of which it was stated by the three latter gentlemen, that no alteration of the general principles, but merely of some of the regulations of the late act, was contemplated by the committee, and that very accurate inquiries had shewn that the obstacles to the general establishment of forty-gallon stills had arisen mainly from the nature of the regulations, though they had certainly been increased by the backwardness of the harvest, and general want of capital—the resolutions were adopted by the meeting.

Henry Mackenzie, Esq. Chairman of the Committee on Celtic Literature, employed in the compilation and publication of a proper Dictionary of that

ancient and expressive Language, submitted to the meeting the recent proceedings of that committee, with a minute and distinct report by the Reverend Dr Macleod, who had been intrusted with the chief conduct of the work, of the progress made in the compilation, accompanied by specimens by the Doctor and Mr E. Maclachlan, of Old Aberdeen.

From these it appeared, that great advancement had been made by the compilers, and that they were proceeding with diligence in their arduous undertaking. The Chairman stated, that the former grant by the Society towards this object having expired, it would now be matter for the deliberation of the meeting, from the information before them, to determine whether and to what extent the Society's pecuniary support was to be afforded to a work which was calculated to fix and illustrate a language confessedly ancient, and so much connected with general literature, as well as with the history and manners of our ancestors.

Upon hearing Mr Mackenzie's statement, with some observations by Mr Boswell of Auchinleck, and considering the papers referred to—in respect of the progress made in the compilation—the extent of the subscription already obtained—and the liberal contribution of 50% annually, agreed to be continued by Sir John Macgregor Murray, Bart. towards this object—the meeting, upon the suggestion of the committee, approved by the directors, resolved also to continue the sum formerly allowed by the society for two years longer, as there was every prospect, from the state of the subscription, that the society would not be called upon to defray any farther expence which the compilation and publication of the work might require.

It was reported from the Standing

Committee on Publications, that sufficient materials being now in possession of the society, to form a *number* of part of a 5th volume of Transactions, the same would be prepared for the press as speedily as possible. The meeting recommended that the essay by W. Fraser Tytler, Esq. Sheriff-depute of the county of Inverness, on saving corn in the feeding of horses, for which the premium of twenty guineas advertised, had been awarded last year, should be included in this number.

Several recent communications from the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. were laid before the society—among these the introduction and two first parts of “A Code of Agriculture,” about to be published by him, and a publication on the State of the Country in December 1816, the object of which last is to shew, from official documents laid before Parliament, the superior importance of agriculture, and its particular claims to the attention of the legislature, in its present state of depression.

The meeting referred these communications to the consideration of the Directors, and unanimously voted the thanks of the Society to Sir John Sinclair, for his uniform and unremitting attention to the interests of agriculture.

Sir George Clerk, in reference to the proceedings had in Parliament, for obtaining an equalization of weights and measures, stated, that not having had an opportunity of attending last general meeting of the society, he now considered it proper to explain the cause which was understood chiefly to have led to the rejection of the bill, in the House of Lords, which had been passed unanimously by the House of Commons. This was understood principally to have arisen from the circumstance of the measure not having

undergone that full discussion in England, which it had done in this country. He was now hopeful that this objection would be removed, and he stated his intention, early in the ensuing session, of again calling the attention of Parliament to this important subject. The Society were highly sensible of the great attention and trouble bestowed by Sir George Clerk on this business.

In a matter of such magnitude and importance to all parts of the empire, as a general equalization of weights and measures, the meeting was of opinion, that any future expence, which the prosecution of this object might occasion, should be borne by the public, or by the counties, the society having charged itself exclusively with the expences hitherto incurred in maturing the measure.

CALEDONIAN HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

Report respecting the intended Survey of the present State of Horticulture in Holland, Flanders, and the North of France. September 9, 1817.

Your council have the satisfaction of being able to inform you, that the horticultural survey of the Netherlands, which was recommended to the society two years ago, by Sir John Sinclair, is now carrying into execution.

The subscription which was set on foot some months ago, for raising one hundred guineas, with the view of defraying the unavoidable expence of this survey, had made such progress, that your council had no hesitation in making an offer of that sum to three gentlemen, who were, in their opinion, in every respect well qualified for the office, to assist in defraying their necessary expences.

The three gentlemen, who, at our request, have undertaken this important duty, are, first, Mr Patrick Neill, secretary to the society, whom we consider as one of the most distinguished scientific gardeners among the class of amateurs in Britain, and whose excellent writings on horticultural subjects do him very great honour. The second is Mr James Macdonald, who has been for many years gardener to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, at Dalkeith Park, and who has enriched your memoirs by many useful practical observations, particularly on the improved culture of currants, onions, and other culinary vegetables, and who is justly esteemed one of the best practical gardeners in Scotland. And the third is Mr John Hay, who has for several years past been much distinguished as having furnished plans for the best new gardens, which have lately been formed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, particularly that of Prestonhall, formed by the late Sir John Callender; that at Calderhouse, where much was done, by our sincerely lamented fellow member, the late Lord Torphichen; and that at Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earl of Rosebery, where a garden is at present forming in a style that will do honour to Scotland. Mr Hay is also favourably known to you, by the plan which he lately presented to our society, for an experimental garden at Edinburgh, and for which our gold medal was deservedly awarded to him.

From three such intelligent and discerning surveyors, your council cannot help entertaining very sanguine expectations. It is indeed true, that, of late, horticulture, as well as agriculture, has made a more rapid progress in Scotland than perhaps in any other nation in Europe. But, for the commencement of our knowledge in gardening, we were much indebted to our continental neighbours, and particularly to the Dutch. Not many centuries have

elapsed, since, from them, we derived not only our best seeds, roots, and fruits, but even some of our most common esculent vegetables. History informs us, that, in the days of Malcolm Canmore, who reigned in Scotland about the end of the eleventh century, even the common garden lettuce, which then appeared only as a rare dainty at the royal table, was entirely imported from Holland, and was not at that time cultivated in Scotland.

Since that period, indeed, such has been the progress of horticulture in Scotland, that we can now produce from gardens in the environs of Edinburgh, a dessert of fruits, which, for variety of kind, and delicacy of flavour, cannot be excelled, and, perhaps, hardly equalled, on the face of the globe. This, your annual festival of Pomona has repeatedly demonstrated; and we confidently trust, that, notwithstanding the present backward season, the competition of this day will afford additional proof of the skill of our operative gardeners.

Great, however, as our progress has been, much yet remains to be discovered; for in arts and sciences human invention has no bounds, and by the intelligent and discerning philosopher, useful discoveries have often been derived from observing the procedure even of the most ignorant labourer.

Your council need not, therefore, state to you the expectations which they entertain from the present horticultural survey of the Netherlands. The abilities of the men, whom they have induced to undertake this survey, are not unequal to the task; and the kingdom of Scotland does not, perhaps, at present, contain three men better qualified for such an undertaking. We confidently trust, that no horticultural knowledge worth importing, from improved varieties of the most common culinary vegetables, to

plans of orchards, gardens, and conservatories, on the most extended scale, will escape their discernment. We are not, therefore, without hopes, that this survey will do honour to our society, and be materially beneficial to Scotland. Nay, we even flatter ourselves with the expectation, that, by the publication of future volumes of the memoirs of our society, the benefits resulting from it may, in some degree, be extended to every corner of the civilized world.

Your council regret much, that the state of our funds does not permit us to bestow even an adequate pecuniary indemnification on those gentlemen who have undertaken this important mission. All we have hitherto been allowed to offer them is one hundred guineas, to aid in defraying their necessary expences. This sum we were authorised by a former meeting to offer, for the expence of two of our members; but, as three gentlemen have, at our request, engaged in this survey, we hope the society will not object to the sum of fifty guineas to each of the three, to aid in defraying the charges of the journey; and we trust, that a subscription of a single guinea each, from such of our members as may wish to encourage this undertaking, will be fully sufficient to cover that expence, without, in any degree, encroaching on the ordinary funds of the society, already pledged for other useful purposes.

We cannot conclude this report without mentioning to the society, the very liberal conduct of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch on this occasion, both by the manner in which he has granted leave of absence to Mr M^r. Donald, and by the introductions which he has furnished to the continent, for promoting the success of our survey.

Respecting the progress made by our surveyors, we can only at present

inform the society, that they were safely landed at Ostend, soon after leaving Edinburgh; and we trust, that at our next quarterly meeting, they will be present in this room, to give you a report of the success with which their survey has been attended.

NO. III.

REPORTS, &c.

ON THE

DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF PUBLIC ECONOMY

I. AGRICULTURAL.

THE summer of 1816 had been so cold and wet, and the harvest so remarkably late, that, in the northern parts of Britain, the crops had scarcely all been carried from the fields before the beginning of the present year. In different parts of the Island, the labours of this important season might have been seen going on from the beginning of September till the middle of December; and much of the latest crops was accordingly of little or no value, and not worth securing, if they had not been necessary for the support of cattle during the winter. At the latter period, the greater part of the land intended for wheat remained to be sown, and was in a very unsuitable state for receiving the seed.

The present year commenced with more favourable weather. January and February were uncommonly mild and moderately dry; so that field-labour was very little interrupted, and a great deal of wheat was put in, both on the fallows and turnip lands. At the beginning of March, farmers, in most

instances, seemed to have recovered the ground they had lost, their work being nearly as far advanced as usual at this season. March, April, and May allowed all the spring seeds to be deposited in a dry bed; but the temperature was low, vegetation made little progress, and the ravages of the grub became very extensive. In the early part of June, the appearance of the crops was, with few exceptions, most unpromising, the plants being thin on the ground, stunted and feeble. About the middle of that month, a fortunate change occurred, which continued till August. Gentle showers, sunshine, and heat, during this period, not only spread health, vigour, and luxuriance over the fields, but seemed to have suddenly filled up the thin crops with new plants. But the hopes that now began to be formed were disappointed by the heavy rains that fell in August, which laid them down, and retarded their ripening. September, however, and the greater part of October, were favourable, the former remarkably so.

Reaping had begun partially in the south of England in August, before dry weather set in, and some of the earliest grain was therefore injured; but general harvest did not come on till September, and before the middle of October, nearly all the crops of England, and the south of Scotland, were secured in the best condition. In the Highlands of Scotland, however, the oats were still in the fields, and were not all gathered till the end of November. This month was, for the most part, wet; and toward the end

of it, and throughout December, the weather assumed all the variableness and severity of winter,—rain, sleet, snow, and frost, succeeding each other at short intervals. The thermometer stood at 12, near Perth, on the 22d December, and frost continued till the end of the year.

The following is an abstract of a register of the weather, kept on the Banks of the Tay, four miles east from Perth. Latitude 56° 25'. Elevation 185 feet.

	Fair.	Rain.	Quantity of Rain.	Mean Temperature.
January.....	19	12	1.904	38.9
February.....	13	15	1.684	40.6
March.....	18	13	0.958	39.0
April.....	24	6	0.596	45.1
May.....	17	14	3.051	46.1
June.....	12	18	4.345	55.0
July.....	13	18	3.200	56.0
August.....	10	21	5.278	54.3
September.....	20	10	0.899	53.4
October.....	18	13	1.474	41.8
November.....	12	18	2.705	45.0
December.....	18	13	2.409	34.3
	194	171	28.506	45.8

With a view to the supply of the markets, and to the prices of 1817, it is necessary to observe, that crop 1816, which then came into consumption, had been deficient in a very extraordinary degree, as was to be expected from the very ungenial weather of that year. Though it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate, with any near approach to accuracy, the extent of this deficiency, yet it seems to have been generally understood, that not more than half the quantity of sound marketable wheat, that is grown in Britain in ordinary years, was produced in 1816. In East Lothian, the first wheat-growing county in Scot-

land, and not inferior, in this respect, in favourable seasons, to the average of England, this grain was computed to yield only about twelve bushels, or a quarter and a half the acre. Barley was a better crop than wheat, and also oats, except in high of corn situations, where much of this grain never came to maturity. Beans and peas did not return twice the seed. And potatoes were neither good nor plentiful. But crop 1815 had been abundant; and though it was evident, before midsummer 1816, that the produce of the latter year would be greatly below an average, and the harvest very late, yet prices did not rise so high as to open

the ports to foreign grain till November, 1816.

The ports having continued open till November, 1817, grain of all kinds, and flour, were imported to the value, at the market prices, of 7,763,895*l*. With this addition to the supply, the average prices of England, in 1817, were, Wheat, 94*s*. 9*d*.; Rye, 56*s*. 6*d*.; Barley, 48*s*. 3*d*.; Oats, 32*s*. 1*d*.; Beans, 52*s*.; Peas, 51*s*. 5*d*., per quarter; and Oatmeal, per boll of 140 lb. avoirdupois, 39*s*. 3*d*.; and the average prices of Scotland—Wheat, 68*s*. 3*d*.; Rye, 38*s*. 4*d*.; Barley, 29*s*. 8*d*.; Oats, 23*s*. 8*d*.; Beans, 35*s*. 5*d*.; Pease, 35*s*. 8*d*.; and Oatmeal, 18*s*. 11*d*. The difference between these prices strongly marks the inferior quality of the produce of Scotland, particularly in wheat; that of England being no less than 26*s*. 6*d*. per quarter higher, instead of 8*s*. or 10*s*., as in ordinary years. But much of the inferior wheats of both countries, especially of the former, do not appear in these averages; and it is an undoubted fact, that a pretty large proportion of the whole crop was sold for less than 60*s*. the quarter.

The best criterion of the value of wheat, after so unfavourable a season as 1816, in which the quality of the grain was so various, is the price of bread. In London, the quarter-loaf remained steadily at 17½*d*. till May; in that month it was 18½*d*.; in June, the price rose for two weeks to 20*d*.; but after the favourable weather that occurred about the middle of the month, it began to fall. Before the end of July, it was down to 15½*d*.; in August, 14*d*.; in September, 13*d*.; but in the beginning of October, it rose again to 14*d*., at which it continued till the end of the year. Notwithstanding the difference in the average prices of wheat in England and Scotland, the price of the quarter-loaf in Edinburgh was never below

14*d*.; and it continued at that rate only for a few weeks in October and November; during the winter and spring, it varied from 15*d*. to 16*d*.; in summer, it was commonly 14*d*.; and towards the end of the year, 13*d*. In the same market, oatmeal was 4*s*. 8*d*. per stone, of 17½ lb.; and potatoes from 16*d*. to 18*d*. per peck, of 28 lb., through the greater part of the year, but lower towards the end of it.

From this rise of price after harvest, it must be evident, that the crop of this year was not considered to be so productive as had at one time been expected. The shutting of the ports in November, it is true, prevented us from receiving further supplies of foreign grain, barley excepted; but so small are the imports during the winter months, when the Baltic is inaccessible, that this circumstance could hardly have had any effect on prices, if our own new crop had been tolerably abundant. As soon as there was time to ascertain the fact, it was found accordingly, that though the bulk in the straw was great, the produce was, in many instances, deficient, and, in all, that the quality was inferior. The heavy rains of August, which had laid down the best crops of wheat and barley, sufficiently account for the thinness and lightness of these grains, which, besides this, had not had the benefit of much heat and sunshine during summer; and the spring-sown wheat and oats, and also the beans and pease, had suffered very generally from frosts in the beginning of October. There was not, however, so remarkable a failure in any one crop as in the preceding year, in the case of wheat; unless in the oat crop in Scotland, and particularly in the Highlands. In that district, and generally in the hilly tracts of Scotland, oats were not more productive than in 1816; in many instances, hardly worth the reaping. But potatoes turned out well almost every

where; a greater breadth than usual had been planted, and the produce was both abundant, and of an excellent quality.

At the beginning of the year, all kinds of farm live-stock, as also the produce of the dairy, had fallen to little more than half the prices they would have brought in 1813. At the beginning of the grass-season, cattle and sheep, fit for being made fat before the end of the year, sold freely at the rates of 1816, and advanced from 10 to 15 per cent. by mid-summer. Stock of this description experienced a further advance in autumn. But young and lean cattle continued in little request till the beginning of winter, when they were in demand for the straw-yards. In the early part of the year, the market was fully supplied with fat stock, at from 5s. to 7s. per stone; during summer it was lower; but rose again to about the same rates before the end of the year. Wool advanced a little; Leicester (in Scotland) was sold for 28s., and Cheviot, from 24s. to 26s. per stone of 24 lb.; fine wool also improved in value. Add to this, that the lambing season had been favourable, and it will be seen, that the grazier was better remunerated than the corn-grower.

The circumstance of two unfavourable years following in succession could not fail to occasion much distress. In England, this distress exhibited itself as usual, in the advance of the poor-rates, which in some places amounted to as much as the rent. Other measures were necessarily resorted to for the relief of the lower classes in Scotland. The condition of the small tenants of the Highlands was so deplorable, that in many parts, during the winter of 1817, they were not only in want of potatoes and oatmeal for their support, but had no seed fit to be used for the ensuing crop. Some of the proprietors, on this occasion, generously came forward to assist them, by importing

grain from other districts; while rents were either abated, or their payment allowed to stand over till better times. The Highland Society offered premiums for the cultivation of early potatoes, which had some effect in bringing this root-sooker into use in Edinburgh; and the same measure was adopted by some of the societies in Ireland, where the preceding season had been equally unfavourable as in Britain.

Many of the country-labourers were thrown out of employment, and wages were everywhere too low, when compared with the prices of grain. This is the necessary consequence of the high price of produce, when it is occasioned, as in the present case, by the failure of the crops. At such a time, wages, instead of rising to meet the advance of prices, invariably fall, because the employers in general are less able to pay them. All those farmers, whose principal dependence is on growing wheat, received less money for their crop 1816, than for that of the preceding year, of which the price was only about half the average of 1817. For what part of crop 1817 came to market before the end of the year, the cultivators of good early soils were much better remunerated; and the whole of this crop, indeed, sold at such prices, as to yield a liberal profit to the grower throughout the principal corn-districts of the kingdom.

The large import of foreign grain during this year, though it was evident from the prices that it was all needed, was looked upon with a jealous eye by some of the farmers of England, who first began, about this time, to form associations for obtaining a repeal of the present corn-laws, in order to have a duty imposed on foreign grain, whatever might be the prices in our own market. Their petitions to Parliament, and the proceedings that took place there in consequence, belong to a subsequent period.

II. COMMERCIAL.

THE commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain were, at the commencement of this year, marked by that deep depression, of which we have already endeavoured to trace the causes. A general distress pervaded the community; and every manufacturing town was filled with thousands of starving labourers. The reduction of the national expenditure, and the straitened circumstances of the agricultural population, darkened the demand at home; while all the foreign markets being glutted with our manufactures, till they were sold below prime cost, every discouragement was thus given to sending more. At the same time an equal depression was felt in the price of sugar, wine, coffee, cotton, and every article of colonial produce. It was increased by the East India Company bringing to market coffee and cotton, the produce of Bourbon and Java; and the former of a superior quality to the West India coffee. Tobacco, which early in the year stood as low as the other commodities, felt a slight revival in February and March, in consequence of some orders which were received from France.

Equal distress with that felt in Britain seems to have prevailed on the continent, particularly in Holland and Germany. Many of the old branches of trade and manufactures had been broken up during the recent convulsions, and were in vain attempted to be again set on foot. The following account of the Leipsic fair includes a general view of commercial affairs throughout Germany.

“Our fair has turned out extremely ill; it may be reckoned inferior by one-third, if not one-half, to the last Michaelmas fair. It is said there were fourteen thousand strangers less, which

one could easily perceive in the streets. The number of Russians and Poles in particular was small, and those who were traders made but few purchases. Germany is so overstocked with goods, that it has far more than it needs, the consumption having been much reduced by war and distress, and the manufactures, by the employment of machinery instead of human labour, have greatly increased, and every thing is produced much more rapidly. This causes the trade in manufactured goods to stagnate extremely. Silks, formerly a great article at our fair, were in small demand. *English cotton manufactures* extremely cheap; they fell five or six per cent, and scarcely a third part of the stock on hand was disposed of. The proprietors of course suffer a great loss by the part they have left on their hands. *Saxon cotton goods* found hardly any sale. Our manufacturers are inconsolable, since by this failure of their last hope the greatest distress will be occasioned, as they will be obliged to dismiss a number of workmen, who will be exposed to perish with hunger. *Woollen wares*, particularly fine *Netherland cloths*, and *Saxon Merinos*, *kerseymeres*, &c. sold well, and almost all the stocks were bought. The inferior cloths fetched very low prices. *Wool* from *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, of inferior qualities, was in abundance; the prices have, however, fallen from 40 to 60 per cent, within these two months. Almost the whole was sold. As shearing time approaches, the Saxon may be expected to become cheaper than last year; but it is not likely to fall above 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper than last year. Goods of *English manufacture* were really in masses; the *indiennes*, the muslins, and the woollen cloths of Great Britain,

were offered at all prices. Here, as at Frankfort, the *indiennes* were sold at three *gros* the ell. The excessive dearth of provisions has rendered the sale of merchandise insignificant. Numerous failures having also weakened credit, orders of all sorts have been astonishingly lessened, and sales have been necessarily forced at any price."

It was not till about June that any revival in the commercial interests of Britain began to be felt. The iron trade appears to have been among the first that exhibited decided symptoms of improvement. France, from the want of iron in her coal districts, found herself reduced to an inevitable state of dependence upon us for this commodity. At the works in Wales, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, the orders were so extensive, that the iron-masters could not find hands to execute them. At the same time, the vast and suffering staple of the cotton trade was sensibly revived by considerable orders from South America. The numerous unemployed weavers now all obtained work, first at low wages, but these gradually increased till they became sufficient for the comfortable subsistence of the workman and his family. A somewhat illusory impulse was derived from an insurrectionary movement in the southern provinces of Brazil, which was supposed to present an extensive opening, and numerous shipments took place thither on speculation. The entire consumption of cotton wool in the British manufactories was this year estimated at 92,000,000 lbs. exceeding by 20,000,000 that of 1816. Similar good fortune attended the lace of Nottingham, the silk of Spitalfields, and those branches of the woollen manufacture which had exhibited marks of decay. At Bristol, Newcastle, Leith, and other ports, the entry and departure of shipping was observed to be much more brisk than at any period during the last three years. Liverpool and Glasgow

were peculiarly cheered by the first returns derived from the lately opened trade to India. Several articles, which had been sent out in despair as unsaleable here, had been eagerly bought up with a wish for more; and many commodities had been sold at a profit of 100 per cent. It was even found, that Hindostan, the mother country of muslin and cotton manufactures, afforded a market for those of Glasgow and Paisley, even burdened with all the expences of freight; so wonderful had been the effects of British skill and machinery.

The animation inspired into the commercial world by the favourable aspect of affairs, was enlivened by the hope that it would be permanent, and would finally terminate the general stagnation, which had been felt as the first consequence of peace. Towards the close of the year indeed the demand in all these branches sensibly slackened; but it was still hoped that this might be only the remission usually felt at the season. How far this good omen was fulfilled, will appear hereafter.

We shall conclude with some detached notices applicable to some particular quarters of the world.

AMERICA.

It appears that the value of the exports of the United States, for the year ending the 30th of September, 1816, was, dollars 81,920,452, of which 64,781,896 were of domestic materials, and 17,138,556 of foreign.

The following view of the state and prospects of the manufacturing interest in America, is given in a letter written early in the present year.

"The war set the Americans forward in manufacturing, say fifty years, owing to the duties being very high, (but they are greatly reduced since the peace,) and British goods sold during the war, from two hundred to

three hundred per cent. advance higher than usual. From the low price at which British goods have been sold since the peace, the American manufacturers have not only given up, but most of them have been totally ruined; this is the case on the sea-coast, and for at least a hundred miles back. There may be some on a small scale still further back; but these must give up also. You say, from the reduced price of labour, British goods will come out lower than ever: if so, adieu to all manufacturing here; their advance during the war is all gone back and done away.

“You must not form an idea of a manufactory in America from those in Britain. A person here setting up three or four jennies for spinning sixty or seventy spindles each, is looked upon as a great manufacturer.

“As for any other nation interfering with Britain in the American markets, know that Britain will carry away nineteen parts out of twenty of the whole trade of supplying the United States with manufactures. The trade with France is already coming to a close. They are anxious to deal with the Netherlands, as they say they are the only free nation in Europe, except Britain. But I believe it is because they are able to give them long credit; for gold and credit are the idols the Americans worship. The only articles they can furnish to advantage are a few laces, lawns, toys, cambrics, and linens; this last article comes in abundant supply also from Hamburgh, Bremen, and Ireland.”

Act for the Encouragement of American Vessels and Seamen.

The following are briefly its provisions:—

1. No goods to be imported into the United States, except in vessels the property of the citizens of those

States; or of the countries of which these goods are the growth, produce, or manufacture.

2. In all cases of contravention of the preceding article, the ship and cargo to be confiscated.

3. Bounties and allowances now granted to fishing-boats, to be refused to all but those of which the officers and three-fourths of the crew are citizens of the United States.

4. The coasting-trade is confined to native vessels and seamen.

5. A tonnage-duty is imposed upon vessels, though belonging to the United States, which shall enter a port in one district from a port in another district. (This is subject to exceptions).

6. A tonnage-duty is levied on American vessels arriving from foreign ports, unless two-thirds of the crew be citizens of the United States.

Statement of the Mexican Coinage for the year 1815.

Gold, 486,464 dollars.

Silver 6,454,799 do.

Total 6,941,263.

Besides the above, 101,365 dollars of copper money has been coined, which for the first time commenced in 1814.

Prior to the present revolution, the coinage of Mexico for some years was never less than twenty-six millions of dollars; so that at this rate, calculating seven years war, from this section of Spanish America, the world has lost an influx of precious metals equal to 149 millions of dollars.

RUSSIA.

St Petersburg, March 8.—The amount of goods imported into St Petersburg last year, was above 90 millions of roubles; and that of goods

exported, nearly 77 millions and a half.

The extraordinary trade in corn has lately doubled the number of strangers at Odessa. That sea-port seems in a fair way of becoming one of the most considerable towns of the Russian empire: its increase proceeds in a manner beyond all conception.

This prodigious exportation of grain from Odessa forms a striking article in the German papers. They state, that last year there were exported from that place, in 1366 ships, goods to the value of 5,406,000 roubles, and only to the amount of 408,600 roubles imported. Among the 846 large ships which arrived, were 407 Russian, 258 English, 101 Austrian, 25 French, 23 Turkish, 15 Swedish, &c.

SWEDEN.

The importation of coffee being found to amount to 3,317,000 lbs., which was reckoned to be half the

value of Swedish iron exported, the military chief of that kingdom fancied that the trade of the kingdom would be improved by prohibiting the introduction of coffee at all, to which was added a similar prohibition against wines, foreign spirits, and all cottons except those imported direct from India in Swedish vessels. Soon after, the use of Swedish coffee, or any thing resembling coffee, was prohibited, as affording a cover for the introduction of the real drug. It was thus asserted that an improvement would be made in the exchanges; yet soon after all the principal Banks in Stockholm broke, and at Christiana all business was at a stand, the merchants remarking, "because no foreign goods may be brought to our markets, our productions meet with no sale abroad." No redress, however, seems to have been afforded, the peasantry throughout the country being inflamed with a patriotic and ignorant zeal to wear the manufactures and use the commodities of their own nation only.

MEDICAL.

THE ~~planned~~ limits of this work necessarily restrict us to a brief consideration of the most striking circumstances in the history of the public health during the year 1817; of these, the facts connected with the propagation of Typhus Fever, are by far the most important. There were comparatively few large towns or districts in the empire which did not suffer under this calamity; but we propose, in the following sketch, to confine ourselves solely to the Statistics of Fever, if we may so express ourselves, as they are to be collected from the records of the

public institutions of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, and from the works of the physicians who have practised in those cities, and favoured the world with their opinions.

As there is great reason to suppose, that in numerous instances febrile contagion has been conveyed from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and as it is highly probable that it has been imported into the former city in particular, and into the western part of Scotland in general, as well as into England, by means of the vast influx of Irish labourers, we shall begin by submitting

to our readers a few facts connected with the progress of fever in the sister island. The Fever Hospital of Dublin, which was opened in 1804, admitted in that year 422 cases only ; in 1810, when fever became very general all over Ireland, 1774 patients were admitted ; and in 1817, the admissions amounted to 5745. In another hospital in that city, (the Hardwicke,) the cases of fever increased, between the years 1813 and 1817, from 1842 patients to the enormous number of 8915. The progress of fever was nearly in a similar proportion all over the country. In a northern district, of which Strabane was the principal town, little short of a fourth part of the population was affected, and of these not fewer than 1 in 9 died.* We would not be understood to say, that we owe our Typhus exclusively to Ireland ; unfortunately, too many of its causes have existed among ourselves, for we believe it to be a fact beyond all dispute, that the disease frequently derives its origin from poverty, and its concomitants, hunger, cold, and rags, aggravated by filth and intemperance, conjointly pressing upon the desponding inhabitants of insufficient and over-crowded lodgings,—a state of society which has been but too prevalent since the late peace.

From the year 1812, Typhus Fever was steadily gaining ground in Glasgow and its vicinity ; its progress was so rapid, that it nearly doubled its numbers every successive twelve months between 1812 and 1817. This is proved by the state of the admissions into the Infirmary of that city, which, for the successive years, were as follows : 16—35—90—230—399—714.† The

mortality by fever kept pace with this increment, and the deaths doubled annually during the same period. The male sex were found to suffer much more, comparatively, than the female, although the number of females who were attacked with the disease considerably out-numbered the males ; by one calculation made in the Infirmary of Glasgow, the proportion was 1 death in 9 males, and 1 in $16\frac{1}{2}$ females ; by another calculation, the proportion was 1 in $7\frac{1}{2}$ among the males, and 1 in $14\frac{2}{3}$ among the females ; the general average of deaths in both sexes, was 1 in $10\frac{2}{3}$.

In Edinburgh, as in all other large towns, fever always exists more or less in the sordid habitations of the poor ; and some closes and houses, particularly those employed as lodging-houses for the lower orders, are never without cases of the disease. We have it upon the authority of an able physician, that for the last twenty years, he has never known that part of the city called Portsburgh, free from continued fever ;‡ and on a personal examination of the district, he found that disease in almost every house. In the spring of 1816, every one of the children in the West-Kirk Poor-House, about 160 in number, suffered from an attack of fever, of whom two died ; and between 30 and 40 of the aged poor were also affected, of whom more than a third were carried off. In the autumn of the same year, every child in the City Charity-Workhouse, to the number of 200, and about 50 other individuals belonging to the institution, were attacked with fever ; of these latter about 1 in 12 died, but all the children recovered. In the year 1817, not

* Stoker's Report of the Fever Hospital of Dublin. Rogan's Observations on the Epidemic Disorder in the north of Ireland.

† Graham on Continued Fever. Millar on Epidemic Fever. Glasgow, 1818.

‡ Edinburgh Magazine for November 1817. Report on the State of Fever.

an individual in either of these extensive asylums for the poor was affected; nevertheless the disease was much more prevalent than usual throughout the city. It was for some time supposed, that the increased admissions into the Royal Infirmary, were produced from the exertions of the medical officers of the two Dispensaries, and the active agents of the Destitute Sick Society, in consequence of which almost every case of fever throughout the city and neighbourhood was brought to light, and was immediately recommended for reception; but subsequent experience has given great reason to suppose, that this increase was not apparent only, but founded upon an actual increase in the numbers of those affected with the disease. By the reports of the New Town Dispensary, it appears, that during the three months ending in December 1, 1816, the cases of fever registered at that institution, amounted to no more than 1 in $61\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole applications for relief; but, in the three months ending March 1, 1817, they increased to 1 in $32\frac{2}{3}$. In the next three months, the increase was still progressive, and amounted to 1 in $20\frac{2}{3}$. During the quarter between June and September, the fever cases diminished somewhat in number, their proportion being only 1 in $24\frac{6}{7}$ of the whole; but for the ensuing quarter, which terminated on December 1, 1817, they had arisen to an amount of nearly double, being one in $12\frac{1}{3}$. It was also found, that while at first the disease was confined to certain small districts, in the course of the season it became pretty generally diffused over the town. It is a well-known fact that the extremes of heat and cold are unfavourable to the spreading, or even to the existence of Typhus Fever; but the heat of our weather in Scotland never arises to that degree which is found to be incompatible with the presence of the

disease, and the diminution of its ravages in the months between June and September is, in a great measure, to be attributed to that free exposure to the open air, which the persons and habitations of the poor undergo, at a season when there is no temptation to seek for increased warmth by crowding within doors, and shutting up every avenue by which a free ventilation might be established.

In the Royal Infirmary, which was supplied with patients from the Dispensary, the returns of which we have already quoted, as well as from the Old Town Dispensary, and various other sources, there were treated during the first ten months of 1817, 347 patients, of whom 21, or 1 in $16\frac{1}{2}$, died; the actual numbers dismissed cured for the two preceding years could not be ascertained; but the deaths by fever for each of those years was only 12, so that there is every reason to suppose the number of fever cases admitted into the house were greatly increased in the year 1817; indeed, several additional wards were appropriated for the reception of these cases, and at length a separate establishment was fitted up at Queensberry House by the managers of the Royal Infirmary. The history of this excellent institution does not come within the period of the present report, as it was not opened until the 3d of February, 1818.

Fever was not particularly prevalent in London before the autumn of 1816. In September and October of that year, fever, manifestly contagious, appeared in the courts about Saffron Hill, and among some young people employed at a silk manufactory in Spital Fields, but who resided with their families. Contrary, however, to what has been observed at Edinburgh, it subsided on the approach of winter, but again reappeared in March, in the vicinity of Essex Street, White-chapel, where the

silk manufacturers resided, as well as near the manufactory itself at Saffron Hill, Old Street, and Clerkenwell. In the following month it broke out in the parish of Shadwell, in the overcrowded work-house of which it spread rapidly. Other poor houses, especially those of Whitechapel, St Luke, St Sepulchre, and St George Southwark, became much infected with the disease in the course of the summer and autumn. It showed itself also in the private habitations of the poor in almost all the close and crowded districts in the eastern and northern parts of the town. It was very prevalent in the alleys in Whitechapel, and in the many filthy courts about Smithfield, and spread extensively in similar situations. It is singular that St Giles's, proverbially the receptacle of beggary, remained nearly free from the epidemic till November, after which month the fever cases sent from it to the House of Recovery became very numerous. The epidemic at length became so prevalent, that the Medical Committee of the Fever Institution addressed a circular letter to the physicians of all the hospitals and dispensaries in London, requesting information on the subject, the result of which was, that, in all the hospitals except two, from one of which no returns were received, and in all the dispensaries, except one at the west end of the town, a very great increase of fever cases had occurred. This was the case even with St George's Hospital, Hyde-Park Corner, and the Middlesex Hospital, north of Oxford Street. In Guy's Hospital, the number of fevers admitted during six weeks, in September and October, 1817, exceeded the number admitted during the same period in 1816, in the proportion of 15

to 11. From the records of the House of Recovery, (the Fever Hospital of London,) it appears, that from the year 1815 to the year 1817, the following was the progressive increase of fever.—1815, 80—1816, 118—1817, 760.* The information derived from medical men resident in Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, and many other great towns throughout England, fully proves the great increase of fever cases in their charitable institutions, and among their inhabitants.

The *medical* history of the Typhus Fever is not a legitimate object for our inquiries, but we may be permitted to state some circumstances connected with its propagation. That it has often proceeded from occasional causes, as fatigue, distress, cold and moisture, intemperance, confined air and filth, independent of *contagion*, admits of little doubt; but that it has much oftener been traced to this last cause alone, is a decided fact. In some confined and crowded situations, the illness of twenty, thirty, and forty patients, has been traced to one infected individual. In the hospitals, the nurses, clerks, and students have, in numerous instances, contracted the disease from the patients; and in private families of the first respectability, it has been introduced, and has proved comparatively more fatal than among the lower orders. It is not a little curious, however, that in districts equally crowded and dirty, and where the inhabitants suffered equal privations, some have furnished numerous examples of the Typhus Fever, while others have been free from it; nay, of two rival lodging houses in the same close in Edinburgh, both miserably dirty, and constantly crowded with a succes-

* *Bateman on Contagious Fever.* Soon after this, but not within the period of this report, the subject was taken up in Parliament.

sion of the lowest of the people, one has furnished a succession of fever cases, while the other has remained free; and, in the course of some months afterwards, this has suffered in its turn, while that has been exempted. Upon the whole, although the Typhus Fever, which so generally prevailed through this country in 1817, was decidedly contagious, it appears that it was so under certain circumstances only, and that the contagion was far from being so active as it has been in other countries.

Our bounds do not admit of our entering much further at present into the discussion of the interesting subject of the public health, but we cannot dismiss it altogether without adverting to some highly important facts connected with Vaccination, especially as they have occurred in Scotland. From sloth and from prejudice, this most salutary process has not been so frequently enforced as it should be, and in the year 1813, small-pox became very prevalent in various parts of Scotland, but particularly in the town and neighbourhood of Forfar, a circumstance the more alarming, because among others it was said to have attacked above 200 persons who had previously gone through the process of vaccination. The alarm excited by this circumstance became so great, that a meeting of the medical gentlemen of the neighbourhood was called by the Sheriff of the county, and the result of their deliberation was, that "the small-pox contagion had produced a slight disease" in a number of children who had been inoculated with cow-pox matter, but that the occurrence in no degree diminished their confidence in the preventative power of vaccination. In the close of the year 1816,

small-pox, after vaccination, became prevalent in Dundee, and in the spring of 1817, an epidemic small-pox occurred at Cupar, in Fife, where 54 cases were ascertained to have taken place after vaccination; there is little doubt that the disease existed in other towns also, and that had medical practitioners in general been fully aware of its nature, and turned their attention to its history, the chain of communication from one place to another might have been fully traced. The first decided cases which occurred in Edinburgh were noticed in June and July 1817, and from that period they spread to various parts of Scotland. Similar cases, though by no means so numerous, have been observed in England and Ireland.

Vaccination was early and extensively adopted north of the Tweed, and the confidence in its powers was unbounded. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that the reports of its failure in preventing small-pox could be received with indifference, more especially as some medical men, both in Scotland and England, had denied that it afforded permanent security. In opposition, however, to the reported failures, some of the friends of vaccination in England supposed that the eruptive disease, which it was agreed on all hands was epidemic, in this part of the empire, was *not* small-pox, but a disease resembling it, probably that known under the name of chicken-pox. This opinion, however, has been refuted by the experiments of Dr Adam, and by those conducted on an extensive scale in the military hospitals of Edinburgh, under the superintendence of Dr Hennen.* In these experiments it was proved, that matter taken from vaccinated persons labouring under the epidemic disease, pro-

* Dr Adam's Thesis. Edin. 1814, and Edin. Med. Surg. Journal, vol. 14. for October 1818.

duced genuine small-pox in those who were not vaccinated. For ourselves, convinced as we are of the intrinsic value of Dr Jenner's discovery, we deprecate the attempts of concealing facts, and are ready to admit, as indeed the early promoters of vaccination themselves did, that in certain cases persons duly vaccinated occasionally are susceptible of small-pox; but it is an established fact, that the small-pox thus taken, is an extremely mild and modified disease, rarely if ever proving fatal. Indeed from the histories of cases collected by the last named physician, as well as from those which are daily presenting themselves to general observation, in which small-pox has occurred *twice* in the same individual, it is rendered highly probable that the human constitution is as fully secured by vaccination from after attacks of fatal small-pox, as by having previously un-

dergone that dangerous and disgusting disease. It is also a fair inference from the history of physic in general, and vaccination in particular, that an epidemic small-pox, capable of affecting the vaccinated, is a very rare occurrence, because tens of thousands of persons thus circumstanced have for years resisted, although constantly exposed to contagion, in various parts of Europe. Why the epidemics of one year should be more severe than those of another, is a question which, like many others in the natural history of man, will perhaps for ever escape our detection; but if, among the numerous facts which it is permitted us to ascertain, there be one more incontrovertible than another, it appears to us to be that which demonstrates the pre-eminent efficacy of cow-pock, as a preventive and neutralizer of variolous contagion.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

THE most characteristic feature in the present state of the religious world, consists in the extensive efforts made for the diffusion of Christianity. Among associations for this purpose, the prominent place has been taken by the Bible Society, the object of which was calculated to unite Christians of every denomination. Notwithstanding its recent institution, the receipts in May, 1815, had nearly reached the sum of 100,000*l*. The present year is chiefly marked by the extension of its operations in India, through the operation of auxiliary societies, formed at Calcutta and Bombay. In the fifth anniversary of the Society at the former city, it is stated to have procured from Europe, and

distributed in different parts of Asia, above three thousand Portuguese Testaments; to have printed, and transmitted for distribution on the coast of Ceylon, 5,000 Tamil Testaments; to have also printed, and sent to Ceylon, 2,000 Cingalese Testaments; to have printed, and sent to Amboyna, nearly 2,000 Malay Testaments in the Roman character; besides another thousand retained to accompany an equal number of the Old Testament, now in the press; to have commenced an edition of 2,000 copies of the Armenian Bible; and to have undertaken to print 2,000 copies of the Tamil Bible; 2,000 of the Hindoostanee Testament in the Nagree character, 1,000 copies of the Old Testament, and 3,000 of the

New Testament, in the Malay language and Arabic character, and an edition of the New Testament in the Malayalam, or Malabar language and character, besides obtaining from England, through the British and Foreign Bible Society, 2,000 English Bibles, and the same number of English Testaments, which are now for sale at reduced prices, at the Society's Repository, or have been sent to other places, where they were urgently wanted.

In the third report of the *Bombay Bible Society*, it appears that the Committee have opened a depository for the sale at reduced prices of the Old and New Testaments, in several European and native languages; in this depository they either now have, or shortly will have, Bibles and Testaments in English, Gaelic, Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, Spanish, Danish, and Italian; Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Persian, Hindostanee, Malay, and Chinese. Such a depository should contain not only translations of the Scriptures into the languages chiefly prevalent among the natives and visitors of India, but should be furnished also with such Polyglotts, Lexicons, Grammars, and Commentaries, as will best assist the further translation into the Asiatic dialects; particularly on this coast.

After all, the lead in this department is taken by the Baptist Mission at Serampore, whose exertions in translating the Scriptures into the native languages, are truly astonishing. The following is a general summary of the progress to which they had brought them during the present year:—

1. “The whole Old and New Testament is translated, printed, and extensively circulated, in the languages of Bengal and Orissa; the population of which two provinces, on a moderate estimate, exceed 30 millions.

2. “The New Testament is print-

ed and circulated in five other languages—the Sungskritt, Hindec, Mah-ratta, Punjabec, and Chinese; in the two former, one half of the Old Testament is printed also; and in the remaining three considerable progress is made.

3. “In sixteen languages a commencement has been made in *printing* the New Testament. In some of them considerable progress has been made, though they are not enabled to state how far each distinct translation is advanced.

4. “Preparations for translation and printing, in a greater or less degree of forwardness, are made in fourteen additional languages.

5. “To these may be added the seven languages in which the New Testament has been printed, or is *printing*, at Serampore, on account of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society; which will make the whole number amount to forty-four.

“Dr Marshman has been enabled to complete the translation of the whole Bible into the Chinese language. Thus, by the blessing of a gracious God, the persevering labours of eleven years are brought to a happy conclusion, and upwards of 300 millions of our fellow-immortals have a version of the Holy Scriptures prepared for them in their own tongue.”

Although the converts made by this Mission had not been very numerous, its residence has led to an occurrence which may be considered as remarkable. A learned native, called Rammohun Row, had been induced to reject all the grosser parts of the Indian superstition, and, referring to the original course of the Vedas, to draw thence a system of almost pure theism. In a visit to the Missionaries at Serampore, after relating some petty theft ascribed to Krishna, he said, “The sweeper of my house would not do such an act, and can I worship

a god sunk lower than my menial servant?" In imitation of him, several very respectable native inhabitants of Calcutta, had declared themselves pure Monotheists, and united in a society with a view to mutual assistance in a system of worship conformable to their faith.

Numbers of Protestant Missionaries at this time acting in India.

Church Missionaries	8
London Ditto	24
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge	3
Baptist	39
Wesleyan	16
American	7
Danish	1
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Total of European Missionaries	98
Total Native Ditto	23
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Total Protestant Missionaries in India	121

In North America, Bible Societies had been long established; and this year was distinguished by the intelligence received of the establishment of one in Louisiana, a station considered as peculiarly favourable; from its connection with and proximity to the extensive Spanish territories in South America. The Spaniards, amid all their Catholic zeal, appear to have been by no means disposed to reject the beneficent offers of the Society. It is observed; "the Catholics, even the strictest of them, are all willing, with scarce an exception, to receive and read the Bible, and never think of any objection to it until informed by a priest. Notwithstanding two parish priests, in two parishes, have opposed the circulation of the Bible among their parishioners, it does not appear to have any influence over them, for

they still apply for the Bible and read it. One parish priest preached to his congregation against the evil of reading the Bibles and New Testaments, that had been sent up for distribution among them; and exhorted them, if they would escape from heresy, to have nothing to do with such books. But his parishioners, instead of complying with his advice, only became more anxious and willing to read the Bible; and in consequence of it, a very considerable number of Bibles was immediately distributed. The conduct of this parish priest has been condemned, however, by one of his brethren, who stands high in the public estimation at New Orleans."

The Spanish inhabitants have been remarkably pleased on obtaining the New Testaments in their native language. At first, there were some scruples about reading them; particularly after reading the 25 v. 28 chap. of Matthew, which they considered as in opposition to the Catholic doctrine of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary. Many of them applied to the Reverend Father Antonio de Sedilla, to learn if this passage of Scripture had been correctly translated; and, on being assured by him that it was, they were satisfied, and such as can read, have generally applied for New Testaments.—To the Spaniards, the New Testament, in their native language, is an object of greater interest than to the French; they have received it, too, with greater demonstrations of joy. The expressions used by some on being presented with a New Testament, deserves notice; one observed, "this book contains the pure truth, and nothing but the truth." Another, on reading the title-page of the New Testament, as soon as he came to the words, "JESUS CHRIST," stopped, and said with much earnestness, "this is my King and my God—he is my all." Another, on being

asked if the Spaniards were satisfied with their New Testament, observed, that "they could not be Christians who were not."

The following is the annual report of the *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, incorporated by King William the Third, and the efforts of which are directed to the British provinces in North America.

The receipts of the year, from contributions and dividends on stock, have been 5,208*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* In addition to this sum, Parliament has granted, in aid of the expences of the society in the North American Colonies, the sum of 7860*l.*, making the disposable receipts of the year 13,068*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*

Of this amount, the sum of 12,147*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* has been expended in salaries and gratuities to Missionaries, Catechists, school-masters, and in exhibitions to scholars at the College in Nova Scotia.

MISSIONARIES.

In Newfoundland, the society has five Missionaries at annual salaries of 200*l.* each; and eight school-masters at salaries amounting together to 115*l.*

In Nova Scotia—one Missionary at 400*l.* and fifteen at 200*l.* each, with four stations vacant; nineteen school-masters, whose salaries together amount to 290*l.* and five school-mistresses, whose stipends amount to 45*l.*

In New Brunswick—eight Missionaries at 200*l.* each, with one station vacant; nine school-masters, whose salaries make 115*l.* with two vacancies, and one school-mistress at 10*l.* per annum.

In Cape Breton—one missionary at 200*l.* per annum.

In Upper Canada—one Missionary at 265*l.*; two at 220*l.* each; five at 200*l.* each; and one at 100*l.*; with a

school-master to the Mohawks at 20*l.* and a Catechist at 10*l.* The Missionary at Kingston, the Rev. George Okill Stuart, is also Missionary to the Mohawk Indians; and the Rev. Robert Addison, Missionary at Niagara, is also appointed to visit the Indians.

In Lower Canada—one Missionary at 215*l.*, and 4 at 200*l.* each.

The different classes of Protestants were not alone animated with this zeal to extend the circulation of the Gospel. In the Greek church of Russia, a Bible Society was formed and patronised by the Emperor, as well as the principal nobility and clergy. By a report published during the present year, it appears, that from the establishment of the society to the present time, its Committee have either published, or are engaged in publishing, no fewer than *forty-three* editions of the sacred Scriptures, in *seventeen* different languages, forming a grand total of 196,000 copies. In the course of 1816, the Committee have completed,

Slavonian Bibles	10,000
Ditto New Testaments	10,000
Finnish Bibles	5,000
French Bibles,	5,000

AND

Samogitian New Testaments	5,000
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And at present the printing of the following editions, is either continued, or has begun, in 1817:—

Slavonian Bibles	20,000
Ditto New Testaments	5,000
Armenian Bibles	5,000
Ditto New Testaments	3,000
Greek Bibles	3,000
Ditto New Testaments	5,000
Georgian New Testaments ...	2,000
Moldavian Bibles	5,000
Moldavian New Testaments ..	5,000
German Catholic Ditto	5,000
Lettishian New Testaments ...	5,000
Dorpatian Esthonian Ditto ...	5,000
Tartar New Testaments, 2,000; Gos-	

pel of St Luke, (extra copies,) 2,000; Psalms, 2,000; and Calmuc Gospel, 2,000.

The number of Bibles and Testaments, issued in the course of the year, amounts to 19,431 copies, which is only about 500 copies fewer than were issued the three former years put together. The expenditures are nearly in the same proportion. During the three years, 1813, 1814, 1815, the expenditure amounted to 297,642 roubles, 47 copecs; in 1816, alone, 227,770 roubles, 73 copecs.

Besides the above, preparations are making for stereotype editions of the Scriptures, in five different languages; they are in a course of translation into the Common Russian, Tartar, and Carelian languages; and measures are adopting for procuring translations into Turkish Armenian and Burat Mongolian.

Amid this general zeal, the head of the Catholic church alone appeared actuated by the illiberal maxims of a former age. On occasion of a Bible Society being about to be established in Poland, he issued a bull against Bible Societies in general.

In this document the important design of circulating the Holy Scriptures is characterized as "an abominable device, by which the very foundation of religion is undermined." It is declared to be the duty and object of the See of Rome, "to employ all means for the purpose of detecting and rooting out such a pestilence in every way." The Catholic Primate of Poland, to whom this modern anathema is addressed, is highly commended in it for his "zeal and activity under circumstances so threatening to Christianity, in having denounced to the Apostolic See, this *defilement of the faith*, tending to the *imminent peril of souls*; and he is earnestly exhorted to execute daily whatever he can achieve by his power, promote by his councils,

or effect by his authority, in defeating the plans which the enemies of the Catholic religion" are represented to have "prepared for its destruction." It is farther declared to be "the especial duty of the Episcopal office to expose the wickedness of such an abominable scheme, by shewing, in obedience to the precepts of the Catholic church, that the Bible printed by heretics is to be numbered among other prohibited books of the Index." After which it is expressly asserted, that "experience has proved that the Holy Scriptures, when circulated in the vulgar tongue, have, through the temerity of men, been productive of more injury than advantage." For this cause it is declared to be "necessary to adhere to the salutary decree of the 13th June 1757, which prohibits all versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues, except such as are approved by the Apostolic See, and are published with annotations from the writings of the Holy Fathers."

The Emperor of Germany followed up this measure, by prohibiting the establishment of Bible Societies in his dominions.

The French church received this year its final organization. The Episcopal sees which, before the Revolution, depended upon foreign metropolitans, were now placed under French metropolitans. Fifty-seven dioceses were formed, divided according to the boundaries of the departments within which they were situated. The budget of 1817, allowed an increase of 6,100,000 francs (nearly 150,000*l.*) to the revenue of the clergy. In consequence of this, the salary of the archbishops was raised to 25,000 francs, (1040*l.*), that of the bishops to 15,000 francs, (620*l.*), and that of the *desservans*, or officiating clergy, to 700 francs, (29*l.*)

The provinces in the north of Ger-

many exerted themselves during this year with great zeal in forming an union between the different Protestant churches, particularly the Lutheran and Calvinist. This union was completely effected in the principality of Nassau, by a general synod of both communions, when the following articles were agreed to.

1. The united Communions shall bear the name of the *Evangelical Christian Church*.

2. The general superintendence over all the clergy shall be divided between the two superintendants, according to a geographic line, and shall finally be united in him who shall survive the other.

3. The districts of inspection shall be, &c.

4. In the places where the two confessions shall be intermixed, the respective property of the two churches shall form one and the same fund, and shall belong to the church for the necessary expences.

5. The central property of the two churches shall be united into one fund, and shall serve for paying the expences of organizing the seminary of Herborn, for the candidates of theology.

6. In the places where there shall happen to be two clergymen of the different confessions, they shall remain there provisionally, and shall officiate together at the same altar.

7. The Palatine liturgy is provisionally adopted. In the distribution of the communion, a large host shall be regularly provided, expressly for the purpose, and shall be broken into several parts. This mode shall be followed by all the communicants who shall be confirmed, for the future. The more aged persons shall be permitted to receive the communion in the accustomed manner, but in private, and after having explained their reasons to the clergyman.

A desire to accomplish the same

object was manifested by the King of Prussia, prior to the celebration of the centenary of the Reformation. A circular letter was then addressed by the minister of the interior to the Evangelical clergy of both confessions in the Prussian dominions, intimating the king's desire that the words *Protestant*, *Lutheran*, or any other denominations which designate particular sects of the reformed religion, should cease to be used, and that they should be superseded by the word *Evangelical*. The object of this communication is to correct those feelings of asperity in which sectarians too generally indulge, and by removing all nominal distinctions, to cultivate a spirit of general harmony and mutual indulgence. The authority of Luther himself was adduced to sanction this interference of the Government, for the father of the Reformation is represented as being displeased to find the supporters of his opinions distinguished by his name. The denominations of *Evangelic Church* and *Evangelic Christians* belong equally to both confessions, and imply the source whence they equally derive the purity of their doctrine.

The following are the most important proceedings of the General Assembly of the Scottish church.

A petition was presented from Dr James Bryce, Presbyterian minister of Calcutta, praying the Assembly to remove the injunction laid on their chaplains in India by the Rev. the Presbytery of Edinburgh, dated 27th March 1816, and to favour the petitioner with such other advice or instruction as to them in their great wisdom might seem meet; as also a petition from Dr Thomas M'Knight, clerk of that Presbytery.—Both these petitions having been read, together with an extract from the minutes of the Presbytery on the subject of Dr Bryce's petition, and Francis Jeffrey,

Esq advocate, being heard in support of Dr Bryce's petition, and Dr Inglis, a member of the Presbytery, in support of their procedure, the Assembly find, that no blame whatever can be imputed to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who have acted according to the best of their judgment, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty and delicacy ; but see no reason why Dr Bryce should not be permitted to solemnize marriages, when called upon to do so in the ordinary exercise of his ministerial duty ; and therefore do remove the injunction of the Presbytery of Edinburgh upon that subject, satisfied that in this, and every question connected with civil rights, he will conduct himself, as he is hereby required to do, with that perfect respect and deference toward the local authorities to which they are entitled, and which are in a particular manner due to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General of India, for the countenance and protection offered by his Excellency to this branch of the church of Scotland ; and the Assembly farther resolve to appoint a committee to draw up a respectful memorial to the Honourable

the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and to correspond with that Honourable Court on this important subject.

A letter from Lord Hardwick to the Moderator was laid before the Assembly, requesting that Venerable House to afford him all the information they could furnish as a collective body in regard to the poor laws and the management of the poor in Scotland. After some observations by Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Dr Nicol, and Sir H. Moncrieff, this subject was referred to a committee.

The report of the committee on the Earl of Hardwick's letter having been read, the Assembly highly approved of the diligence of their committee, and directed the Moderator to transmit the same as his answer to the Right Honourable the Earl of Hardwick ; and the Moderator having communicated a letter he had that day received from the Right Honourable Mr Sturges Bourne, chairman of the committee of the House of Commons, requesting the same information, the Assembly directed the Moderator to transmit a copy of the Report as his answer.

PUBLIC WORKS,

AND

LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS.

THE pressure of the times, and the public distress, did not altogether damp that spirit of enterprise, which is characteristic of Britons. This year was distinguished by the com-

mencement and completion of several important public works.

On the 18th of June, Waterloo-bridge was opened for the accommodation of the public. This magnifi-

cent erection, by which a communication is formed between the Strand and the Borough, about midway between the two distant points of Blackfriars and Westminster Bridges, does the highest honour to the enterprize of those who planned, as well as to the ability of Mr Rennie, the distinguished engineer, who conducted it. Somewhat more than a million, we believe, was expended on this great national work, the materials being partly composed of granite, brought from Cornwall and Aberdeen. The following are its dimensions :—

	Feet.
The length of the stone bridge within the abutments	1,242
Length of the road supported on brick arches on the Surrey side of the river	1,250
Length of the road supported on brick arches on the London side	400
Total length from the Strand, where the building begins, to the spot in Lambeth where it falls to the level of the road	2,890
Width of the bridge within the balustrades	42
Width of pavement or footway, on each side	7
Width of road for horses and carriages	28
Span of each arch	200
Thickness of each pier	23
Clear water-way under the arches, which are equal	1,080
Number of brick arches on the Surrey side	40
Number of ditto on the London side	16

There are 320 piles driven into the bed of the river under each pier ; the length of each pile from 19 to 22 feet, and the diameter about thirteen inches. There is one pile to every yard square.

Soon after was laid the foundation

of the Southwark Iron Bridge, to communicate from the city to the Borough, between Blackfriars and London bridges. It was carried on under the management of the same eminent engineer.

Considerable progress was made during this year in the magnificent new street reaching northward from Carlton House. An elegant new church was completed for the parish of Mary-le-bone, 100 feet long, 60 wide, and 42 high, with a portico of 6 Corinthian columns, and capable of containing 2,000 persons. It was adorned with a very fine picture by Mr West, representing the angel appearing to the shepherds. It scarcely equalled, however, the splendour of a chapel built for the Wesleyan Methodists, which much surpasses any chapel built for the purposes of the established church. It is lighted with gas during evening service, and is capable of containing 5000 souls. Considerable improvements were also made this year in the neighbourhood of Whitehall.

An important provincial improvement consisted in the opening of the Tavistock Canal, in Devonshire, designed to connect that river with the navigable part of the river Tamar. It was begun in 1803, and completed at an expense of 70,000*l*. About a mile and a half of the line was through a tunnel cut in the solid rock, 450 feet from the top. The Duke of Bedford contributed largely to this canal, which enhances very much the value of his property.

A more extensive plan was that of a canal between Newcastle and Carlisle, by which the two seas were to be connected. Meetings were held for this purpose at both these cities, and a sufficient sum of money was subscribed for making the preliminary investigations.

During this year a cast-iron bridge

of one arch only, 120 feet span, was built at Manchester over the Irwell, from Salford to Strangeways. In Derbyshire, the plan of Mr Telford was adopted for the Runcorn bridge, being that of a bridge of suspension of 1000 feet span, with two side ones of the same construction, each 500 feet wide, forming on the whole a range of iron 2000 feet long; the expence of which, with the road, was estimated at 100,000*l*. Acts were obtained during this session for erecting a new gaol in the city of Bristol; for lighting with gas the city of Exeter; for paving, lighting, cleansing, and improving West Cowes, (Isle of Wight); for making a road from Dewsbury to Leeds, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Notwithstanding the depressed state of agriculture, upwards of fifty bills for new enclosures were passed during the session.

In SCOTLAND, the most important public undertaking consisted in the Union Canal, proposed to be carried from Edinburgh, to meet the Great Canal at its sixteenth lock, near Falkirk. The advantages expected from this measure were not only the transit of passengers and goods to Glasgow, but still more the obtaining of lime and coal for the supply of Edinburgh, from the vast fields which were to be found upon this line. It was not proposed to make this of the same dimensions with the Great Canal, but only fitted for vessels drawing five feet of water. This scheme was opposed by the town of Edinburgh, and by several great proprietors in the neighbourhood, who urged in its stead the adoption of a canal on a higher level, admitting larger vessels, and extending the whole way from Edinburgh to Glasgow. A very warm controversy was carried on for some time, and the opponents of the Union Canal had sufficient interest to prevent its receiving the sanction of Parliament. As, how-

ever, they were unable to procure an adequate number of subscribers for their own more extended plan, they at last agreed to an accommodation with the Union Canal subscribers, whose measure passed in the present session without opposition. Before the end of the year the whole sum was subscribed, and the operations began. The following is Mr Telford's final estimate:—

Cutting, embanking, puddling, lining, dressing banks, and making towing-paths	L.95,324 12 2
Aqueducts, culverts, wastes, let-offs, and public road bridges,	35,674 12 6
Locks, stop-gates, basins, wharfs, and lock-keepers, and wharfingers' houses	22,853 10 8
Reservoirs and feeders,	10,155 7 6
Land, fences, occupation bridges, and temporary damages,	50,210 9 4
Carrying the canal and basin from Gilmour-Place to the west side of the Lothian-Road	4,399 5 0
Ten per cent. for contingencies	21,860 0 0
Total	L.240,468 17 2

Arrangements were made during this year for securing to Edinburgh a copious supply of excellent water. Dissatisfaction having been expressed at the arrangements made by the Magistrates on this subject, the concern was vested in a company formed for that express purpose, and whose capital was divided into shares of 25*l*., so as to enable individuals, by taking shares, to cover the expence of their own supply of water. The sources of this were about seven or eight miles to the south of Edinburgh, among the

Pentland hills, and called the Black and the Crawley springs, both of excellent quality; the former being particularly pure, though not so abundant as the Crawley, which could afford four times the supply of Edinburgh. The work was placed under the able direction of James Jardine, Esq. civil engineer.

During this year the arrangements made for completing the long suspended erection of the College of Edinburgh were begun to be put in execution. The Parliamentary Commissioners, consisting of the Right Honourable the Lord President, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Chief Baron, the Lord Chief Commissioner, the Lord Advocate, the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, William Dundas, Esq. M. P. Sir John Marjoribanks, of Lees, Bart. Hugh Warrender, Esq. the very Rev. Principal Baird, and Andrew Duncan, jun. M. D. appointed to manage the yearly grant of 10,000*l.* voted by Parliament for this purpose, met on Wednesday the 4th December, 1816, in order to receive plans and specifications for the completion of the building. The plan of Mr William Playfair being adopted, the prize of 100 guineas was adjudged to that gentleman. The second prize of 80 guineas was awarded to Mr Burn. According to Mr Playfair's plan, the ex-

terior of the building, as originally planned by Adams, is to be retained, with very little alteration; but there will be a total departure from the internal arrangements. The southern side of the quadrangle is to be occupied almost entirely by the library, which will be 190 feet long, and one of the most elegant rooms in the kingdom. The western side is to be appropriated to the Museum, and the other two sides are to be occupied chiefly as class-rooms. The original proposal of accommodating the professors with houses in the College, was entirely abandoned.

The Caledonian Canal, which had been carried on since 1804 by an annual parliamentary grant of 50,000*l.*, was now approaching to its completion. Of the three districts into which it was divided, the eastern and the western were finished, and the workmen were now employed upon the middle portion. By the report of 1816, there had been already expended upon this great national undertaking, 600,000*l.*; and it was expected that another 200,000*l.* would complete the navigation from sea to sea. An excellent account of this great national work, will be found in Mr Stevenson's article on the subject, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. II. Part II.

EMIGRATION.

THE distresses of the times, and the difficulty of subsistence, rendered emigration a very prominent feature in the transactions of the present year. Amid the suffering which caused and accom-

panied these removals, some satisfaction may be afforded, by considering them as the means of peopling and civilizing the unoccupied and savage districts of the earth. We shall endeavour here

to collect into one view the scattered notices upon this subject which occur in the journals of the time.

The *Helen, Wilson*, sailed from Kirkcaldy on the 20th May, for Halifax, with nearly 100 passengers. Since that period the following vessels, with emigrants, have sailed from Leith for British America, viz. *Agincourt*, Matheson, 200; *Alexander, Henry*, 44; *Lord Middleton, Ker*, 163; and *Trafalgar, Mitchell*, 78; in all 485. On the 30th May, about 100 mechanics, engaged as settlers on Mr Moodie's estates at the Cape of Good Hope, embarked at Leith on board the smack *Matchless*, for London.

Six hundred and seventy-two persons have this year emigrated from the port of Hull for Canada.

No fewer than 517 persons have this season emigrated from the port of Dumfries alone, and, we believe, considerably more than 100 have sailed from the port of Annan. The *Nancy*, which left the Nith on 7th June, with 119 passengers, found on her arrival at the Carse, 34 additional adventurers, waiting at that place to be taken on board!

We lately mentioned (says the *Dumfries Journal*) that the *Jessie*, of this port, had sailed with goods and 65 passengers for British America; and we have now to add, that the three under-mentioned vessels, with goods, and 275 passengers, will sail this week from this port, for the same destination:—*Elizabeth*, for St John's, 125; *Augusta*, for Miramichi, 115; *North Star*, 35; *Jessie*, for St John's, 65. Total 310.

Number of emigrants that have sailed from the port of Belfast for America, from the 17th of March to the 21st of August inclusive;—For Philadelphia, 252; New York, 331; Norfolk, 40; Baltimore, 251; St Andrews, 252; Quebec, 1023. Total 2149.

A moral malady, says a continental journal, seems to affect the inhabitants of several countries in Europe, and that malady is *emigration*. It began its ravages at that period when it ought to have found the termination of them, in the restoration of general peace—when all sources are reopening to activity and commerce—when it is at length permitted us to taste repose after 30 years of misery. Vainly is it stated that the streets of Philadelphia and New York are full of unfortunate mendicants, who weep for the native land they never will see again—vainly do the priests and magistrates endeavour to check the disease. Reason has lost her power, and from the mountains of Switzerland and Germany, descend whole families, who embark on the Rhine, traverse Holland, and are going under the Tropics to find there misery and repentance.

Amsterdam, April 30.—There are here more than six hundred unhappy Swiss and German families, who want to go to America, destitute of every thing; men, women, and children, run about the streets begging a morsel of bread to keep them from starving, while waiting their departure. Some of them who were provided with money to pay their passage, have been deceived and plundered by a German, who made them believe that he was commissioned to receive (on giving them a receipt) part of the passage money on account: he promised them a good vessel, &c. He made some of them proceed to the Helder, the others were to embark here; but in neither of the two ports was either vessel or captain of the names which he had given them. The pretended agent vanished last Friday, carrying away a sum of money, which is estimated at several thousand florins, leaving his

victims in the most deplorable situation. Every measure has been taken to discover this swindler, but hitherto without avail.

Jutphaas (Netherlands) April 24.—We have seen pass by this place, at different times in the course of this year, some thousands of individuals of both sexes, coming chiefly from Switzerland, and going through this commune to Utrecht, in order to proceed to America. This emigration seems to augment. Yesterday passed six vessels, on board of which were twelve hundred Swiss families, from the Canton of Basle. To-day six hundred have passed, who are to be followed by a still greater number.

An inhabitant of this commune, who conversed with several of them, found that many of them had directed, as masters and weavers, the first manufactories of linen, cotton, and silk, in Switzerland, and distress and want of work were the causes which obliged them to quit their country.

Mentz, June 2.—From the 16th to the end of May, a great number more of emigrants has passed down the Rhine; viz. from Baden, 492 men, 449 women, and 1026 children, in all 2037; from Alsace, 211 men, 480 women, 444 children, in all 845; from Wurtemberg, 52 men, 38 women, 69 children, in all 159, making a sum total of 3041. The number of them was much greater, but as they found at Weisenau, above Mentz, some hundreds of emigrants, who were returning to their country, who gave them a dreadful picture of the misery which awaited them in Holland, a great many of them turned back, or resolved to go to Poland. The accounts which travellers bring from the Lower Rhine make humanity shudder. Poor wretches, who return in great numbers, have been found starved on the road, with grass in their mouths. About Amsterdam, where it was found necessary

to erect barracks for them without the gates, their number is said to have increased to 3,000, who are almost entirely destitute of every thing.

Rotterdam, May 19.—I am just arrived from Amsterdam, where there are not less than 4000 Swiss and German peasants waiting to embark for America, and more are arriving daily. The city of Utrecht is crowded with these distressed emigrants; and at Amsterdam there are about 500 encamped in the open fields, waiting for the like purpose. Their appearance is exceedingly novel, and they seem to be organized in clans, having chiefs, and a gradation of superiors. At Amsterdam I saw them frequently promenading the streets in little bands, with a leader at their head.

Emigrants from Switzerland to North America pass in great numbers by Strasbourg. It is said in that town that an *ex-great* personage (Joseph Buonaparte) who is founding a colony in the new world, has agents in Switzerland to excite this emigration.

The number of persons who have emigrated from Baden this year, is said to be 20,000, of whom about 2000 have gone to Poland, and the rest to North America.

Stutgard, June 30.—For some weeks past we see a great number of Wurtembergers return, who had quitted their country to go and seek their fortune elsewhere, and who are now in the greatest distress. Some of them return from Holland, or from the frontiers of that country, and of the Prussian States, where a passage has been refused them. Others have been only to the environs of Mentz, where the crowds of their fellow countrymen, who were returning home, induced them to do the same.

From Ratisbon, the 17th instant, it is mentioned, that on the 14th two bodies of Wurtemberg emigrants, consisting of 4 or 500 persons each, pass-

ed through that city on their way to the borders of the Black Sea.

Two hundred and eighty emigrants from Wurtemberg are encamped on the glacis of Vienna. They were unable to pay for their passage by the Danube to Gallatz, and were starving, until the inhabitants of Vienna took them under their protection.

A distressing picture is given in the American journals, of the emigrants to America from Holland and Germany; and some severe but just remarks are made on the conduct of those captains who are styled the kidnappers of the foreigners. A person of some credit, pleading the cause of those deluded and unhappy emigrants, terms the trade an unhallowed speculation in white freemen's liberty, which he considers in the highest degree derogatory to the character of the American republic. He avers,—

1st, That such servants as come from Germany, at least, are generally ignorant of that humiliating fact, that they are to be made *slaves for years*, for the payment of their passage.

2d, That they are not driven by famine or necessity from their native country, but that they are enticed by kidnappers, with false promises of happiness and gain, superior to any they could enjoy in Europe.

3d, That the whole business is a speculation, even more infamous than the slave trade on the coast of Africa.

4th, That this inhuman traffic is a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and abhorred by every civilized government.

5th, That the laws in America sanctioning such an unrepugnant, unchristian, immoral, and fraudulent traffic, are absolutely unconstitutional, and ought, for the honour of the only remaining republic on earth, to be speedily and eternally repealed.

Accounts have been received by the Jean, arrived at Annan, from the emigrants who sailed from Scotland the latter end of last spring for America. These unfortunate men found themselves miserably disappointed in their expectations. Artificers in wood or iron were the only tradesmen in any request; little or no demand for labourers in husbandry, hewing or squaring of wood being the only source of extended permanent employment for any considerable part of the year, and the season for it is now rapidly expiring, and a long winter coming on, with hardly any resources but charity.

Extract from the report of the joint committee of the senate and assembly, to whom was referred the memorial of the Mayor, Aldermen, and commonality of the city of New York, relative to the proportion of auction duties arising from sales at public auction in the city of New York, which was appropriated to the support of foreign poor in that city.

“ That many foreign artisans land in the city of New York; disperse themselves among the various manufactories established through the country, where they seldom gain a settlement, and when reduced to want, are returned to be supported by that city.

“ That many foreigners who support their families during the summer months, when employment can be readily obtained, and the necessaries required for the support of life are few, and easy to be procured, abandon their families in the winter season, and leave them a charge upon the public benevolence.

“ That one-fourth of the population of said city is computed to consist of foreigners, who having no relatives in this country, are liable, upon the least reverse of fortune, to become a public burden; that the emigration from Europe during the last year to the

city of New York alone, amounted to upwards of seven thousand foreigners, most of whom are in indigent circumstances; and that, from the total stagnation of mercantile business in that city, and the suspension of its large manufacturing establishments, many of those emigrants must, during the present winter, be destitute of employ,

and depend entirely upon the city for relief."

The Highlanders have emigrated to Upper Canada in great numbers, especially from the western parts of Inverness-shire. In a new settlement up the country, more than 1400 are said to have been settled during the last year.

CHRONICLE

OF

MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES.

JANUARY.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 4.—His Majesty continues to enjoy a good state of bodily health, and has been generally tranquil during the last month. His Majesty's disorder remains unaltered."

The following official notice was on Friday, Jan. 10, issued from the office of the Master of the Mint:—

NEW SILVER COINAGE.

Royal Mint, Jan. 17, 1817.—The new silver coinage being now very nearly finished, arrangements are making for enabling all his Majesty's subjects in every part of Great Britain to exchange, at the same period, the old for the new silver coin of the realm. This exchange will commence on or before Monday, the 3d February next, and all standard silver coin of the realm, (however defaced or reduced in weight by use) should continue to be given and received in payments, for the short period that will elapse before the issue of the new silver coin. By this means no interruption of the circulation will arise.

"NOTE.—The old silver coin of the realm, (however defaced or reduced in weight by use,) is received in payments at its nominal value, by all branches of the revenue, and at the Bank of Eng-

land, and will continue to be so, until it is exchanged for the new silver coinage.

"W. W. POLE,
"Master and Worker of his Majesty's
"Mint."

Weekly assistance afforded to the Spitalfields weavers:—

The associations distribute at the dwellings of the poor, in sums from 1s. to 5s. 6d. according to the urgency of their wants, among nearly 6,000 families..... nearly 1,000l.

For clothing, in addition to various benevolent contributions, both of old and new articles of clothing..... 150

Loss on the sale of about 7,000 quarts of soup per day, or about 40,000 per week..... 250.

Ditto on sale of cod (from three to four ton weight)... 15

Ditto on herrings (eight to ten barrels)..... 5

Ditto on rice (a ton weight)..... 25

Ditto on coals (1,500 bushels)..... 75

Wages and charges..... 10

Present weekly expenditure..... 1,530l.

On Saturday night, the 20th Jan. a tremendous gale was experienced at Plymouth, by which several vessels were driven on shore, some of which are entirely lost,—viz. his Majesty's schooner *Telegraph* under the Hoes, two of her crew reported to be lost. Sloop-of-war *Jasper* on the reef of Mount Batton, 80 men, women, and children drowned; two marines saved. The captain and carpenter were on shore. The *Princess Mary* packet in Deadman's Bay; the master, his wife, two children, and two marines drowned. Several small craft lighters, &c. have sunk in the harbour; and the greater part of the shipping have received more or less damage; boats were seen floating in the streets.

In the Newlynn pier, the damage done to the fishing boats only, is more than L.2000. Unfortunately it was at the top of the spring tide, which was very high, and swept every thing before it. A vessel, supposed from France, went ashore to the eastward of Lyme, and all the crew perished; another was wrecked to the westward, together with 17 fishing boats at the village of Bere. The spray beat over the church spire of Lyme at seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th; at eight, the walls, Breakwater, and about 200 feet of the centre part of the harbour gave way, and the stones cutting the cables of the ships, seven of them, besides several fishing boats, were driven on shore. The damage is estimated at L.30,000.

BRIGHTON, Jan. 12.—LOSS OF THE MISLETOE SLOOP—It is with poignant feelings of regret, that we learn the fact of the loss of this vessel has been ascertained by our fishermen. It appears, from their testimony, that the *Misletoe* must have sunk in the late heavy gales, whilst she was lying at anchor about nine miles off Rottingdean, near this town. The *Misletoe* had been cruising off this coast against smugglers, and she had a complement

of 40 picked men, commanded by Captain Blake. Every person on board perished; and what is more remarkable, none of the bodies have been washed ashore; this is accounted for from the prevalence of the eastern gales. She sunk in nine fathoms water. The masts are discernible at low water.

—The measure adopted in Edinburgh of a general subscription, in behalf of workmen suffering from the general depression of trade and commerce, has been followed in almost every town in Scotland, and in general the subscriptions have been liberal. In the course of this month, the committee of management in Edinburgh have had in their employment upwards of 1600 men. The wages were at first one shilling per day, besides an allowance of soup and meal to those who have families; but in consequence of the immense numbers of applicants, the committee have been obliged to reduce them to five shillings per week. The workmen are employed on the Calton Hill, Burntsfield Links, and in the North Loch. The improvements in progress are as follows: On the Calton Hill, forming serpentine walks, &c. to the Observatory, and Nelson's Monument, and making a spacious promenade round the hill, with an easy communication to the Regent's Road for the embellishment of this promenade Baillie Henderson has subscribed 500 plants, and provided a quantity of working implements at prime cost. In the North Loch, the men are sloping the bank on the south side eastward of the mound; are to form the whole into a bleaching-green, sink wells, &c.; and in Burntsfield Links they are levelling and enlarging the golf-ground. Nearly L.7000, including L.1000 from the Prince Regent, has been subscribed already in Edinburgh; in addition to which, Mr Allan has subscribed L.1000, the city of Edinburgh L.1000, and Heriot's Hospital, L.1000,

to be applied in making the Parliamentary Road from Picardy Place, to communicate with the London Road, near Piershill barracks, which undertaking will, it is expected, be speedily commenced. The committee, by an application to government, have obtained the use of a number of wheelbarrows, spades, &c. which were collected at the time of a threatened invasion, and afterwards deposited in the ordnance stores in the Castle.

“ST JAMES’S, *Monday, Jan. 27.*—Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cumberland was delivered at one o’clock this day of a still born female child, and is as well as can be expected. “HENRY HALFORD,

“CHARLES M. CLARKE.”

—The magistrates and inhabitants of Leeds have published a declaration, in which they say—

“We behold with detestation, wicked attempts to produce disaffection to the established form of government, by exciting popular assemblies, promoting political clubs, and thus setting the ignorant and uninformed in judgment over their rulers. Men of abandoned character, and desperate fortune, taking advantage of our commercial difficulties; and the unfavourableness of the seasons, sow discontent among the labouring classes of the community—vilify the high authorities of the state—dare to use openly language of intimidation, and to disparage the very charity, so liberally extended to the poor, during this period of unavoidable pressure. The difficulties under which we labour are attributed by them to the corruption and mismanagement of ministers; and general suffrage and annual parliaments (evils deprecated by the judicious of all parties) are held out as the only correctives; yet these would, in truth, lead to the subversion of the constitution, and to that disturbed state of public affairs, which has pro-

duced the most calamitous effects in a neighbouring nation.

“We contemplate with peculiar horror the organized system which the seditious have contrived for the furtherance of their designs, by the extensive circulation of inflammatory tracts and pamphlets; of these some are blasphemous parodies on the venerated forms of our holy religion, and which tend to root out of the minds of the unwary all fear of God, honour of the King, and reverence of the laws.

“Against these wicked conspiracies, we consider it the duty of all his Majesty’s faithful subjects to unite, and to quell the spirit of rebellion, by opposing to it the firm and dauntless front of loyalty.”

FEBRUARY.

A dispatch has been received from Governor Farquhar, containing a detailed account of the late destructive fire at the Mauritius, from which it appears that nineteen streets of Port Louis were entirely consumed. The fire was purely accidental, and its destructive ravages are to be attributed to its having occurred at the dry season of the year, and to the prevalence of a breeze, veering with violent gusts from time to time during the conflagration. Fortunately, from its breaking out early in the evening, few lives were lost; but a population of 20,000 persons has been reduced to want and beggary by the loss of every thing belonging to them. Among the public buildings destroyed are, the Catholic church, the barracks for the blacks, hospitals for the blacks, prisons for the blacks, large grain magazine, the colonial marine store-house, the public bazaar, the commercial exchange and building, called

the Bourse, the government printing-office, the former post-office, the police prisons, the military prisons and guard-houses, the out-houses of the government houses, the great cooperage, the timber and mast-yard, the weighing-yard, the guard-house in front of the military hospital, and the guard-house of the marine.

Farther particulars were received in a subsequent letter, of which the following is an extract:—"The conflagration which broke out about seven o'clock in the evening at Mr Dehais, advocate in Hospital-street, did not in the commencement give apprehension.—Assistance promptly arrived on the spot: but, as you know, Madam Quincy had in its vicinity an upper roomed house that should have been demolished; but whether it was thought the progress of the fire could be arrested, without proceeding to this extremity, or from the profound respect the government has for private property, the different chiefs deferred employing this last expedient until it became useless by the flames making their way into the house; at the same moment the flames spread to Messrs Castlelan and Caune's magazines, and thence traversing the street, reached the spacious and handsome house belonging to M. Peter, notary, which adjoining in the Rue de Corderie, all hope was lost of saving that portion of the town as far as the sea-side.—It was then the tumult and disorder inseparable from such scenes increased with the progress of the fire, and all assistance became useless—nothing was then thought of but the saving whatever articles of value were stored up in the different magazines, which, conveyed further off, became the cause of the fire that suddenly declared itself in Chapellais' house, and spread through that part of the town as far as the late M. Dubordc's house, near Trou Franfarok.—Nothing can, my dear sir, convey an idea of the con-

flagration at the moment of its progress through Rue de la Corderie towards the Exchange; and when making the circuit of Rues de l'Eglise and de Paris, it in its dreadful course consumed all the riches that industry and commerce had accumulated in the magazines which embellished that quarter of the town.

"Finally, after raging twelve hours, and when all had disappeared, the conflagration was arrested after destroying M. Amelin's house, Rues Royale, l'Eglise and Pamplermouses, the left side of that of Paris, ending with M. Amelins, and including the streets called Rue des Dames, de Chalons, de la Corderie, la Petite Montagne, de l'Hospital and la Rampe. It is over heaps of ashes, that we are obliged to pass from one quarter of the town to the other."

Radstock, near Bath, March 2.—On Friday last, the colliers in the neighbourhood of Radstock and Paul-ton, collected in a number of about 3000, and manifested some very serious symptoms of riot, and disposition to injure the pits and the buildings annexed to them, which spread the greatest consternation through the whole neighbourhood. Sir John Hippisley, accompanied by his brother magistrates, and several gentlemen, repaired to the spot, where he pointed out to them, in an impressive speech, the enormity of their offence. He read the riot-act;—it had no effect. They then proceeded and took possession of several of the works, and sent persons down into the pits to compel those who worked in them to be drawn up; and then administered an oath not to work any more until their grievances were redressed; and threatened that night to demolish the works. Sir John and the magistrates sent immediately for a troop of the 23d Lancers at Bristol, and the North Somerset Yeomanry, part of which arrived, and kept order

for that night ; and by day-break, the whole of the North Somerset yeomanry were on parade at Stone-Easton-house, and other places pointed out to them, so as to render assistance at every point where danger was apprehended. About nine o'clock, Sir John Hippisley, accompanied by a numerous assemblage of magistrates and gentlemen, proceeded to Paulton, where the men were said to be, who, on hearing of the approach of the military, retired to Clandown coal-pits ; and being pursued, retired to Radstock, where they made a stand, well furnished with immense bludgeons,—and on seeing the cavalry approaching, gave three cheers, and called out, “ Bread or Blood ;— Hunt for ever ! ” The cavalry here came up, and filing off to the right and left, surrounded them, when Sir John Hippisley and the magistrates came into the centre, and addressed them to the following effect :—He wished to know what they wanted ? They replied, “ full wages,—and that they were starving.” Sir John informed them, that the mode they had now adopted, by thus unlawfully assembling, was the very way to prevent any grievances they complained of being attended to : that he and his brother magistrates were determined to do their duty, and do it they would. Sir John stated to them, he was well informed, and knew, that their minds were inflamed by the disaffected, not only in speeches, but by parodies on the liturgy of the church, endeavouring not only to seduce them from their king, but from their God. Previous to Sir John Hippisley's reading the riot-act, he informed these infatuated men, that if they continued and remained one hour after the act was read, it would subject every person remaining to the sentence of death. He then read the riot-act, when four of the principal of these deluded men were secured, and sent to Ilchester prison, escorted by a

detachment of the North Somerset yeomanry cavalry, when the remainder dispersed.

DECLARATION OF THE MERCHANTS, BANKERS, TRADERS, &c. OF THE CITY OF LONDON.—“ We, the undersigned merchants, bankers, traders, and inhabitants of London, deem it to be incumbent on us to come forward with a declaration of our sentiments on the present crisis of public affairs.

“ We are far from being insensible to the evils which at present affect every class of the community, more especially the lower orders ; we are anxiously desirous that every practicable means may be used for alleviating their distresses ; and we entertain a sanguine hope, that the embarrassments with which we have to struggle, will, by the exercise of a wise and enlightened policy, be overcome ; and that the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country, will at no distant period revive and flourish.

“ We are satisfied at the same time, that nothing can tend more to retard the accomplishment of our wishes and hopes, than the endeavours which have recently been exerted, with too much success, by designing and evil-minded men, to persuade the people that a remedy is to be found in measures, which, under specious pretences, would effect the overthrow of the constitution. To these endeavours may be traced the criminal excesses which have lately disgraced the metropolis and other parts of the empire ; and the still more desperate and atrocious outrage which has recently been committed against the sacred person of the Prince Regent, on his return from opening Parliament, in the exercise of the functions of our revered monarch.

“ We cannot adequately express our abhorrence of these enormities, which, if not repressed, must lead to scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, too appalling to contemplate ; and we feel it to

be a solemn and imperious duty we owe to our country, to pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to support the just exercise of the authority of government, to maintain the constitution as by law established; and to resist every attempt, whether of craft or violence, that may be directed against our civil liberty and our social peace."

ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH,—*"To his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.*—May it please your Royal Highness,—We, his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and council of the city of Edinburgh, humbly beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, with sentiments of profound respect and attachment to your Royal Highness's person and government, and to express our detestation of the gross outrage offered to your Royal Highness, on your return from Parliament on Tuesday last.

"On this occasion, we feel not concern alone, but the greatest surprise, and the deepest indignation, that there should have been found a single individual in his Majesty's dominions capable of so flagitious an attack on the person of your Royal Highness; and these, we are convinced, are the sentiments of every real lover of his country; and of all those, who, like us, duly appreciate the blessings which all ranks and classes of the community enjoy from our inestimable constitution, and who feel a just and honest pride in belonging to an empire which, under your Royal Highness's sway, and through the wisdom and firmness of your government, has attained a degree of glory and renown unequalled in the annals of our history.

"We beg farther to express our abhorrence of the attempts made throughout the country, by wicked and designing persons, to excite dissatisfaction and disorder, and our determination to

support your Royal Highness's government, in defence of our invaluable constitution, by every means within our power.

"Signed in our name, and by our appointment, and the seal of the city affixed hereto, at Edinburgh, this 3d day of February 1817.

"WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT,
"Lord Provost."

So rapid and so extensive has been the exchange of the old silver for the new coinage, that the large hall given exclusively by the Bank of England for the public accommodation, was yesterday nearly empty, and three-fourths of the persons employed for the purpose of exchange were left entirely idle. No old coin appears in circulation. Thus, in a few days, an extensive coinage has been put into circulation, without creating the least confusion.

MARCH.

A melancholy accident happened in the lead mines belonging to Messrs Horner, Hurst, and Co. Leadhills, in the forenoon of the 1st instant, occasioned by the air being rendered impure from the smoke of a fire-engine, placed about 100 feet under ground. As soon as the danger was ascertained, two miners and the company's blacksmith descended to the relief of their neighbours below, when unfortunately the two miners perished in the humane attempt. Many of the miners were violently affected, almost to suffocation, but are now out of danger. We have since learned, that in all, seven lives have been lost by this melancholy accident.

—On Saturday night, 23d February, about eleven o'clock, eighteen men

were taken up under a Sheriff's warrant, in a small public-house at the head of the Old Wynd, Glasgow, and lodged in jail for examination. On being questioned as to the object of their meeting, they declared it was solely with a view of concerting measures for ascertaining the question how far they were entitled by law to parochial relief. A schoolmaster and a writer's clerk were in the company, the rest were apparently very poor people. Seven more men of the last description were taken up by warrants in the course of the night, and another on Monday; in all 26.

Tuesday morning, the 25th, at six o'clock, a man and his son, weavers in Anderston, charged with the same crime, were seized in their own house, by a party of peace-officers; but, as a crowd collected and menaced them, they were unable to leave the house until a small party of the 42d arrived to afford them protection. The prisoners readily obeyed the commands of the officers; but the crowd, by throwing stones and bricks, obstructed their progress, and it was thought necessary to discharge several shots. No person was injured by the balls but one boy. One of the police officers had a severe contusion from a stone, and some of his associates were slightly hurt. Three of the most forward of the assailants were taken into custody.

Two or three of these men have been since liberated, and several others arrested. After long and patient examinations before the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, assisted by H. Home Drummond, Esq. one of his Majesty's deputy advocates, the following 25 persons have been committed for trial, viz.—William Edgar, teacher in the Calton; John Keith, manager of a cotton-mill in the Calton; James Finlayson, jun. writer's clerk, Glasgow; William Simpson, spirit-dealer, Anderston; John M'Lauchlane; John Buchanan;

Hugh Cochran; Hugh Dickson; James Hood; James Robertson; Andrew Somerville; John Campbell; Andrew M'Kinlay; Peter Gibson, weavers, or other workmen; Robert Thom, weaver, Camlachie; Thomas Sinclair, and William Robertson, weavers, Govan; James Shields, weaver, Anderston; John Stewart, weaver, Glasgow; William Murray, and William Paul, weavers, Calton; James Harvey, and Roger Gordon, weavers, Anderston; William Irvin, weaver, Calton; David Smith, cotton-spinner, Calton.

They are accused of a treasonable plot or conspiracy, existing in and round Glasgow, of having attended secret meetings of persons sworn into said conspiracy, and of having taken or administered secret oaths, in violation of 52d Geo. III. chap. 104.

Several of these men, including Edgar and Finlayson, have been since brought to Edinburgh Castle, the gates of which have been shut; and no person is admitted but those belonging to, or having business in the garrison.

On the 11th March, David Dryburgh, teacher, Carmunnock, and on the 12th, John Johnston, warper, Hutchesontown, were committed to Glasgow jail, by warrant of the Sheriff, accused of treasonable practices.

On Friday, Feb. 28th, a printer at Ayr was brought before the Sheriff-depute, for printing and publishing the speeches and resolutions of the meeting at Tarbolton, and on giving bail for 60*l.* was liberated, on condition of bringing forward the person who brought in the manuscript.

Several printers and booksellers in Glasgow have also been arrested on charges of printing and publishing seditious pamphlets; and after being examined, were liberated on bail.

An extra Gazette is published every Thursday, filled with loyal addresses

and declarations from all parts of the kingdom. One lately published, contains, among many others, an address from the established clergy of London and Westminster, who declare, that “they cannot refrain from more particularly expressing their horror at the persevering endeavour, to poison the sources of virtuous sentiment, by means of blasphemous publications, adapted to the capacities of the ignorant, for the purpose of bringing contempt on religion, and thus preparing the way for the commission of the worst of crimes.”

Dover, March 17.—The Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia embarked this morning at nine o’clock, in the Royal Sovereign yacht, for Calais, after having, in the course of the last three months, visited most parts of Britain.

—Foreign papers reckon at this moment above 800 English families resident in the three cities of Florence, Leghorn, and Pisa. The number of young English who are receiving their education in various schools in Italy, may be estimated at 1500.

Numerous bodies of brigands still infest the roads of Italy, and render them almost impassable. The Italian courier, from Bellinzona to Ursern (in Switzerland) was assassinated, with his escort, near Arcole, on the 26th January; nor has his body been yet found, though his hat, covered with blood, was left on the spot. Many of the letters were discovered in a neighbouring wood, and all opened in which the robbers conceived any money was contained.

DRURY-LANE THEATRE.—From the official reports of the different committees, we learn that,

In the first year the receipts were.....	L. 79,925	14	0
In the second.....	68,389	3	0
In the third.....	61,585	8	5
In the fourth.....	49,586	17	0

Being a loss in the four years, of L. 30,319 17s.—

In the last year, compared with the first, the diminution in the receipts is 31,000l.

It has therefore been proposed and acceded to,

1st. That Drury-lane Theatre be let on lease, at the close of the present season, provided an adequate rent be offered, and valid securities can be obtained.

2d. That the general committee be directed to take immediate steps for letting the said property.

3d. That the general committee be requested to report the proceedings on this subject, at the annual meeting of the proprietors in May next.

In conformity to these resolutions, the committee has advertised to let the theatre for a number of years certain.

There are, in all, nine appeals to the House of Lords, from decisions of the Court of Session, respecting the leases of the late Duke of Queensberry’s property in Scotland. The Duke of Buccleuch, as the heir of entail of part of the Queensberry estates, brought several actions for setting aside the leases on that estate, as being granted in consideration of sums paid by the tenants at the commencement of the leases, instead of their being let at annual-rents, by which means the estates descended to the heirs of entail at less than one-fifth of their value. In the case of the Earl of Wemyss, it is stated, that the *March* estates, which are worth from 12,000l. to 14,000l. a-year, were let at less than 2000l.—the sums paid at first, in some instances, having amounted to ten, twelve, and fourteen times the reserved rent! These appeals are to be heard *seriatim*. The late Duke of Queensberry would have realized more money, if, instead of taking *grassums* or *fincs* for the renewal of the old leases, he had let his farms at the fair

rents of the time. A friend once took the liberty of stating this to the Duke, in the latter part of his life. "Perhaps you are right," said his Grace, with his usual urbanity of manner, "but who could have supposed that *I* should have *lived till now*?" He was then in his 84th year.

THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Milan, March 7.—The residence of the Princess of Wales here, soon after her removal from Como, furnished many subjects for conversation.

Baron Ompteda, who is now Hapoverian Minister at Rome, offended her Royal Highness by residing here, without any apparent motive for delay. She allowed herself to fancy, that he was directed to linger here by the English Minister, at a powerful German Court, to watch her conduct; and she applied to the Austrian government upon the matter. It is reported, that an intimation was accordingly given him, which was the occasion of his leaving Milan; but this was not done so speedily as to prevent his receiving a message from Captain —, one of her Royal Highness's suite; in consequence of which an *affair* is expected to take place, though Baron Ompteda declined it for the present.

Any report relative to the intercourse of her Royal Highness with England must, of course, be less certain, than information of what passes here; but it is added, that she has since written to Mr Canning, if not to Lord Liverpool, complaining of being apparently watched; imputing her departure from England to the advice of the former gentleman, seconded by her own desire, to avoid being the occasion of any uneasiness; and concluding by a hint at the probability of her return.

I am not well informed as to the offence given to her Royal Highness at Como; but it is not expected she will

reside there again. The villa cost 5000*l.*; the improvements nearly as much.

In the suite of her Royal Highness are actually a few Mamelukes, who act as her guard, and who escorted her, armed at all points, and in full costume, whenever she went to the theatre. Another person, who is in her employment, if not actually in her suite, is an Italian lawyer, who is writing her travels in the East, which will be published in Italian and in French.

The Princess did not reside within the gates of Milan, but in a villa about a mile and a half from it, called the Villa-Bergamo, belonging to the Baron de Bergamo. Of this personage I am not able to give you a perfect account, but his sister (formerly a house-maid) attends the Princess as *Dame d'Honneur*, and the Baron himself acts as *Chevalier d'Honneur*. Some other branches of the family fill other situations in the Princess's household. The title of Baron was conferred upon him by some German Prince; but the Order of Malta, though properly tenable only by persons of noble birth, had been obtained for him of the Grand Master; and he is also Grand Master of the Order of Caroline, instituted by the Princess. The Court at Vienna, having learned that he is not noble by birth, has forbidden him to wear the Order of Malta in the Austrian dominions.

The visit of her Royal Highness to the Ex-*Empress* Maria Louisa, at Parma, was unexpected. She was, however, invited to dinner, but, upon her carrying thence nearly the whole of her suite, the Austrian arch-duchess pleaded the etiquette of the Court of Vienna against the reception of them at table, and their highnesses dined alone. William Austin was in the number of her attendants, and the Princess asked permission of Maria

Louisa to purchase an estate for him in the territory of Parma.

In one of the processions of the Carnival, the Princess's coachman attempted to break the line of carriages on the Corso, but was resolutely and successfully opposed. Her Royal Highness soon after left the neighbourhood, without giving a grand masked ball, which had been announced.

Extract of a letter from Munich, Mar. 11.—"Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales arrived here to-day from Milan. After looking at several hotels for a suitable residence, she alighted at the hotel *du Cerf*. The Court offered her apartments in the royal palace, but the Princess has for the present refused the offer, as she has not yet determined whether she shall make any stay at Munich. It is said, however, that orders have been given to prepare apartments for her Royal Highness in the palace. As the French journals have announced, that she will not return to England, we are almost tempted to believe that she will remain some time at Munich, and that she will then undertake some new expedition. It must be confessed that this Princess is one of the phenomena of our age."

SPAIN.—The earthquake which was felt at Barcelona on the 18th March at eleven o'clock in the morning, was likewise felt on the same day at Lerida, at Saragossa, and at Madrid. At Saragossa it was experienced some minutes before, and at Madrid some minutes after the shock at Barcelona; but in the two latter cities much more strongly than in the former. At Saragossa the concussion was so violent as to throw down a painting in the chapel of the Virgin of the Pillar, during the performance of mass; the people were frightened and fled from the church. At Madrid the commotion was still more alarming, and

was felt particularly at the Royal Manufactory of porcelain at the Retiro, an edifice almost ruined during the war. There it overthrew a wall that killed two men. A violent shock was likewise felt at the Palace of Justice. The judges who were sitting, deserted the hall, which trembled around them. The weather at Barcelona continued clear and serene, and the air had recovered its usual temperature.

This event, it appears, was more disastrous than at first stated. By letters recently received, we learn, that not only some villages have suffered by the earthquake, but that the whole town of Arnedillo, in Old Castile, has been buried under the fall of a neighbouring mountain; that the whole inhabitants have perished, and that nothing but the top of the belfry is seen above the ruin.

Lausanne, March 27.—We neither in truth know what passes upon or under our earth. It trembles every where. We are reaping in the midst of winter,—it freezes in spring,—the thunderbolt falls amid the snow—we know no more of the matter. These phenomena have been felt over all Savoy, but particularly at Des Ouches, in the valley of Chamouni, where they have been attended with great disasters. So early as the 17th of January an earthquake was felt there. On the 19th a second, and on the 20th a third convulsion. From the 1st to the 8th of March, a violent wind from the south alarmed the whole valley. On the 8th an enormous avalanche destroyed a forest of fir trees, and overthrew a house, which this forest covered and appeared to protect. Of five persons, by whom it was inhabited, only two escaped: these were children; the father, mother, and daughter, perished in the snows. On the 11th a great earthquake was felt; the concussion shattered the roofs of the churches of Des Ouches and St Gervais: it over-

turned furniture and vases: its violence excited general terror when joined to the frightful breaking of the glaciers. At the same time lightning was seen on Mont Blanc, and a vivid light in an opposite quarter of the horizon. On the 11th and 12th, subterraneous noises were prolonged during the whole night. Eleven concussions succeeded, and continued to the rising of the sun. On the 13th new commotions were felt at ten o'clock in the morning, a second at 11, a third at ten minutes past two in the afternoon, a fourth towards evening, and a fifth at midnight. On the 14th the shaking of the earth was repeated at seven o'clock in the morning, and was followed about mid-day with a fresh concussion.

On the 13th, in a village of Chancy, near Geneva, a lamentable accident happened, which appeared to be in consequence of these commotions: several labourers were employed in enlarging the road, and filling up a chasm made by the Rhone, when, on a sudden, a hill of sand rolled down and buried two of them.

Liverpool, March 29.—The inhabitants of Liverpool were much surprised, at the beginning of the present week, to learn that the celebrated Mr Cobbet and his two sons had arrived at this port, with the intention of embarking for the United States of America. A passage, it appears, had been previously taken for three gentlemen, in the ship *Importer*, Captain Ogden, for New York, but their names had not been mentioned. The *Importer*, with these gentlemen on board, left this port on Thursday last, having been towed out of the river by one of the steam-boats.

The following is a correct copy of his farewell address:—

TO THE PUBLIC.

“*Liverpool, March 26, 1817.*—
“My departure for America will sur-

prise nobody but those who do not reflect. A full and explicit statement of my reasons will appear in a few days, probably on the 5th of April. In the mean while, I think it necessary for me to make known, that I have fully empowered a person of respectability, to manage and settle all my affairs in England. I owe my countrymen most sincere regard, which I shall always entertain for them in a higher degree than towards any other people upon earth. I carry nothing from my country but my wife and children, and surely *they* are my own, at any rate. I shall always love England better than any other country: I will never become a subject or citizen of any other state; but I and mine were not born under a government having the absolute power to imprison us at its pleasure; and, if we can avoid it, we will neither live nor die under such an order of things. If I have not taken leave of numerous friends in London and in the country, it was because I should have been made unhappy by their importunities, and the expressions of their sorrow. I make an enormous sacrifice of property and of feelings; but when my heart feels the tugs of friendship, and of all the interesting objects in Hampshire, it is reconciled to the loss, by the thought, that I can enjoy them only during the pleasure of a Secretary of State. When this order of things shall cease to exist, then I shall again see England.

“WM. COBBETT.”

APRIL.

EXPLOSION OF THE NORWICH STEAM PACKET.—On Thursday morning, April 3, a melancholy accident occurred at Norwich. One of the steam-packets which pass daily from that city to Yar-

mouth, having started about nine o'clock, with about twenty passengers on board, before it had proceeded thirty yards, one end of the great boiler gave way, with a tremendous explosion, by which nearly the whole vessel was instantly blown into atoms, little being left but the keel and flooring; and, shocking to relate, nearly half the passengers fell an immediate sacrifice. The mangled bodies of eight of them presented a horrid spectacle to the crowd, which soon assembled. Six others who had sustained serious injury were conveyed to the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. John Diggons, the engineer, who was standing over the boiler, and in the act of fastening a screw, when the explosion happened, together with a passenger walking on the deck, an infant two months old, and one or two women, taken out of the river, were amongst the few that escaped unhurt; the infant was found sleeping at the bottom of the vessel, after the wreck had been cleared. The magistrates have undertaken to investigate the cause of this dreadful catastrophe, and there is no doubt that it will be found to have originated in negligence or error. The fire was forced too much in order to increase the power of the machinery at the first going off, and the weight which regulates the safety-valve had not been applied before the starting of the vessel. Notwithstanding this shocking catastrophe, the other steam packets were full of passengers on Monday.

PARIS.—A patient and laborious moralist, who is said to be engaged on a *History of Modern Manners*, has amused himself with drawing up an epitome and classification of all the subjects introduced during the past year into those journals of the French capital, which reckon most on the frivolity of the public, and the indulgence of their

readers. The result of the investigation is as follows:—

“In the papers in question the chambermaids of the Boulevards, and the actresses on tours in the departments, occupy twelve times as much space as the princesses and other distinguished females of Europe put together. The statistics of the Theatre de Bruncy exceeds, by twenty-two pages, the history of the Session of the two Chambers. The sum total of the articles devoted to the Odeon, surpasses by one-half all that has been written in the same journals on liberty of person and of the press, on the finances, commerce, and agriculture. Four times as much anxiety has been expressed concerning the retirement of an actress from the Vaudeville, as on the effect of the inundations and the high price of provisions. The performances for the benefit of our players fill 1840 pages, while 72 lines only could be spared for our system of Loans and our Sinking Fund. Mademoiselle Mars and Mesdames Duret and Catalani, have had for their share two thirds of the whole contents of the annals of 1816; and it is calculated that in 1817, they will not have less than four fifths.”

New bands of brigands have shewn themselves on the roads from Rome to Naples. The road from Rome to Florence is equally infested. The Papal government redoubles its activity to re-establish the public safety.

MILAN, *March 28*.—Between the canton of Tessin and the Italian frontier, a band of robbers has lately assembled, whose number amounts to nearly 2000. They chiefly consist of disbanded soldiers, who formerly belonged to the Italian regiments in Buonaparte's service, and are headed by the *ci devant* General Lecchi, who, in his military career, obtained considerable renown.

The depredations of banditti are

daily increasing. The three following places are infested by bands of robbers; namely, the frontiers of the Papal territories in Naples, the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, and the southern frontier of Switzerland:

—Thursday, April 17, came on, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, the election of a Peer to sit in Parliament, as one of the representatives of the Scots nobility, in the room of George William, Earl of Rothes, deceased.

After the usual ceremonies had been gone through, and the votes marked, the election was declared to have fallen on the Marquis of Lothian, by a majority of fifteen, there being

• FOR THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

Present	9
Signed lists	24
	—33

FOR THE MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE.

Present	4
Signed lists	13
Proxy	1
	—18

Majority	15
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PEERS PRESENT.

*Marquis of Tweeddale
 Marquis of Lothian,
 *Earl of Moray
 *Earl of Home
 *Earl of Haddington
 Earl of Wemyss
 *Earl of Findlater and Baulf
 *Earl of Leven
 *Earl of Marchmont
 *Lord Gray
 Lord Torphichen
 *Lord Elibank
 Lord Rollo

Those marked thus * voted for the Marquis of Lothian.

The following Peers transmitted signed lists to vote for the Marquis of Lothian:—

Duke of Buccleuch
 Duke of Atholl
 Duke of Montrose

Duke of Roxburghe
 Marquis of Queensberry
 Earl of Caithness
 Earl of Morton
 * Earl of Strathmore
 Earl of Kelly
 Earl of Dumfries
 Earl of Elgin
 Earl of Balcarras
 Earl of Aboyne
 Earl of Dunmore
 Earl of Glasgow
 Earl of Portmore
 Earl of Hopetoun
 Viscount Arbuthnot
 Viscount Dunblane
 Lord Forbes
 Lord Sinelair
 Lord Somerville
 Lord Napier
 Lord Forrester

The following for the Marquis of Tweeddale:—

Duke of Gordon
 Duke of Argyll
 Earl of Errol
 Earl of Eglinton
 Earl of Cassillis
 Earl of Lauderdale
 Earl of Kinnoul
 Earl of Kintore
 Earl of Aberdeen
 Earl of Stair
 Earl of Roseberry
 Lord Blantyre
 Lord Reay

Lord Bellhaven sent a proxy to the Earl of Wemyss, who voted for the Marquis of Tweeddale.—Total votes 51.

Lord Saltoun's signed list was rejected, for want of a legal formality in one of the documents.

After the election was announced, the Marquis of Lothian rose and addressed the Peers in nearly the following words:—

“My Lords, I rise to thank you for the honour you have done me, and I trust I shall always be found to act

worthy of that honour—had it been otherwise, I should have had the satisfaction to strike my colours to a noble hero.”

—We never had to record a more heart-rending calamity than what occurred on Monday the 21st, on Lavan Sands. A number of poor persons, consisting of two men, three women, and three children, went, as was their usual custom at this season, to collect cockles on the above sands. The day had been remarkably clear, but towards the evening an uncommonly thick fog arose, of which they were admonished to beware before they set out, and it was observed very visibly collecting in the distant horizon. The consequence was, as may be anticipated, they could not find their way back, night was coming on, and the distance from any succour being nearly four miles, their cries could not be heard. After wandering in vain for several hours, they all perished on the return of the tide! The coroner’s inquest sat on the bodies of these unfortunate sufferers, who were placed in Aber church; and certainly a more afflicting sight can hardly be conceived—husbands lamenting the loss of wife and children, and wives lamenting the loss of husbands and children! One woman and a little girl are not yet found. The party consisted of eight persons: those found are, Ellen Roberts and her daughter, from the parish of Llanllechid, the daughter only arriving last week from Liverpool to see her parents, and has left an infant only three months old; two labouring men, one with a son, and the other with a daughter; the last, a little girl only fourteen years old, was found kneeling, with her hands folded across her bosom, close to the prostrate body of her father! The two men had large families; one had seven children. They were discovered close together. The sea was so calm, and the tide flowed so gently,

that the men were found with their hats on.

MAY.

WATERLOO PRIZE MONEY.—The following sums will be issued next week, to the gallant officers and men who fought at Waterloo, being their respective shares of the million of money granted to them as prize money by Parliament:—

Commander to forces,			
about	L.60,000	0	0
General officers	1,502	0	0
Field officers	402	0	0
Captains	90	0	0
Subalterns	33	0	0
Serjeants	19	0	0
Rank and file	2	10	0

The committee appointed for receiving and deciding on the merits of the designs offered for the Waterloo and Trafalgar monuments, have held their final meeting, when Messrs Wilkins, Gandy, and Smirke, attended with their designs, exhibiting the various alterations suggested by the committee. The report to the Treasury was agreed on, and the buildings will be immediately carried into execution. The monuments are each to be about 280 feet high: the additional cost of the Waterloo is occasioned principally by embellishments and sculpture. The design for Trafalgar is a plain octangular structure, 45 feet in diameter at the base, raised upon a magnificent flight of steps, and surmounted with a naval coronet. The Waterloo is an ornamental tower of three orders of columns, around the base of which is a circular colonnade.

The situations for placing the national monuments are said to be, Green-

wich for the naval, and Portland-place, in the circle next the New-road, and facing the Regent's-park, for the military.

—The wreck of the Royal George at Portsmouth, was examined several times lately in a diving bell, so that a clear judgment may be formed as to the best means for breaking her to pieces. It appears on an inspection of her more interior parts, that her timbers which have fallen in and collapsed, and prevented the constant action of the tides upon them, have so strongly imbibed the more corruptive ingredients of the water and mud, that they are reduced to a fungous state, and emit the most offensive smell. One of the channel and chain-plates have been brought up and conveyed to the Dock-yard.

The following is from a private letter:—

“The weather being favourable, Mr Fisher went down in the diving-bell, with two men, at the time of slack water, at Spithead, to examine the wreck of the Royal George, and at the depth of about eight fathoms they made fast a chain to a part of the wreck, and sent up a note from the bell, in a small wooden buoy, with directions for a six-inch rope to be lowered to them, which they hooked to the chain, for the purpose of this part of the wreck being afterwards hove up to the vessel above. They then continued their survey, and were moved about in different directions, by signals given by a certain number of blows with a hammer on the inside of the bell, which are distinctly heard and understood by the attendants above. In lowering the bell down to the full extent of the leather hose, through which it was supplied with air, about nine fathoms, a circumstance occurred which was rather alarming to the spectators, as the hose gave way, and no

more air could be supplied. But there was no danger in this, as there is a valve in the bell, to prevent the escape of the air up the hose, and the bell itself contained sufficient air to last the men forty minutes, without a farther supply by the pump; and Mr Carrol, the master of the vessel, who directed the operations above, immediately, with the greatest coolness, caused the bell to be raised to the surface, which operation was performed in about seven minutes. The hose being made good, the bell was lowered a second time, when a lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte was admitted as one of the party, and they brought up a small piece of the wreck. The part of the wreck that was slung, being afterwards hove up, appears to be a considerable part of one of the channels, with a chain-plate, the wood work much destroyed by the worms, and the iron work much corroded.

“Mr Fisher went down again in the bell afterwards at the time of slack water, to the depth of ten fathoms, but the tide soon turning, rendered it difficult to steer the bell so as to survey the wreck; it was consequently safely hove up again, after being down about forty minutes. A gentleman belonging to the dock yard, who requested Mr Fisher to let him accompany him down, reports, that he felt quite comfortable below, and that there was sufficient light to enable him to read small print. While below he wrote a note, which he sent up as a proof of his statement.”

May 10.—The Isle of Man Gazette of the 24th ult. gives us a shocking detail of a conspiracy in Douglas to murder a Mr Grierson, in which six persons are implicated, who have all been apprehended, and lodged in Castle Rushen gaol, namely, Sir Francis Buller, Bart. of Devonshire, (only son of the late Judge Buller); the

Rev. Godfrey Gilbert Cooper, a native of Devonshire; Anthony Simonds, brother-in-law of Mr Grierson; Henry Roberts, coffeehouse-keeper in Douglas; Alexander Robinson, his waiter; and Richard Rimmer, servant to the Rev. G. G. Cooper. Mr Grierson, it appears, had made several endeavours to draw his relative from the impure society of Buller and the others, and, in revenge, they had instigated Simonds to shoot him. Mr G. was severely, and, it was feared, mortally wounded.

BIRMINGHAM.—On the 15th a most destructive fire broke out in this town, at the extensive mills called Water-Shut mills, which are situate at the side of the Birmingham Canal. In a few hours, so violent were the flames, and so extremely violent in their extension, that this vast pile of buildings, which occupy a space of ground as large as the Haymarket in London, were entirely consumed. The value of the property is supposed not to be less than 200,000*l*.

—Letters from Upper Austria speak of a sect formed there, called Petzelians, from the name of the founder, Petzel, a priest of Brannau. Atrocious accounts are related of this sect. In imitation of the Spenceans of England, they preach the equality and community of property, and they sacrifice (I dare scarcely touch upon these horrors) men, to purify others from their sins. It is added, that this sect sacrificed, during Passion Week, several men, who died in the most horrible torments. A girl of thirteen was put to death in the village of Afflewang, on Good Friday. Seven men have been the victims of this abominable faith. The author of this sect, Petzel, with eighty-six followers, are arrested. Military detachments have been quartered in the villages, and tranquillity has been restored to

the hearts of the wretched inhabitants. Petzel has been sent to the fortress of Spielberg.

May 19.—MOORISH PRIVATEERS IN THE NORTH SEAS.—An occurrence of considerable interest has taken place within these few days. Two piratical vessels, under the Tunisian flag, have had the temerity to venture so far from home as the North Seas, where they have made several captures. Happily, however, these robbers have already received some chastisement from one of our cruizers, the Alert armed brig, which has not only re-captured two of their prizes, but taken one of their corvettes, of eighteen or twenty guns, which having sent into Margate Roads, she immediately proceeded in pursuit of the other pirate.

JUNE.

HANAU, June 7.—The sectarian spirit is very inventive when exerted for escaping from the search of authority. It is known with what severity the police of Bavaria has pursued the disciples of Petzel, whose fanaticism it was thought they had for ever annihilated. In the mean time, the town of Wurzburg has lately witnessed a measure of police, which proves that the authorities ought never to repose on the pretended docility of sectaries. —There were about an hundred of them at Wurzburg, and a good number has been seized in a house situated on the left bank of the Mein, and were brought off in several chariots, and under a very strong escort. These fanatics were surprised, when, clothed in costumes more or less ridiculous and fantastic, they were about to commence their mystic ceremonies, and

perhaps the abominations of which they have been accused. In these disguises they have been brought in. It is said that the commune of Heidingfield, situated half a league from Wurzburg, is infested with these sectaries. Some persons have been arrested, in whose houses objects were found which caused them to be very seriously suspected.

June 23.—EXCESSIVE HEAT.—The heat experienced in and around the metropolis during the last three days, has not been equalled in any summer during the last nine years. The mean temperature in London and Westminster has been 83 and 84 in the shade, and from 108 to 110 in exposed situations. This is the temperature most usual at Calcutta. In the environs of London, vegetation has, in consequence, put on a most luxuriant and promising appearance within the last week, and unless the heat and drought continue beyond a reasonable period, the crops will be excessive. Nine horses lay dead on the Epsom road yesterday, from the excessive heat of the weather.

EDINBURGH, *June 14*.—On Tuesday forenoon, about twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, a tremendous storm of hail and rain, with thunder and lightning, passed over this city. The lightning was remarkably vivid and brilliant; the hail was in large pieces, which, with the rain, descended in torrents. The thunder broke upon Mr Ballantyne's printing-office, which stands lofty and detached. The charged cloud, as it rolled to the eastward, struck the nearest and highest part of the building, tore a few slates from the roof, and dispersed them; but this was almost the only injury done; and the lightning now found a conductor in the contiguous leaden pipe that descended along the wall to the ground, where it discharged, at the same time, a torrent of water. At

the first joint of that pipe, a small portion of the outer fold of the lead is rent, and rolled back like a ribband; and at the next joint, about a yard lower, a round hole, nearly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, is burst out, with a projecting and burred edge. Nobody belonging to the establishment was hurt, although the effect produced upon those in the house was of the most appalling description. At the time the thunder broke, the noise of the shock was incomparably louder than that of the loudest artillery. It seemed as if the building were wrapt and enveloped in it, and several of the men thought they felt the shock. The chimney of an adjoining property, occupied by Messrs Grieve and Scott, as a hat-manufactory, was also struck down. A girl sitting near one of the windows of the Sessional School, Leith-Wynd, was so much affected on one side of her face, that it is thought she will lose the sight of one of her eyes; and a marine, who had been to Musselburgh on duty, was also struck by the lightning; one of his sides is so much affected, that it is likely he will lose all power of it. A house at Nottingham-Place was so much shaken, that all the bells were set a-ringing; and a woman was struck down, but luckily not hurt. The large granary at Lochrin distillery was also struck, but saved by the conductors. A house at Saughton, about two miles west from Edinburgh, has also been struck, but without any material injury. We have not heard of any lives being lost. Immediately after the storm had subsided, the surrounding heights exhibited for a short time all the appearance of winter, being capped with snow or hail-stones. About four o'clock another storm passed in the same direction, but it was neither so violent, nor so long in duration.

An account of the number of persons now in confinement in Great

Britain, by warrant of either of the Secretaries of State, or of six Privy-Councillors, detained under the provisions of an Act passed in the present session of Parliament, for enabling his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government, with the places of their confinement:—Gaol at Reading, 3; Tothill-fields Bridewell, 3; Gaol at Horsemonger-lane, for the county of Surrey, 4; Gaol at Chelmsford, 4; Gaol at Gloucester, 2; House of Correction, for the county of Middlesex, 13; Gaol at Exeter, for the county of Devon, 3.—Total, 32.

ST PETERSBURG, *June 17.*—We, Alexander I., by the grace of God, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c.—Desiring to afford to the merchants greater means for the facilitating and extending their commercial operations, we have thought fit, instead of the now existing Discount Bank, whose influence, on account of the smallness of its capital, and the several defects observed in its constitution, is of no visible use, to establish an *Imperial Commercial Bank*. In consequence of this resolution, we have commissioned the Master of Finance to lay before the Council of State, for its consideration, all the plans necessary to be prepared on this subject. Now having taken the advice of our Council of State, we agree as follows:—

I. Thirty millions of roubles, of the capital of the crown, are placed at the disposal of the Commercial Bank. [Here follows the statements of the items of which this capital is to be formed.]

II. The Commercial Bank is allowed to take money, 1st, on interest for circulation, according to the same principles as in the Loan Bank; 2d, To deposit and to transfer from one person to another, the sums inscribed

by private persons, according to the books of the Bank.

III. The Commercial Bank gives loans on Russian goods, according to the principles of the Discount Office, and accepts bills, but in this case taking the per centage according to the course of commercial operations.

IV. Half of the directors to consist of public officers, and half of merchants.

V. The Commercial Bank shall be opened on the 1st of January next year.

VI. At the same time we hereby issue the regulations of the Commercial Bank, confirmed by us. We take it under our protection, and guarantee with our imperial word the integrity of the capitals which shall be entrusted to it by private persons; as also that the rights of every person to the same shall remain inviolate. With the opening of the Commercial Bank, we shall not fail to increase the resources of the Loan Bank, and to regulate it in a manner suitable to its destination, in order, by the united influence of these establishments on the strengthening of private credit, to contribute to the extension of agriculture, of industry, and of commerce, and in general to the advantage of our dearly beloved country, in whose prosperity we place the reward of our exertions and our glory.

ALEXANDER.

ST PETERSBURGH, *June 18.*—For the improvement of this city, and for the convenience of the foot-passengers, broad *trottoirs* of flag-stones are now laying down before the houses, in all the streets; they are separated from the carriage-way by a railing of cast-iron, which, as the streets are very broad and straight, has an extremely pleasing effect.

RICHMOND STEAM YACHT.—On the 28th, about half past six o'clock,

the steam boiler of the above yacht burst at the top, and injured three persons in a dangerous manner. The yacht was injured on Saturday week in a slight degree, and had been repaired to render it fit to perform its passage. It fortunately had no persons on board at the time the event occurred, except the persons who navigated and conducted it. The shock was very great, but the injury done to the vessel was very slight. The top of the engine boiler was blown off by the explosion. The yacht had been prepared to sail on Monday. The conductors had been rowing it up the river; and when it had got about an hundred yards above Westminster-bridge, the accident unfortunately took place. Mr Arnold, the conductor of the yacht, was near the boiler when it burst, and was injured in a shocking manner. Two labourers belonging to the yacht were injured in a less degree. They were all conveyed on shore by a waterman who was near when the accident happened, and taken to St Thomas's hospital, in the Borough.

JULY. .

CANTERBURY, *July 2.*—"The Regent steam-packet, on her passage from London to Margate this day, took fire off Whitstable, three miles from the shore. The boatman at Whitstable immediately put off to her assistance, and succeeded in safely landing all the passengers and crew of the vessel; but a very small part of the luggage was saved. There were about sixty passengers on board, and their alarm at the fearful situation in which they were placed, may be more easily conceived than expressed. Many of the passen-

gers have reached Canterbury this evening."

July 4.—DREADFUL EXPLOSION OF FIRE-DAMP.—On Monday forenoon, last, a dreadful blast occurred at Haraton Row pit, belonging to Mr Lambton, by which 38 men and boys were killed. There were 41 in the mine at the time, six of whom were brought to the bank alive, but three of them died soon afterwards. The other three were much injured, but it is expected will recover. Two of the sufferers were blown out of the shaft of the pit (82 fathoms in depth,) and their remains were found at some distance from the mouth—the head of one of them separated from the body, and found 50 yards off in a corn field; the back of the head of the other was also torn off, probably by striking against something in the shaft. The shaft continued for some minutes to emit a dense cloud of black smoke and coal dust, the smell of which remained on the herbage a mile and a half distant from the pit, for several hours after. Most of the sufferers lived at Painshaw: there are ten of the name of Hill—grandfather, one of his sons, seven grandsons, and an adopted son. Seven widows are left, but the sufferers being mostly young, there are very few children. This dreadful accident was caused entirely by the perverse obstinacy of a young man named John Moody, one of the hewers, who, in defiance of the orders of the overman, refused to use Sir H. Davy's lamp, and lighted a candle, which was twice put out by the workmen whom he was to relieve, but he re-lighted it by unscrewing the lamp, and thus sacrificed his own and the lives of his companions. In his way to the shaft, Cowans, the relieved workman, met one of the overmen, and gave him notice of Moody's conduct; but before he could reach the place, the fatal blast occurred.—Cowans got to the bank in safety.

They were working the “ pillars” of the mine, and none of them were more than one hundred and forty yards from the shaft. It is to be regretted that there is a great indisposition among the miners to the use of the lamp, the light being rather inferior ; and there appears a necessity for some legislative provision to prevent the use of candles entirely in such dangerous places as coal mines.—An inquest was the next day holden on the bodies. The verdict was, “ that the deceased had got their deaths by an explosion of fire-damp, occasioned by the using of candles, instead of safety lamps, contrary to orders given ”—On Wednesday afternoon six more men, who were reinstating the air stoppings that had been swept away by the blast, were suffocated in the same mine, by the after-damp (carbonic acid gas) which commonly succeeds the explosion of hydrogenous gas. There were eight men altogether whom the fixed air seized ; but on the bodies being got out on Thursday evening, two were alive, though but faint hopes were entertained of their recovery.

—Statement of the quantity of porter brewed by the 12 principal houses, from July 5, 1816, to July 1817 :

	Barrels.
Barclay, Perkins and Co.....	281,484
Hanbury and Co.....	168,757
Reid and Co.....	157,131
Whitbread and Co.....	151,888
Henry Menx and Co.....	124,823
Combe, Delafield and Co.....	110,776
Calvert and Co.....	98,301
Goodwyn and Co.....	60,307
Elliott and Co.....	55,163
Taylor and Co.....	42,920
Golden-lane Brewery.....	25,756
Hollingsworth.....	7,029

The following is the quantity of ale brewed by the seven principal ale brewers in London, from the 5th July, 1816, to the 5th July, 1817 :

	Barrels.
Stretton and Co.....	25,051
Wyatt and Co.....	18,119
Charrington.....	16,886
Coding.....	12,352
Hale.....	7,763
Ball.....	7,048
Whitmore.....	4,023

—The Duchess of Berri was safely delivered on the 13th July of a daughter ; but the child only lived two days.

—The French papers mention a highway robbery on a grand scale, committed by a band of armed ruffians, on the great road between Pagny-sur-Meuse and Void, in the territory of Troussey. The persons attacked are said to have been Lord Clanwilliam and Captain Gordon, who were travelling from Vienna to London, by way of Paris, and, as the French journals assert, on a diplomatic mission. The travellers, being taken by surprise, were stripped of every article in their possession ; and then, with their servants, they were suffered to pursue their journey. The gendarmerie and national guards of the district were soon put to motion to trace out the robbers, and hopes were entertained that they would in the end succeed. The ruffians were no less than seven in number ; one of whom was observed by Captain Gordon to keep at a distance from the carriage, and to be occasionally consulted by the rest. Lord Clanwilliam’s losses on this occasion were of various kinds, and of considerable value.

—On the 16th ult. a memorial was presented to the Diet at Frankfort, from the Senates of the Hanse Towns, describing the extensive depredations committed by the Tunisian, and other Barbary cruizers, in the North Sea. The memorial acknowledges with gratitude the interference in several instances of British men-of-war, and the consequent recovery of their booty from the pirates. The concurrence of the other maritime powers of Europe,

in adopting measures for restoring the security of navigation, is earnestly entreated, and the various evils to which any farther submission to the ravages of the barbarians must expose the German nation, are detailed at considerable length. The Diet unanimously declared, that their respective High Courts and constituents should be informed of these circumstances, that they might take the most effectual means for the protection of German commerce and interests; and a commission of five members was immediately appointed to prepare a joint opinion, on which the report of the Diet is to be founded.

—Mr Sadler, junior, ascended from the Cavalry Barrack, near Dublin, on the 22d inst. at forty minutes past one P. M., and landed at about a mile and a half from Holyhead, at half-past seven P. M. having crossed the Irish Channel in about six hours. Mr Sadler effected his descent in perfect safety, in a corn field, being six hours and five minutes from the time of his ascent. He experienced various contrary currents of air, and perfect calms, with the extremes of heat and cold. Mr Sadler returned to Dublin this morning. Thus, for the first time, has the perilous attempt of crossing the Channel been accomplished by a youth, not yet in his twenty-second year.

BERLIN.—That fine building, the Royal National Theatre, in this city, is destroyed. This forenoon, between twelve and one, a fire suddenly broke out in the right wing, which spread so rapidly, that in half an hour the whole building was in flames. A violent wind blowing towards the buildings of the Royal Commercial Establishment, excited great alarm for that also, for a large firebrand was carried to a part of it, and had nearly set fire to two of the houses.

The keeper of the theatre has saved but few of his effects. It was not pos-

sible to think of saving the wardrobe, the decorations, the library, or the music, because in the wing the fire broke out there were ten hogsheads of clarified oil, which it was also impossible to bring away, and which kept up for many hours a tremendous flame. We have to thank the activity of the firemen and of the police, that the two churches, between which the theatre stood, as well as the neighbouring houses, did not also become the prey of the flames. Burning coals, carried by the wind, were found in several distant streets. The damage is estimated at above a million and a half (of crowns probably.) When the post set off the lower story was still burning, but the greatest danger was over.

PETERSBURGH.—The erection and active support of schools in the whole extent of the empire, of universities and other establishments of the sciences, for which the nation are indebted to the wisdom and liberality of the Emperor Alexander, since his accession to the throne, has already produced the most beneficial results.

Even in the most remote districts, among the uncultivated regions of Siberia, there has been diffused and awakened, by means of these schools, a desire for learning and instruction, and a taste for mental improvement, as the following facts from the government of Irkutsk, which are published officially by the Board of National Education, will shew:—

“A peasant named Rowoscloff, of the village Wolostomask, has expended there 5000 rubles in erecting a building for a school—565 for supporting it for five years, and 402 for the purchase of books and other necessary articles. Another person of the name of Ramaroff, of the 12th class, has contributed for the support of a school for five years 2825 rubles, and for the purchase of literary aid, 533. Another head of a village advanced for the

building of a school 1000 rubles, and for its maintenance for six years 2280. Another of the name of Ehamakoff, together with his assistant, Ehaltanoff, have contributed a house for a school, worth 3000 rubles, for supporting it five years 550, and for the purchase of literary aids 492.

AUGUST.

On Friday, August 1st, the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh conferred the degree of doctor in medicine on no fewer than 92 gentlemen, who had previously gone through the requisite examinations, and publicly defended their inaugural dissertations. Of the number of these graduates, 37 were of Scotland, 18 from England, 32 from Ireland, three from Jamaica, one from Barbadoes, and one from Hamburgh. The evidence which this affords of the flourishing condition of the University at the present time, is also a distinguished testimony of the great and rapid progress of science and intellectual application in the present age; and of the increased determination that has been excited in our rising generation to those literary and philosophical acquirements which are necessary to professional proficiency, and the respectable accomplishment of the offices of public or of private life. Previous to the year 1782, when Cullen, Munro, and Black, were at the zenith of their reputation, and at a period to which their pupils fondly refer as the Augustan age of medicine at Edinburgh, the number of candidates for that profession who graduated there, at both the half-yearly sederunts of the Senatus Academicus, was scarcely more than one third of those who received their degrees in that one only which was held last week; and the whole number of students of all descriptions who were matriculated at the University, even while it possessed the attractions of a

Robertson and a Blair, a Robison and a Dalziel, a Ferguson and a Dugald Stewart, did not then exceed 300. Last session, it has been officially stated, the total number of students who matriculated in their respective classes, exclusive of those who were entered at the Divinity Hall, amounted to more than 2000.

—The following account of the state of the Waterloo subscription, on 31st May last, has just been published:—

Amount received by the committee, and increased by dividends on stock, interest on Exchequer bills, and profit on stock sold L.518,288 9 11

APPROPRIATION.

Annuities granted for life to the widows, wounded non-commissioned officers and privates, totally disabled, and to dependent relatives	11,783	0	0
Annuities granted for limited periods to the children of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, and to orphans.....	9,209	0	0

Total amount of annuities.....L.20,992 0 0

VOTED IN MONEY.

To the wounded officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.....	L.71,126	0	0
To the parents and dependent relatives of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates killed, leaving no widows or children.....	28,577	0	0
To the foreign troops	62,500	0	0

Total amount voted in money L.162,203 0 0

CAPE TOWN, *April* 3, 1817.—A very important conference took place between Lord Charles Somerset, attended by his suite and body-guard, and King Gaika, (or Geika,) at the head of 300 armed Caffres; when an amicable arrangement was formed for preventing future depredations and contentions between the colonists and the Caffre nation, and to promote a friendly intercourse in the way of trade. On this occasion, Gaika, in the presence of, and with the concurrence of the other chiefs, agreed to use his utmost endeavours to put a stop to the continual depredations committed on the colonists; and he consented, that in future cases of cattle being stolen from the colony, and traced to any particular Krall, that Krall should be made responsible for the cattle, although not to be found there, and should be bound to furnish from its own herds the number of cattle stolen from the colony; he said this would be right and just, and would induce the Kralls to give up, and not sccrete the thieves, as they now did. He said he would assuredly punish with death any Caffre he discovered plundering the colonists; and added, that he knew that an Almighty Ruler presided over all chiefs, however great, and that they were accountable to Him for the right and wrong they permitted.

A Caffre, who had been taken in the act of committing depredations on the Sunday River, was then returned to Gaika, and his pardon stipulated for. Gaika questioned him in a most authoritative manner, and then said, that the whole Caffre people were indebted to his Excellency for saving this man's life, for that he should certainly have had him put to death, but for the powerful interference of the 'Koze' Kooloo (great chief.)

The gracefulness with which Gaika spoke, was very striking; and the man-

ly and decided tone he took, was extremely impressive.

After the conference had terminated, presents were produced and given to the several chiefs: particular articles had been selected for Gaika and his son. His Excellency also presented Gaika with a beautiful grey horse.

PARTICULARS OF THE EARTHQUAKE AT ST JOHN'S, NEW BRUNSWICK.—This earthquake was felt the 22d ult. over all the island of Grand Manan, and has been thus described to us:—The reporter was awakened just after day-break by the shock of a loud sound, and a violent shaking of the house, at the same instant. The shaking ceased very soon; but the sound, he thinks, continued from 30 to 45 seconds after he awoke, gradually lessening till it entirely died away. Some of the inhabitants say it was perceived much longer, but the best opinions were, that it lasted a full minute. All agree in describing the motion as most violent, and the sound to have been very loud; the weather at the moment was fine and serene, with a light breeze of wind from the northward; the previous day it had been uncommonly hot for the season. During the 22d, the weather continued fine and warm, the wind easterly and light. This earthquake we already trace from Boston to Portland, St Andrews, and Frederickton, near 400 miles; and in another line of a similar distance and parallel direction, taking the opposite side of the Bay of Fundy in its route, and going through Grand Passage, Digby, Annapolis, and Windsor, extending in each end of this line, from which we have yet no tidings.

—The famous Theroigne de Mericourt, one of the regicides, and the most blood-thirsty of the heroines of the revolution, died within these few days in the Hospital for Pauper Lunatics in Paris, where she had lived un-

pitied and unknown for many years. She repented sincerely of her horrible crimes, and imposed upon herself the dreadful penance of pouring a bucket of cold water upon her bed of straw every night. Nothing but the most robust health could have enabled her to endure this punishment. She died at the age of 57. She had but few lucid intervals, and those were filled up by the most heart-rending lamentations.

ROME, July 16.—We have here about 15,000 *gentlemen*, for we cannot give them the title of *lord*, which, according to the notion of the people here, is synonymous with *rich prodigal*. These foreigners spend almost nothing. They make no purchases, and give *ba-jochis* (copper pieces, worth about three farthings) instead of *paolis* (silver coin,) when they visit the museums. We never had so many visitors of curiosity, and yet the trade in curiosities was never so bad.

CONSTANCE, (GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN) Aug. 8.—It appears that Madame Krudner has been refused permission to reside in the kingdom of Wurtemberg. After having harangued the Jews at Gallingen and Bandegg, whom she declared to be the peculiar people of God, she arrived here. Not being allowed to remain there above 24 hours, she proceeded, on the 1st of August, to one of the cantons of Thurgovia. She there awaits the answer of the government of St Gall, from which she had solicited permission to establish herself in that canton. While expecting it, her missionaries preach at Houb, sometimes in the fields, calling the baroness a prophetess. She herself preaches with all the enthusiasm of an ardent and fanatic spirit. She distributes every day bread, and some hundreds of measures of economical soup. Her adherents receive them on their knees like a gift from God. Her ordinary suite is composed of about forty persons; among whom are

remarked, Madame de Berekeim, two Protestant ministers, and a lame woman, who has brought her a contribution of 10,000 florins. Her adherents are in the habit of saying, “We call no one; but those who are the elect of God will follow us.”

—The Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Leith Shipping Company's fine new steam-boat, Tug, arrived at Leith on Friday morning from Glasgow. From the large dimensions of this vessel she could not pass through the Forth and Clyde Canal, but came north about through the Pentland Frith; and though she encountered most boisterous weather off Cape Wrath, and in the Moray Frith, has arrived in perfect safety.

SEPTEMBER.

In the High Court of Justiciary, on the 5th inst. Bernard and Hugh McIlvogue, and Patrick M'Cristal, were convicted of breaking into and robbing the house of Robert Morris, farmer, near Greenock, in March last, binding Mr Morris, and committing rape on Janet Crawford, his sister-in-law, and Mary Black, his servant. They were sentenced to be hanged at Greenock on the 10th October next.

—At the Lancaster Assizes, a special jury was appointed to try the Blanketeers, as they were called, from Manchester. When the trial was called on, however, Mr Topping, the leading counsel for the crown, rose and said, “That it was not his intention to offer any evidence against the defendants. At the time the charge was preferred, Manchester was much agitated; but tranquillity now prevailed throughout the county, and a new tone and order of things had arisen. That his Majesty's government, therefore, never desirous to prosecute any of the King's

subjects, but in cases where the public safety demanded it, thought it unnecessary to press any thing against the defendants under the present circumstances, and therefore he, Mr Topping, should offer no evidence."—The defendants were accordingly acquitted.

—The Lord Provost and Council of Edinburgh unanimously voted a piece of plate, value fifty guineas, to Alexander Henderson, Esq. first baillie of the city, in testimony of their sense of his general active conduct as a magistrate; but in particular for the able and gentlemanly manner in which Mr Henderson discharged the duties of chief magistrate, while the Lord Provost was necessarily absent attending to the interest of the city in London. Also a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas, to Robert Johnstone, Esq. Lord Dean of Guild of the city, as a mark of the respect which they entertain of the unremitting attention he has paid to the various duties of his office, and for his zealous and never-ceasing efforts to promote the improvement and good of the city.

EARTHQUAKES.—On the 7th ult. at twenty minutes past eight A. M. a slight shock of an earthquake was felt at Inverness; and again, yesterday morning, a smart shock was experienced in the same quarter. This last is the fifth since August last year. Like some of the others latterly felt, the concussion was more violent in the districts of Urquhart, Aird, &c. to the westward of Inverness.

DUBLIN, Sept. 8.—Yesterday evening, about ten minutes after six o'clock, as the Belfast day mail-coach, on its way to Dublin, arrived at Lissen-hall, a short distance beyond Swords, the coachman found his way obstructed by two carts being placed across the road. Soon afterwards a body of armed men, about ten or twelve in number, appeared. The front horses were seized, and about the same time the ban-

ditti fired three shots, one of which passed through the hat of one of the guards (Luke Redford,) and unfortunately took effect in the back part of his head, but, we trust, will not produce any very serious result. The passengers, eleven in number, seven outside, and four inside, many of them females, were then rifled in the most brutal manner, of all the valuable effects and property about them. While the robbers were engaged in plundering the passengers, a post coach came up, in which were the Marquis of Donegal, his son, (Lord Belfast,) and another gentleman, well armed; an attempt was made to stop the post-coach, but by the exertions of the coachman in whipping the horses over a large trunk, they most fortunately escaped. They had not proceeded far when they met a party of horse patrol, who immediately went in quest of the robbers. A foot patrol had already been sent in that direction, in consequence of a robbery having been committed the night previous at the house of Mr Hanney.

We have the pleasure to state, that none of the passengers in the Belfast coach have suffered any personal injury, and also that the entire of the mail bags have been fortunately preserved.—As soon as information of the robbery arrived in town, a very strong detachment of police was sent out to scour the country in every direction.

—An article from Naples, dated July 20, says, "The present eruptions of Vesuvius are astonishing. Copper, iron, alkalies, acids, sulphur, sulphuric acid, chalk, and sometimes ammoniac, form salts that are sometimes in a mass, and sometimes divided. It is observed that copper is very much mixed with volcanic matter; quantities are found among the different kinds of lava. Vesuvius, which, since the year 1813, has been more or less in a state of commotion, has covered its former crater with a thick

crust, over which the new eruptions have thrown two little mountains, from which issue smoke, ashes, and vitrified stones. The earth is covered with bits of transparent glass. This crust is so considerable, that if it is not propped up, the sinking of the matter composing it will produce an effect like that of the eruption which took place in the time of Titus.

BRESLAU.—A part of the inhabitants of this city, belonging to the first requisition of the landwehr, and who were about to be incorporated therein, had, from a mistaken view of the legally prescribed form of the oath, refused to take it within the limited term, and thereby occasioned a delay in the administration of the oath to others who were willing to take it. The opportunity afforded by this delay was taken an advantage of by some of the evil disposed among those who objected to the oath, to gain over a great number of those who had been previously willing to take it.

A second limited term being fixed, the oath was taken by a few of those who had been summoned, but refused by far the greater part; and some who had taken the oath were ill treated by those who objected to it. The maintenance of the laws, civil order and tranquillity, as well as the security of the well-disposed, rendered it necessary to remove promptly some of the malcontents, who had openly declared themselves, and thereby avert their further mischievous influence.

This circumstance was made a pretext by some hundreds of disorderly persons for proceeding to acts of violence early on the 23d. Though this tumult was soon suppressed by the vigorous measures which the superior military authorities adopted, and the judicious co-operation of the magistrates, still the rioters had sufficient time to commit several excesses, and to attack some public buildings, which

they entered. Several of the rioters are already arrested, and delivered over to the due course of law. These transactions excited the horror and indignation of all the inhabitants of the town; and the burghers, through the magistrates as their representatives, expressed their sentiments to the following effect, viz. :—

“To expel from their body, with re-payment of their entrance-money, all those who persisted further in refusing to comply with the laws respecting the landwehr.”

This honourable declaration of their fellow townsmen quickly convinced the malcontents of the impropriety of their refusal, and the oath was afterwards quietly administered. Order and tranquillity was therefore completely restored, even on the 23d, and no disturbance has since taken place.

—A steam company in France have obtained from the king the privilege of establishing a steam-boat navigation on all the large rivers of that country. The company have already several vessels on the Seine, the boilers of which are of copper, and have safety-valves, being constructed agreeably to the recommendation of the British House of Commons.—There is no doubt of this mode of navigation perfectly succeeding, with a little more experience.

From the London Gazette.—“In pursuance of the directions of an act, passed in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty King George III., entitled, ‘An Act for confirming and continuing for a limited time, the restriction contained in the minute of council of the 26th of February, 1797, on payments of cash by the bank;’ and also of the several acts since passed, for continuing and amending the same.

“I do hereby direct, that there be inserted forthwith in the London Gazette; the following notice from the Governor and Company of the Bank.

of England, dated 18th September, 1817, namely :—

“ That, on and after the 1st October next, the bank will be ready to pay cash for their notes of every description, dated prior to the first January, 1817.”

“ CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON,

“ Speaker.

“ September, 22, 1817.”

—The following official communication respecting the power of half-pay officers of the British army to hold offices or places of emolument under their own or any foreign government together with their half-pay, has been addressed from the War Office to the several army agents :—

“ War Office, Sept. 30, 1817.

“ SIR,—It having been determined that the regulation by which officers are precluded from receiving half-pay while holding offices or employments of profit under his Majesty, shall be extended to officers on half-pay holding similar offices or employments under other governments, unless with permission of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, I am to acquaint you, for the information of the half-pay officers for whom you are agent, that this extension of the regulation will accordingly take effect from the 25th of December next inclusive. I am to add, that all applications from officers for permission to hold offices or employments under other governments, together with their half-pay, are to be addressed to the Secretary at War, for his Royal Highness's consideration.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ PALMERSTON.”

OCTOBER.

ELECTION OF LORD MAYOR.—This contest closed on the 6th inst. amidst

the greatest confusion, and the following were the numbers for each candidate.

Mr Alderman Smith.....2273

Mr Alderman Atkins.....1585

The Lord Mayor.....827

Mr Alderman Goodbehere 763

—The following instance of horrible superstition is almost incredible in these enlightened times ; it is, however, well authenticated.

“ Tuesday, the 14th ult. about 100 persons, 18 of whom were women, calling themselves the followers of Joanna Southcott, assembled in the wood at Forest hill, near Sydenham : their purpose was, apparently, some act of religious worship, and the following account will give you some idea of the infatuation of these poor deluded people :—

“ On arriving at a spot suitable for their purpose, and having formed a circle, they began by singing and prayer, which they continued for a considerable time. They then drew from the bag a small *live black pig*, and having secured its legs, the women divided into two companies, and each female gave the animal nine distinct blows on the head with a chopper. This done, the men proceeded to beat it with poles, sticks, &c. till it was quite dead ; they bound it with a strong iron chain, and having hoisted it up, they placed a tar barrel underneath, and with the aid of furze, &c. they soon had a blazing fire. Having done their utmost to burn the pig to ashes, they scattered the remains over their heads, and trampled it under their feet. This was succeeded again by singing and prayer. I begged to have their explanation of what I had seen ; and was informed they had copied from the Scriptures 1115 verses, which prove the truth of their doctrines. “ The daughter of Zion,” (as they call Joanna) is gone to Heaven, they said, till the coming of the Shiloh ; and as types and shadows

were used under the Mosaic dispensation as figures of our Saviour, so the miracles he performed were only types of the Shiloh they expect. I then found that the burning of the pig was, in other words, the burning and binding of Satan, and intended the miracle in the 8th of Luke, so that *that* morning their prophet had cast the evil spirit out of each of their hearts, and it had entered the swine.—They all consisted of poor working men; and the man they called the Prophet or the shadow of Shiloh, was in appearance a discharged seaman.”

—The coal-owners of the River Tyne and Wear, the body of them most extensively benefited by Sir Humphrey Davy's safety-lamps for preventing explosions in coal-mines, have shewn their sense of the importance of the discovery to their interests, and those of humanity, by presenting Sir Humphrey with a very handsome service of plate, of the value of nearly 2000*l*. The presentation of it took place on Saturday, October 11th, when a grand dinner was given to Sir Humphrey by the coal proprietors and owners at the Queen's Head at Newcastle, where the plate was exposed for public inspection, and the designs, taste, and execution, equally admired.

—Ships continue to be equipped in the Thames for the purpose of conveying officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to aid the patriots in South America. At present one vessel is quite ready to sail, having on board officers fully equipped, and 200 privates, to form a rifle corps. Another is in a forward state of preparation, and has appointments for a cavalry regiment 600 strong; a third is freighted with the equipments of a lancer's corps. The officers are all men who have seen active service, and are of every rank, from lieutenant-colonels to ensigns. The organization and arrangement are so complete, that

they will be ready for immediate service on their arrival in America. This day notices were posted up in several coffee-houses in London, inviting passengers to go on board vessels waiting to sail direct for South America; thus the circuitous route by St Thomas's, formerly taken, is now dispensed with, and a great saving, both of time and expence, will be effected.

—It is a remarkable circumstance, that three large whales have lately come ashore on the British coast. On the 20th September, a whale 36 feet in length was cast ashore in the Solway Frith. On the 21st August, one of 66 feet 5 inches, came ashore between Staxigo and Wick, which the fishermen killed after a labour of 25 hours. And on the 23d September, a whale, measuring 62 feet, was observed off Eyemouth, and towed into that harbour. It is probably the great increase of ice in the northern sea, which drives these monstrous animals to our shores. An immense shoal of the species of whales called finners, was, on Monday the 6th instant, observed in the river Tay, and coming in contact with the east protection wall of the new harbour, Dundee, from twenty to thirty of them were pursued by people in boats, and killed. These animals were of different sizes, the largest not being less than 22 feet long. The blubber upon all of them is very valuable, and was from one to two inches in thickness.

—The number of criminals tried at the different circuit towns in Scotland, has this year been uncommonly great. Nine persons have received sentence of transportation for various periods at Glasgow; one at Ayr; four at Dumfries; one at Jedburgh; six at Perth; two at Aberdeen, and two at Inverness. A number have received sentence of imprisonment; several are to be banished Scotland; others are outlawed for not appearing; and some

difficult cases have been remitted for trial to the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh. No less than 13 persons (two of whom are females) are at present under sentence of death in Scotland, viz.—three in Glasgow; four in Edinburgh, (three of whom are to be executed in Greenock), four in Ayr, and two in Perth.

—There were more prisoners for trial at the Old Bailey Sessions, which terminated on Tuesday, than at any preceding session. The number was 476, of which there were—

• Convicted of capital offences	28
• Felonies.....	241
Manslaughter	3
• Frauds.....	4
• Acquitted.....	101
Total tried,——	377

Remains to be tried at the } Admiralty Sessions,	1
Ordered to be removed for } trial at the assizes,	4
Remain for trial next sessions,	7
Discharged for want of pro- } secution,	15
Ditto by proclamation, the } Grand Jury having thrown } out the bills,	72
—	—99
Total,	476

An important application of steam vessels has lately been made in Scotland, and it is said with the most complete success. It appears, that since the opening of the Forth and Clyde canal, (upwards of 30 years ago), a navigable communication has existed between Glasgow and Leith, the port of Edinburgh; notwithstanding which, by far the greater portion of the trade between these places has been carried on by land carriage, at an expence more than double what it might have been done by water.

This navigable communication consists of a canal for 29 miles, and a

broad river or frith for 26 miles; and it appears, that the obstacle which has prevented the benefit being taken of such apparent advantages, is the extreme difficulty of constructing vessels, which from draught of water, and mode of rigging, would answer for the navigation of the canal, and at the same time be able to contend against strong contrary winds in the Frith of Forth.

To obviate this difficulty, a company in Leith have equipped a powerful steam-vessel, or tracker, and completely adapted for encountering stormy weather. This vessel, which is most appropriately named the Tug, is meant to track ten other vessels alternately, which have been peculiarly constructed by the same company for carrying goods along the canal.

The Tug, which may thus be compared to a team of horses in the water, tracks these vessels between Leith and Grangemouth, the entrance of the canal, along which they are tracked by horses. But the utility of the Tug is not confined to tracking: she has also two commodious cabins, and from combining the two purposes of tracking and conveyance of passengers, she is able to convey the latter with a degree of cheapness, which resembles more the track schuyt of Holland, than any conveyance we have in this country; the passage in the best cabin, being for a distance of 26 miles, two shillings; and in the second, one shilling.

HURRICANE IN THE WEST INDIES. The following letter on this lamentable occasion, was addressed by the Colonial Secretary of St Lucie to the Governor of Barbadoes:—

St Lucie, October 23, 1817.—“My Lord.—His Excellency Major-General Seymour, being unable to address your lordship, in consequence of the very serious injury he received during the hurricane of the 21st instant, (and

I am sorry to add, very little hopes are entertained of his recovery), of which his excellency has directed me to give your lordship the particulars, and earnestly to entreat your lordship's assistance and support towards ameliorating the situation of the unfortunate inhabitants of this island, not one of whom but has suffered severely thereby.

" Scarcely a dwelling or negro house is left standing; the mills and out-standings, either unroofed or razed to the ground; nearly the whole crop of canes torn up by the roots, and the face of the island, which was luxuriant on the 20th, now bears the appearance of an European winter.

" The town of Castrees is nearly in ruins, and the vessels, about 12 sail, are on shore, not one of which is expected to be saved. The whole of the buildings of Morne Fortunée, and Pigeon Island were blown down, with the exception of the magazine and tanks.

" His excellency and family were taken from under the ruins of his residence, (the commandant's quarters) where he remained in the hope, that it would have resisted the gale; but he has unfortunately suffered for his imprudence.

" I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

" S. R. BAINES,
Colonial Secretary.

" P. S.—Since writing the above, I am sorry to acquaint your lordship, that fears are entertained, that General Seymour cannot pass forty-eight hours.

" We understand Major Burdett and family are killed.

" Accounts have at length reached us from Dominica, whence every ves-

sel was driven to sea by the late hurricane, and they had not returned when the Robert mail-boat, that arrived here on Sunday, left that island. The interior of the country had likewise suffered so materially, that unless supplied from other settlements, the dread of famine appears to be entertained.

" Captain Elliot, of his Majesty's ship L'Amander, was making every exertion with his boats, and those of his Majesty's ship Childers, to relieve the vessels on shore in Carlisle Bay."

Extract of a letter dated St Pierre, Martinique, Nov. 10.—" On the 21st of October, this colony was visited by the most furious hurricane ever witnessed here. The details of this sad disaster would be equally long as painful. The loss of nearly 1000 lives, 25,000 hogsheads of sugar of the present and next crop; incalculable losses in buildings, animals, and the necessaries of life, have occasioned a general desolation, independently of the great anxiety caused by 9-10ths of the shipping which were in the different ports of the island, being either wrecked, damaged, or missing. St Lucie and Dominica have equally suffered; the tempest reached also St Vincent and Granada. Its ravages extended to Guadaloupe, as well as Porto-Rico and its neighbourhood, though in a less degree. The loss experienced by Martinique alone, may be very moderately calculated at 25,000,000 francs, exclusively of the shipping: the works and buildings of entire parishes were razed to the ground. It lasted 26 hours, 12 of which with such inconceivable fury, as to produce all these disasters, and to destroy buildings which had withstood all former hurricanes. It will require many years before the colony can recover itself from this heavy calamity."

NOVEMBER.

BERLIN, Nov. 1.—Yesterday, on the great festival of the Reformation, some scenes of Werner's famous drama, "*Luther*," were performed in the theatre here.

As Mr Mallauch, who acted the part of Luther, appeared, some voices exclaimed, "Down with the Reformation!" Soon many voices joined, but the greater part of the public greatly disapproved of this interruption, which however increased, so that it was necessary to drop the curtain; and it was not quieted till the police, assisted by the *gens d'armes*, arrested about ten students, and conveyed them to prison. The public was so incensed against them, that even when arrested it was difficult to prevent their being ill treated. After order was restored, the scenes were all acted, and will be repeated to-day.

The students assembled on the Wartburg, October 18, with Professor O'Ken at their head, who assumes the air of a new political Luther, burnt the writings of Messrs Von Haller, Kotzebue, Dubelow, and several other meritorious writers; they also committed to the flames, in contempt of standing armies, some articles of military uniform; and in scorn of the Princes, the Act of Sacred Alliances.

To the honour of the students of Berlin, we must add, that they had not the smallest share in this literary *auto da fe*, but felt the most profound contempt for it.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—This ill-fated colony was twice in the course of last month visited by conflagration. The first, on the 7th of November, broke out late at night; and the houses being almost all of wood, the rage of the flames was not stayed till 135 houses were burnt to the ground, ren-

dering houseless about 1100 inhabitants, and destroying property to the value of nearly 500,000*l*. The western half of the town then remained as a shelter to the wretched sufferers; but, on the 21st, the fire again broke out in this quarter, and destroyed the greater part of it. Only a few lives were lost, and these of wretches who, degraded enough to seek for plunder in the ruin of their fellow creatures, perished miserably by the burning timbers falling upon and destroying them. These calamities, there is reason to believe, were not the effect of accident, but the work of some vile incendiaries, several of whom, as we have already stated, paid the forfeit of their crime with their lives. Many persons, who had just recovered from the effects of the fire in February 1816, are among the sufferers on the present occasion. One house, that of Hunter and Co., has sustained loss to the extent of 30,000*l*.; and the store-houses of many other extensive mercantile concerns have been consumed, to the number of 23. Great apprehensions were entertained, that this awful calamity might be followed by the more dreadful one of famine; and Vice-Admiral Pickmore had, in the mean time, prohibited the exportation of all provisions, till it should be ascertained what supply would be required to prevent the colony from experiencing this additional misfortune.

—It is a remarkable circumstance, and certainly matter of deep regret, that in the month of October 1817, it should have been found necessary to execute eleven persons in Scotland. On the 10th, Bernard and Hugh Macilvogue, and Patrick Macristal, were executed at Greenock, for the crimes of stouthrief, rape, and robbery. On the 17th, William Robertson and Joseph Cairns, for robbery and theft, aggravated by assault and housebreaking, and Margaret Crossan, for wilful

and malicious fire-raising, suffered the same sentence at Ayr. On the 29th, William Mackechnie, and John Macormick, for shopbreaking, and Freebairn Whitehill, for robbing a carrier, were hanged in Glasgow. And on the 31st, G. Wylie and M. Clark, for housebreaking and theft, suffered death at Perth. Most of these wretched convicts were under 30 years of age, and all of them behaved with becoming penitence for their crimes, and resignation to their punishment.

—At the last Warwick assizes, Abraham Thornton, a small farmer in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, was tried, and acquitted, on a charge of murdering a young woman, named Mary Ashford, whom the prisoner was supposed to have first violated, and then thrown into a pool of water. The acquittal of this man having produced great dissatisfaction, the relatives have again prosecuted him by appeal, at the suit of William Ashford, the deceased's brother. When brought into the Court of King's Bench yesterday morning, the defendant pleaded "*Not guilty*," adding, "*And I am ready to defend the same by my body*;" and throwing down, at the same time, one of a pair of new gloves he had on his hands, according to the ancient mode of challenge. The validity of this plea remains yet to be decided; but, in the mean time, it has excited an extraordinary degree of interest, on account of its novelty, and more particularly from the disparity of strength between the appellant and defendant, the former being a slender lad about 17, while the latter is a strong built man of the age of 30. The counsel for the appellant have argued, That the right of challenge only remains with the accused party, when there is nothing else to support the charge but the assertion of the accuser; whereas, in this case, they

contend that there are strong presumptive proofs of the defendant's guilt. Should this counter-plea, which is to be argued next term, not be sustained, either the appellant must give up his charge against the defendant, and be liable to him in damages, or a day of battle must be appointed, in which the parties, armed with batons, must fight each other in the presence of the Court. If the defendant kill the appellant, or can maintain the fight till the stars appear in the evening, he is acquitted; if he give up before that time, he is to be hanged immediately; and if he be killed in the fight, it is considered the justice of Providence upon him. If the appellant give up, and cry "*craven*," he is declared infamous. (See Blackstone, Vol. IV. p. 312.) There has been no wager of battle in this country for several centuries. The last awarded was in the time of Charles I., and then the commission was revoked. In the present case, Ashford has declared, that, should the Court award the combat, he will fight to the death in revenge for his murdered sister.

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.—*Claremont, Nov. 4.*—Her Royal Highness was in good health till a late hour last night, when she found herself indisposed, which continued till 3 o'clock this morning, when Sir R. Croft, her *accoucheur*, who has been in constant attendance for the last three weeks upon her Royal Highness, had no hesitation in pronouncing that the symptoms were those of her *accouchement*. In consequence, a number of servants, who had been for some time kept in close attendance in their riding dresses, and their horses in readiness for them to mount, were dispatched at a quarter past 3 o'clock, in various directions, to summon the different Privy-Councillors, who, it had been previously arranged, were to attend, according to

court etiquette, and for Dr Baillie.—Directions were given to the messengers to make all possible speed, which they strictly attended to.

It is scarcely necessary to say, Prince Leopold has passed the day in the greatest anxiety in the house, as well as all the royal attendants and domestics, with the state officers, and others.

From the neighbouring towns and villages, the most earnest and solicitous inquiries have been constantly made during the day.

Claremont, 4 o'clock p. m.—The last report of Sir Richard Croft to the Privy-Councillors assembled here, was, “The progress of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte’s illness, is in every respect as favourable as could be wished.”

The following was the circular communication of Wednesday night, relative to the Princess Charlotte :

Claremont, Nov. 5.—“Her Royal Highness made little progress yesterday.” Communications were sent off to the Prince Regent, and other branches of the Royal Family. At night, on the suggestion of Sir Richard Croft, Dr Sims was sent for, that he might be in readiness to be consulted if necessary: At 3 o'clock this morning, Dr Sims arrived here from London. This morning, a little before 8 o'clock, the Privy-Councillors, assembled here, had a consultation with the medical gentlemen in attendance, when, in consequence of the protracted state of the illness of the Princess, the following official report or bulletin was drawn up.

Claremont, Wednesday morning, 8 o'clock.—“The labour of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte is going on very slowly, but we trust favourably.

(Signed) “M. BAILLIE. .
“RICHARD CROFT.
“JOHN SIMS.”

Claremont, Nov. 5. half past 5. p. m.
—“The labour of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte has within the last three or four hours considerably advanced, and will, it is hoped, within a few hours be happily completed.”
(Signed as before.)

Claremont, Nov. 5. a quarter past 9 in the evening.—“At 9 o'clock this evening, her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte was safely delivered of a still-born male child, and her Royal Highness is going on favourably.”

(Signed as before.)

At ten another bulletin was issued, which at least seemed to remove all apprehension as to the personal danger of her Royal Highness. It is as follows.

Claremont, Nov. 5. 10 o'clock p. m.
—“At nine o'clock this evening, her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte was delivered of a still-born male child. Her Royal Highness is doing extremely well.”
(Signed as before.)

LORD SIDMOUTH TO THE LORD MAYOR.

Claremont, Nov. 5. half past 9 p. m.
—“My Lord, I have the honour to inform your lordship, that at 9 o'clock this evening, her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte was safely delivered of a still-born male child, and that her Royal Highness is going on favourably.

“I have the honour to be my, Lord,

“Your most obedient servant,

“SIDMOUTH.

“To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.”

Whitehall, Nov. 6. 6 a. m.—“My Lord, it is with the deepest sorrow that I inform your Lordship, that her Royal Highness the Princess Char-

lotte expired this morning at half past 2 o'clock.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"SIDMOUTH."

"The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor."

The following letters contain the details of this afflicting event.

Claremont, 6 o'clock this morning, (Thursday.)—"On Monday, in the night, or about 3 on Tuesday morning, her Royal Highness was taken ill, and expresses were sent off to the great Officers of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, desiring their immediate attendance. Earl Bathurst, Lord Sidmouth, the Lord Chancellor, Mr Vansittart, together with the Archbishop and Bishop, immediately attended. Dr Baillie and Dr Croft were the medical attendants. During the whole of Monday, the labour advanced slowly, but without the least appearance of danger. The Princess Charlotte shewed uncommon firmness, and the utmost resignation. Towards evening, as the labour still lingered, it was deemed adviseable to send for Dr Sims, who arrived in the middle of the night. Nothing could be going on better, though too slowly; and the excellent constitution of the Princess gave every assurance that she would not be too much exhausted by the delay. No language, no panegyric can be too warm for the manner in which the Prince Leopold conducted himself. He was incessant in his attendance, and no countenance could more deeply express the anxiety he felt. Once or twice he exclaimed to the medical attendants, 'that the unrepining patient endurance of the Princess, whilst it gave him comfort, communicated also a deep affliction at her sufferings being so lengthened.'

"About six o'clock yesterday, the labour advanced more rapidly, and no apprehensions were entertained of any

fatal result; and the child was ascertained to be still living. At 9 o'clock her Royal Highness was delivered of a male child, but still-born. Throughout the whole of this long and painful labour, her Royal Highness evinced the greatest firmness, and received the communication of the child being born dead, with much resignation. Prince Leopold exclaimed to the medical attendants, as soon as the intelligence was communicated to him, "Thank God! thank God, the Princess is safe." The child was perfect, and one of the finest infants ever brought into the world. The Princess was composed after her delivery; and though of course much exhausted, every hope was entertained of her doing well. This pleasing intelligence being communicated to the great Officers of State, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, they left Claremont about eleven o'clock; the medical attendants of course remaining. A little after 12, a change was observed in her Royal Highness—her quiet left her—she became restless and uneasy—and the medical attendants felt alarmed. Expresses were sent off, we believe, to the Officers of State, stating the change that had taken place. From half past 12, restlessness and convulsions increased, till nature and life were quite exhausted, and her Royal Highness expired at half past two this morning. Prince Leopold was with her Royal Highness at this agonizing moment."

ANOTHER LETTER FROM CLAREMONT.

Claremont, Thursday morning, 9 o'clock.—"Her Royal Highness, after her delivery, had expressed herself resigned to the child being dead, most piously observing that it was the will of God. She continued remarkably well from 9 o'clock (the time of her

delivery) till past 12 o'clock, probably a quarter past, when the medical gentlemen, Drs Baillie, Croft, and Sims, considering that she could not be doing better under the circumstances, retired to rest. Her Royal Highness took some gruel, and expressed herself inclined to sleep; however, on the gruel being given to her, she expressed herself to find a difficulty in swallowing it. The Princess afterwards complained of being very chilly, and of a pain at her stomach. The nurse, Mrs Griffiths, considering her Royal Highness's complaints to require the advice of the medical gentlemen in attendance, the Doctors were all instantly called up. They lost no time in giving their attendance, but human assistance was of no avail. Her Royal Highness's attack continued unabated, and she expired about half past two o'clock, in a severe attack of spasms.

The indications of grief were universal throughout the country, when the death of her Royal Highness was known; and measures were instantly adopted in the city for giving public and official solemnity to the internal feelings. The Lord Mayor summoned an especial meeting of the Court of Aldermen, which took place at Guildhall; when it was unanimously agreed, that the fitting up of Guildhall for Lord Mayor's day next, should be immediately discontinued, and the preparations already made for the purpose removed. Public notice was also directed to be given for abolishing all show and rejoicings on that day.

In the more immediate vicinage of Claremont, the symptoms of sorrow were still more strongly marked. The houses of Esher and Kingston, where preparations had been made for bonfires, on the safe delivery of the Princess, were actually shut up, as if a death had happened in almost every family there.

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The Lord Mayor ordered the great bell of St Paul's to toll, as is customary when any of the royal family die. The tradespeople of the royal family, by a spontaneous movement, shut up the windows of their shops. Lord Sidmouth also sent to suspend performances at the different theatres, and orders for a general mourning were given.

The body of this lamented Princess, with that of her infant son, were embalmed on the 7th, according to ancient custom, and lay in state at Claremont till the evening of the 18th, when they were removed, in a private manner, to Windsor, attended by the afflicted Prince Leopold, and escorted by a party of the 10th regiment.

Wednesday the 19th was the day appointed for the funeral, and by a spontaneous feeling of deep and sincere grief for the dead, and sympathy and respect for the living, it was observed throughout every part of the kingdom, with all the devotion of national grief and humiliation; business of every kind being suspended, and almost every church of every denomination being opened for public worship, and crowded by persons of all ranks, clad in mourning.

In the evening, crowds assembled from all quarters, to the interment of the Princess. Vehicles of every description were employed to convey the thousands who issued from the metropolis to Windsor; and hundreds who could not afford, or could not procure conveyance, hurried thither on foot. At half past eight o'clock, the quickened tolling of the bell announced the removal of the royal remains from the Lower Lodge at Windsor, to the vault of interment at St George's Chapel. The hearse, drawn by eight black horses, and preceded by two troops of the blues, entered the castle gate at a quarter before nine; ninety-nine of the royal servants, in state

liveries, with torches, and twenty-four mutes, accompanying the body. Eleven coaches belonging to the royal family, with six horses in each, followed the funeral procession.

The procession was conducted with the utmost solemnity. The choristers, as soon as it made its appearance in the chapel, began to chaunt the solemn service of "I know that my Redeemer liveth." The canopy, which was of an immense length, followed the choristers, moving at a very slow pace; and being borne high in the air, had a most imposing effect. Prince Leopold followed the coffin, as chief mourner, and his appearance created deep interest. Though he made evident efforts to preserve calmness, yet he every now and then burst into a flood of tears. He walked along with unsteady steps, and took the seat provided for him at the head of the coffin, between the Dukes of York and Clarence. During the service, his Serene Highness preserved a fixed but downcast look towards the coffin of his beloved wife, never once raising his eyes to the assemblage. His distress, however, was tolerably subdued, till the awful moment when the coffin was gradually lowered into the vault, when he was alarmingly moved, but by a strong effort seemed also to conquer this emotion. The usual anthems were then chaunted with due solemnity; and the office of burial being concluded, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter-Principal King at Arms, after a short pause, proclaimed the style of her late Royal Highness; and the mourners walked back, though without the state accompaniments. The melancholy ceremony was concluded before 11 o'clock, but the chapel and avenues were not completely cleared till 12. Windsor was then full of bustle and confusion, the carriage-ways being blocked up with vehicles of every description. Prince

Leopold returned to Claremont almost immediately after.

CARR ROCK BEACON.—We are much concerned to learn the loss which the shipping of the Friths of Forth and Tay have sustained by the fall of the Carr Rock beacon—a work in which the Commissioners of the Northern Lighthouses have been engaged for the last five years. This building was visited by one of the shipmasters in the lighthouse service on the 10th November current, and was then found to be in perfect order; but on the evening of the 14th, a very heavy swell of sea came ashore, and on the 15th, the *ground swell* still continued, with foggy weather, and the rock could not be discerned till the afternoon of that day, when the sea was observed to break upon it with much violence, and it was then discovered that a great part of this building had been thrown down.

The Carr Rock forms the extreme point of that dangerous reef of sunken rocks, extending about two miles from the shore at Fifeness, which has been the cause of many shipwrecks, notwithstanding all the improvements adopted on this part of the coast;—a circumstance which has rendered the erection of a beacon upon it a work of very considerable interest.

The Beacon Rock is 72 feet in length, but its greatest breadth is only 23 feet. At high water of spring tides, the foundation of the building is at least 16 feet under the level of the sea. The beacon is circular, measuring 18 feet in diameter at the base; the height of the masonry was 36 feet, and from thence to the ball on the top of the cupola, it measured 5 feet more, or 41 feet in all. The stones of this building were curiously indented into one another, and the several courses were connected by joggels, while the beds of the stones were let into each

other in such a manner, that these indentations formed so many girths or bands round the building. For greater safety, and to avoid any weakness in the walls, the beacon was so constructed, that the entrance door was above the balcony, being placed immediately under the cupola, the ascent to which was by means of a trap-ladder. The interior of this tower was designed for a *Tide machine*, to be employed in constantly tolling the large bell, which was to form the cupola of the building. By this contrivance the mariner was to be forewarned of his danger under night, and in foggy weather; where a beacon of the common form would have been comparatively of less use. By this means also the building was to be guarded from accident, by the too near approach of vessels.

Upon the whole, there was something in this undertaking which gave it a particular interest with the curious, while it was calculated to render so much benefit to the mariner, that we cannot help again regretting that it had not succeeded to the utmost, as preparations were just making for the construction of the machinery, from a model long since made.

This building is understood to have cost about three thousand pounds, and bade fair to possess all the advantages of a most excellent and complete landmark. When, therefore, we appreciate its value, either by the inconveniences which shipping must sustain, in consequence even of its temporary removal, or consider the boldness of the design, and the energy and economy with which it has been pursued for no less than five successive seasons, we still hope that some means or other will be devised for pointing out the place and dangers of the Carr Rock.

The loss of this improvement upon the coast will be severely felt by the shipping interest, especially of the Friths of Forth and Tay: but as we

have just learned, that several of the courses of the masonry are still quite entire on the rock, and these the most expensive and difficult of erection, having required more than three of the five seasons to complete them, we may yet hope that at least a solid and permanent beacon of stone will be placed upon this fatal reef, which would doubtless prove highly useful, though not possessed of all the advantages of the proposed Tide-machine. Along with a solid beacon, the security of the extensive shipping on this coast may be still further promoted, by means of *cross or leading lights* upon the island of May, distant about six miles from the Carr Rock; so that the mariner, having these in view, may the better know his position under night, and so be enabled to make free with his course. This may in some degree be considered as stretching a cord or band of light across the Frith, from the Isle of May to the *foul grounds* at Fifeness, and would be such a direction for the Carr Rock, under night, as is provided and found to answer at the Fern Isles, for the Goldstone Rock, near Holy Island, on the coast of Northumberland.

LA ROCHELLE, Nov. 13.—A case too much like that of Rhodéz, in the atrocity of the crime, has been tried by the Court of Assizes of that department.

A Sieur Ballanger, of St Xandres, near Rochelle, a worthy man, was found on the 9th of November last, assassinated in his house, with his daughter, his son, and their female servant. The father had received seven wounds in defending himself against the assassins, and had been at last dispatched with a butcher's knife, which had cut across the left carotid artery, inclining towards the heart. The son, extended and carefully covered up in his bed, had died of a single wound, which cut the carotid artery transversely, as is the practice in bleeding

a calf or sheep. The daughter and servant maid, lying back to back in the same bed, and in the attitude of sound sleep, had been bled in the same manner as the son.

It was long before the perpetrators of these horrible crimes were discovered. Some indiscreet expressions led to the apprehension of those who had used them; and their declarations, after a laborious investigation, led to the knowledge of the real culprits.

These wretches are two brothers, named Brunet, united by the ties of guilt, as well as blood. The elder lived at the distance of a short league from the Ballangers; he affected a friendship for them, visited them frequently, borrowed money of them, and never repaid them with any thing but words.

Two hundred witnesses were examined concerning this business. From the proceedings it appears that the Brunets were absent from home on the night of the assassination, and had not returned till the next morning before day-light; that they immediately washed their bloody clothes in water, which was completely reddened by it, and which they threw into a privy; that they possessed knives similar to those the blades of which were found in the bodies of the victims; that four or five days after the murder, they had paid many of their creditors; that they paid them in *petits ecus* only, a coin of which the elder Ballanger had received a considerable quantity only a few days before his death; that the Brunets having mentioned persons of whom they pretended to have received this money, were convicted of falsehood in this particular; lastly, that several of those same pieces were found still spotted with blood. The accused having been declared guilty by a majority of the Jury, the whole Court of Assize united itself to this majority,

and sentenced them to suffer death. They were executed this day.

DECEMBER.

EDINBURGH, Dec. 2.—A most numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants, convened by public advertisement, took place on Tuesday, in Merchants' Hall, which, before the hour appointed for business, became so crowded, that it was found necessary to adjourn to the Freemasons' Hall. The purpose of the meeting was to consider what measures it would be proper to take in regard to the buildings now erecting, and proposed to be erected, on the North Bridge, in violation of the original plan of the New Town.

Professor Playfair having been called to the chair by acclamation, Mr James Stuart rose, and stated his applications to the Lord Provost, Sir William Rae, the Lord Advocate, and Mr Jardine, with the view of holding this meeting in a more regular and convenient form. These had been unsuccessful, though Sir William Rae had expressed his cordial concurrence in the object of the meeting. Mr Stuart then proceeded,—

“ I believe, sir, I may venture to say, that the grandeur and beauty of this city depend not more on the singularly diversified and picturesque nature of the objects which surround it, than on its own interior arrangements, connected with the varied character of the ground on which it stands. It is this circumstance which renders it so hazardous to attempt to rear buildings without method and without plan—without consideration, and without taking counsel from those whose taste and judgment might enable them to

decide upon improvements, according as they are suitable or otherwise to the character of the place. We, sir, have the best reason for thinking that the inhabitants of the city half a century ago, and also the Town-council at that period, were fully aware of the danger to be apprehended from this cause ; for although the Town-council at that period (1766) obtained the act of parliament for extending the royalty of the New Town, a considerable time was spent in deliberation, and it was not till the following year that the plan was finally adopted.

• “ It is well known to many gentlemen present, that about the middle of the last century, there existed, not in this city alone, but all over Scotland, a spirit for the improvement of this city, which has hardly ever been surpassed. A national subscription took place, and parliamentary commissioners, to superintend the erection of public edifices, were appointed, among whom John Duke of Argyll, and James Earl of Morton, a nobleman eminent for public spirit, as I have heard, took the lead. Among other buildings projected and directed by them, was the Register Office ; and Lord Morton, who was Lord Clerk Register, obtained a large grant of money for erecting that most useful and splendid edifice. Those commissioners concluded their labours by paying over some thousand pounds, the balance of the unappropriated funds in their hands, to the Town-council, to assist them in building the North Bridge. The Town-council of that day did not act upon, or even adopt the plan for the New Town furnished by Mr Craig, architect, though it was universally approved of, until they had the sanction of the commissioners, whose powers were expired, of the celebrated Mr Adam, and committees from the Supreme Courts, Faculty of Advocates, and Society of Writers to

the Signet. Having adopted this plan, they advertised in the newspapers, that it would lie open at the Council Chamber, for the inspection of such as inclined to become feuars ; and upon the faith of this plan, the feuars of the New Town contracted with the Town-council.

“ No long time, however, elapsed before the Town-council was actuated by different motives from those which had influenced their predecessors in 1767, and, as Lord Mansfield afterwards expressed it, *profit* became the word. Instead of adhering to Mr Craig’s plan of the New Town, which was not only to be found in the Council Chamber, but was engraved, and in the hands of the inhabitants, and in fact the public property of every citizen in Edinburgh, they granted feus upon the very spot to which it is now our business particularly to refer, viz. the ground opposite the north-eastmost row of houses in Prince’s-street, and between it and the North Loch upon the south. In fact, a row of houses began to show itself where St Ann’s-street lately stood, and where, in Mr Craig’s plan, you will find a row of trees instead of a row of houses. These houses no sooner appeared, than the feuars took the alarm, and represented to the Town-council that such buildings were a violation of their contract with the town ; but they were for the time satisfied by assurances that those feus were granted in order to remove the hazard arising from the precipices occasioned by the working of the quarries in that quarter, and also that the feuars were restrained from raising the chimney tops of the houses to be built so high as the level of Prince’s street. But as soon as the feuars found that feus had actually been granted upon the south side of Prince’s-street itself, without any restriction as to the height of the buildings, they, in the month of September

1771, obtained an interdict to stop the feuars from proceeding with their buildings, which interdict was finally confirmed by the House of Peers on the 10th of April 1772. Upon this occasion Lord Mansfield delivered a speech, in which he expressed the utmost indignation at the conduct of the Magistrates and Town-council of the city of Edinburgh." (Here Mr Stuart read two extracts from the well known speech of his lordship.) A compromise was then entered into, by which the buildings were to be discontinued; and all future attempts to erect others on the same site, were, it appears, successfully resisted. Mr Stuart then comes to the one now made, on which he remarks:—

"It is right that you should be aware, that in the year 1814, an act of parliament was passed, appointing commissioners for building the Regent Bridge, and executing the other magnificent improvements. Yet, sir, did the Magistrates of this city, in the year 1816, without any previous communication with the commissioners joined with them by the act in 1814, pursue measures tending necessarily to lessen the value of these feus on the Regent Bridge, to the price of which the acting commissioners alone looked for indemnification for their heavy advances, and enabling them, according to their construction of the act, they applied for and obtained, to erect buildings of greater height than was permitted by the act of 1814, and of such height as to deprive us of the splendid prospect of the city and public buildings, which the works in progress on the Calton-hill gave us the prospect of so soon enjoying. Nay more, without notice to any one of the feuars of the New Town, and especially to those feuars whose real right of servitude was expressly declared in the charters following the date of the decret-arbitral; without notice in the Edinburgh Ga-

zette, or in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, they applied for and obtained that statute, by the provisions of which they conceived themselves entitled to proceed with the erection of buildings on both sides of the bridge. (*Hear, hear*)—Respecting that bargain, sir, I am sorry to say, that I am not enabled to make that full disclosure which it was my wish to have given, and I am therefore bound to state how this has happened.

"I thought it my duty, sir, to wait upon the Lord Provost on Thursday last, with the letter to which I have referred, requesting his lordship to call this meeting, and it is but fair to his lordship that I should state, that he received me with that politeness and attention which was due to an inhabitant of this city coming on such an errand. His lordship very candidly led me to expect that I was to receive all the information upon the subject of the letter which I delivered to him; but, sir, I soon afterwards found, upon applying to the City Clerk, that I was to get no paper of which I could not previously specify the date: I repeat, sir, of which I could not previously specify the date. (*Hear, hear*).—I remonstrated against such a rule, for I was told it was the general rule of the office, but I remonstrated unsuccessfully, though I informed the City Clerk, that all I wanted was, to see every entry in the council-books relative to St Ann's-street, at the sight and under the direction of himself or any of his clerks. In this situation I required the City Clerk, by letter, to give the inspection which I demanded. My letter was communicated to the Lord Provost, and I received a verbal answer to it, through the City Clerk, informing me that his lordship was really desirous to give me the information I wanted, but that the rule of the office could not be dispensed with. Along with this message a parcel of

papers relative to the transaction in question was put into my hand, of which he allowed me the perusal, and of which he allowed me to take notes in his own official room. I would not, sir, be acting with that fairness which is due to the gentlemen concerned, if I did not at once admit, that in that parcel of papers I found most of the very singular, and, as I think, valuable information to us at this moment, which it is now my duty to communicate to the meeting. The first document which arrested my attention, upon looking into the papers put into my hands, was a private and confidential agreement entered into between the then Lord Provost Arbuthnot, on the part of a committee of council on the one hand, and Messrs Wilson and Cleghorn, the proprietors of St Ann's-street, on the other, dated, and pray mark the date, on the *16th of January 1816*; private and confidential I call it, because I find it so designated in a memorial sent by Messrs Cleghorn and Wilson to the council, on the 27th of March 1816; and farther, because months elapsed after this date before the inhabitants of this city knew any thing of its existence.

"The feueduty is ascertained by the agreement; but those parts of the agreement to which I chiefly wish to call the attention of this meeting, are the three following articles, which, be it noticed, were agreed to by the town before they applied for or obtained that act of parliament, which, according to their construction of it, places them in a different situation from that in which the opinion of their learned counsel left them in 1812.

"The articles to which I allude are the 4th, 6th, and 7th:—

"4th, Measures are to be concerted between the town and the proprietors, for obtaining the necessary warrant for executing the projected improvement, so as to obviate any opposition

from parties who may consider themselves interested.

"6th, In the event of any opposition proving successful, so as to stop the execution of the plan altogether, and that the projected improvements cannot proceed, the present agreement is to fall. The damage to be claimed under the clause of warrandice being limited to the damage and loss actually suffered by the proprietors.

"7th, In the event of its being necessary to have the sanction of an act of parliament, it is agreed that the expence shall be defrayed mutually, providing that both parties agree that an act is to be applied for.

"In prosecution of this agreement, the act of parliament was actually applied for and obtained, in the year 1816, authorizing the Magistrates and council of this city to erect houses and buildings on the Earthen Mound, and to contract with the proprietors of houses and areas in St Ann's-street and Canal-street, in order that buildings may be erected within twelve feet of the parapet walls of the north end of the Bridge.

"It is the last provision of the act on which the Magistrates found their right to erect that unseemly pile of buildings which so much deforms the city.

"The act was obtained without reference to any plan, and the confidential agreement, so far as I recollect, is equally silent upon that subject. I find no trace of any proceeding upon the act, after it was obtained, till the 9th of September 1816, on which day it would appear that the feuars had transmitted plans to Mr Robert Johnston, who was then, I presume, Dean of Guild. There was a meeting of the committee and council upon the 17th September thereafter, at which they state themselves to be duly impressed with the necessity of buildings in such a valuable situation, being in a

style suited to the same ; and therefore resolve that it will be proper to procure designs from Messrs Elliott and Burn, architects, the town of Edinburgh and the feuars, each to defray one-half of the expence of the designs.

“The feuars seem to have taken fire at this resolution on the part of the town, and they communicated their dissent from it in a letter written by them to their law-agent, and which was communicated by him to the town on the 28th September. Part of their letter, alluding to the resolution of the Town-council relative to the new designs, runs thus :—‘It only remains for us to declare, that we now consider the preliminary agreement between the town and us as no longer binding upon either party.’

“It would afterwards seem that Mr Crichton, who had drawn the plans submitted to the council by the feuars, informed Mr Johnston that it was framed according to the direction of his employers, and that he was not left at liberty to exercise either his taste or judgment in the design. I think it necessary to state this fact, from a regard to the memory of a man of merit who is now no more, and whose professional talents were, as I have been informed, highly respectable.

“At length, sir, the town and the feuars made up their dispute as to the plan, by directing Mr Crichton to make some decoration upon his plan, for which they were to pay ; and the town of Edinburgh has either paid, or is still bound to pay 100l. for some of the splendid decorations which appear on the cumbrous and ill-shaped tenements which disfigure the city, and in which every rule of architecture is violated—in which the weak is made to support the strong, and voids are found over solids, and solids over voids. (*Hear, hear.*)—I know not to what part of the buildings the 100l. are to

be applied ; whether on the pilasters, so extraordinarily disposed with regard to the windows, on the immense plain wall, studded with windows in no degree corresponding with those in the story below, or on the block cornice surmounting all, which has certainly the merit of being *sui generis*, for it is neither Palladian nor Vitruvian. But perhaps, sir, I may not yet have hit the decoration for which the town pays so large a sum, for I have not yet noticed the junction between the old and the new buildings, which sets every rule and every precedent at defiance, and may, from being unique of its kind, be possessed of that merit, in which it does appear to me that all the other parts of these disgraceful buildings are so lamentably deficient. Nor have I yet noticed the front to the west ; but of this it is impossible to speak with either temper or moderation.

“One thing, sir, is certain, that the Town-council are now satisfied of the error they have committed, and have so far retraced their steps, as to have agreed to pay 800l. to substitute a flat roof for the garret storey, which was in the original plan. They have also made overtures with a view to the reduction of the height of the buildings, which have been at once and peremptorily rejected.

“It appears, farther, from the council-books, that on the 17th of May last, Sir William Rae endeavoured to convince the Magistrates, by a spirited remonstrance which he sent them, of the injurious consequence of their proceeding ; but the Magistrates were then completely tied up by their agreement with Messrs Cleghorn and Wilson, so that they could not interfere.

“The agreement was, upon the 19th of March last, finally concluded, and by this transaction the Magistrates have obtained an additional feu-duty of something more than 250l. a-year ;

but, on the other hand, they either have paid, or are bound to pay 800l. on account of the flat roof, and 100l. for the decoration.

“ Within five weeks after this feu-contract was signed, an increase of 200l. per annum was made to the salary of the Lord Provost. (*Hear, hear.*)—I state this fact on account of its date, but I leave it to the meeting to draw such inference from it as the case seems to warrant, and I beg to caution them of the impropriety of marking, by any sort of censure, their disapprobation of any part of the conduct of the Magistrates in this place. I trust and believe that their wish is now the same as ours, to take every possible step to prevent the city from being permanently disfigured.”

Mr Stuart finally moved a series of resolutions, declaratory of the above facts, and proposing that a subscription should be entered into to defray the expence of legally opposing the erection of the buildings in question.

Mr Francis Walker.—“ I am sure, sir, this meeting, and the community at large, must feel indebted to my honourable friend, for the able and distinct manner in which he has brought forward the business, and for the great research and trouble which he has taken previous to the meeting. I think there can be but one opinion as to the deformity which the buildings create on the general appearance of the city, and there can be but one opinion as to the mode in which the attempt to erect these buildings has been made. I trust, however, that the effect of the resolutions of this day will, ere long, be to remove the nuisance of which the inhabitants have so much cause to complain; for if ever there was a time when they ought to make a stand against an unjust invasion of their privileges, it is at the present. I feel it quite unnecessary to enter into any minute details, after the very able state-

ment of Mr Stuart, whose resolutions have my most hearty concurrence, and I therefore feel great pleasure in seconding the motion which has just been submitted to the meeting.”

Sir John Marjoribanks rose merely to state, that he conceived an impression had been made upon the meeting, from some observations in Mr Stuart's speech, that the chief magistrate had received an addition of 200l. to his yearly allowance, on account of his exertions in regard to those buildings in St Ann's-street. If this impression was made, he stood forward to correct it. Such a transaction could not have taken place without his knowledge, and he could affirm that he was utterly ignorant of it. If this were stated in any minute in the council-books, it was most improperly stated. The honourable baronet concluded with recommending conciliatory measures.

Mr Stuart, in explanation, observed, that the addition of salary was stated in the council-books, 30th April 1817, and he disclaimed all intention of conveying any imputation affecting the character of Mr Arbuthnot.

Sir John Marjoribanks then mentioned, that his journey to London might have been undertaken with a view to other objects of public utility; and, in point of fact, he knew that the late Provost had gone to London respecting the docks at Leith—an improvement which he had taken infinite trouble to promote.

Mr Henry Mackenzie.—“ I object to only one name in the committee. It is my own. I am now an old man, and have very indifferent health, and hope I shall therefore be excused for declining to be one of the committee; the more so, that were I on that committee, I would make a point of attending all its meetings, which my health might not enable me to do. I am unwilling to obtrude myself on the meeting; but there are occasions

when it is impossible to be silent.—
Facit (said the Roman classic) *Facit indignatio versus.* I may apply this sentiment to the present case, and say, that the disgust, if not the indignation, which every one must feel who looks at the buildings which were the occasion of this meeting, would give boldness to the most timid, and words to the least eloquent. Young men speak from feeling, old men from memory. I am old enough to recollect a Lord Provost, whose memory should ever be dear to every inhabitant of Edinburgh, Provost Drummond. I was a lad when he laid the foundation stone of that bridge which gave a New Town to Edinburgh, and, if I recollect well, his name was put upon a plate at the foundation of the bridge. I have the pleasure to be in habits of close friendship with Mr Arbuthnot, the late Lord Provost, and, if there are any Highlanders in the room, they will admit, that I must have a kindness for the present Provost, when I claim him as a clansman. But let me ask if either of these gentlemen would choose to have their names handed down to posterity at the foundation of the present pile of buildings which disfigure that bridge; for, sir, I contend, that, in the elegance and ornament of the city, every inhabitant, at least every proprietor of a house, as I am, has a positive property and a substantial right. In such a case, indeed, I hold, that every proprietor has a patrimonial and tangible interest in the ornament and decoration of the city, which is so grossly violated by the present erections. I heartily concur in all that has been so ably said by the gentleman who moved the resolutions; but still, with the honourable baronet at the other end of the room, I am for moderate and conciliatory measures, and therefore I would anxiously recommend to the gentlemen who compose the committee to try the Magis-

trates again, to let their measures be distinguished by conciliation, and not rashly to plunge into a law-suit, till more amicable measures shall have failed."

Mr James Gibson observed, that after the very able statement made by Mr Stuart, it did not appear necessary to go into any detail on the subject. He heartily agreed with Mr Mackenzie, in earnestly recommending moderate measures, and he was convinced the Magistrates were very sorry for what had happened, and would now be as happy as any of the citizens if the nuisance could be removed. The meeting therefore ought, if possible, to carry the Magistrates along with them, as that would give great weight to their proceedings.

Mr James Moncrieff considered that it would not be right for the meeting to break up without bearing testimony to Mr Stuart's great zeal and exertions in the business. He therefore begged leave to move the thanks of the meeting to that gentleman, for the ability he had displayed in the business, and for the very able manner in which he had brought the subject before the meeting. Which motion was unanimously carried by acclamation.

Mr Henry Cockburn.—"I think it would be equally improper were the meeting to be dissolved without another motion, and I am sure every voice and every heart must acquiesce in it, when I move a vote of thanks to Mr Playfair, for the obvious sacrifice of feeling which he made in taking the chair, and for the very able manner in which he has filled it." This motion was likewise carried with great applause.

Mr J. P. Grant, M. P. before the meeting separated, begged to call their attention to the object which had been mentioned by the gentleman who had so ably opened the business, namely, the subscription for defraying neces-

sary expences. He understood that papers would lie for subscription at the different public offices, of which notice would be duly given; and he was persuaded that there was no occasion for his pressing on gentlemen the propriety of an immediate and general attention to this subject. It would be an absurd waste of their time in him to add any thing to what had been so well stated already. He perfectly agreed with his excellent friend near him (Mr Mackenzie), that every individual of the city had a personal interest in its splendour and beauty. But as he had risen, he begged to say one word of apology for himself, for not having, in the House of Commons, opposed the bill under which the power to erect these obnoxious buildings was claimed. He hoped he would receive credit for not being indifferent to what concerned the interests of Edinburgh. But, in his own vindication on this occasion, he begged to read the title of the act, which is as follows:—

“An act to enable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, to carry into effect certain purposes, in regard to the erection of a chapel at the west end of Prince’s street, and for effecting certain improvements in the neighbourhood thereof, and in other parts of the extended royalty of the said city.”

Now, he believed no mortal would have imagined, that a bill for erecting a chapel at the west end of Prince’s street, and making certain improvements in the neighbourhood thereof, could be meant to confer the powers claimed under it, of deforming the east end of Prince’s street, at a mile’s distance. He hoped the meeting would accept his apology, and with it this pledge, that while he continued to have the honour of a seat in parliament, he would not again, in case of a bill brought in by the Magistrates

of Edinburgh, content himself with looking at the title of it!

Mr Playfair, from the chair, then dissolved the meeting, after expressing his satisfaction at its unanimity.

Mr Nasmyth was so obliging as to lay before the meeting two sketches, shewing the effect of the new buildings in limiting the views upon either side of the North Bridge, more particularly from the Regent Bridge and Prince’s street.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the general meeting, the committee proceeded to hold their first meeting, when they appointed a sub-committee, for the purpose of conferring with the Lord Provost and Magistrates, &c. consisting of the nine following gentlemen:—Mr Stuart, Mr Walker, Sir John Marjoribanks, Mr Cockburn, Mr Gibson, Mr Nairne, Mr Trotter, Mr Ramsay, and Mr Allan.

—A number of the respectable inhabitants of this city met in MacEwan’s Rooms, Royal Exchange, to consider of an act of council of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, on this subject. The meeting was called by the committee formerly appointed for considering the measures proper to be adopted regarding the supply of water to the city. The act of council is as follows.—

“The meeting (the council) having taken into consideration the outlines of the plan in regard to the supply of water, as contained in the printed minute of council, and report annexed thereto, circulated under date the 29th October 1817, resolved, 1st, That it will be expedient to form a joint Stock Water Company, with a capital of 150,000*l.*, in shares of 25*l.* each. 2d, That on the town of Edinburgh making a surrender to the company of the whole of the present water establishment, and all the rights therewith connected, they should be allowed to

hold shares in the said company to the extent of 45,000l., being the restricted amount of the debt due to the city on account of the water, the company at the same time taking upon themselves all the obligations incumbent upon the town of Edinburgh in regard to the water. 3d, That no individual nor public body shall be allowed to subscribe for more than ten shares in the company, until the subscription-books shall have been open at least six weeks, and that the rate of interest to be received shall be limited to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital actually advanced. 4th, That the company shall be under the management of fifteen directors, to be chosen annually, five to be named by the Town-council, and ten to be named by the other subscribers and stockholders holding at least four shares each; of which ten, no person who is a member of the Town-council for the time shall be capable to be elected: That every individual or public body holding more than four shares, shall have one vote in the election of directors, office-bearers, &c. for every four shares, to the extent of twenty shares, if the subscription shall eventually be extended; but no individual or public body shall have more than five votes, whatever number of shares they may hold. 5th, That whenever the dividends of the company shall exceed 5 per cent. the surplus dividend arising upon the 45,000l. stock belonging to the town shall be applied towards extinction of that capital sum; but the Magistrates and Council shall, nevertheless, continue to name five directors, whether their said capital shall be partially or wholly extinguished. 6th, That when these resolutions shall have been approved of by the Town-council, and by the committee on the part of the inhabitants, a subscription shall be opened, and, as soon as 50,000l., independent of the stock to be held by the town, shall have been

subscribed, that application shall be made to parliament, by bill, for an additional supply of water, and for incorporating the company."

THE FORTUNATE YOUTH.—This young man's name is Abraham W. Cawston. His father is a farmer at Chippenham, near Newmarket. The early promise of shining talents induced his father to send him to school, under the tuition of the eminent Dr Butler, of Shrewsbury; and there his attainments and abilities gained him universal admiration. He was not 17 years of age when he paid his addresses to a young lady of fortune in that place, and from that time the strange artifice or imagination of this enormous fortune that had dropt to him, as it were from the clouds, had birth. He first opened the wonderful secret to his father, and the story he told was, that an aged gentleman had, at one of his journies from home to school, fallen in with him in a stage-coach going to Birmingham, and that he had afterwards made him a *deed of gift* of his whole fortune! It did not, in the first disclosure, swell to the magnitude which it afterwards attained; but the first feeling which he manifested, was to settle a part of his wealth on his parents and brother. For this purpose he was introduced to Mr Weatherby, solicitor at Newmarket, to whom he gave instructions to make a will; and as his fortune was stated to be all personal, Mr Weatherby saw no objection to the deed. His distribution of wealth, though uncommon, did not strike Mr W. as improbable, so clear and consistent were the boy's statements in their different interviews, and so filial and brotherly were the bequests.

From this time nothing could equal the romance of his story, the unblushing effrontery with which he maintained it, and the ingenious stratagems he devised to keep up the delusion.

The great object, he said, of the old man, his benefactor, had been to *acquire secret influence*, by getting as many people as possible into his *trammels*; nay, the desire of this mysterious dominion had been in him a stronger passion even than avarice.

Most of the foreign sovereigns, therefore, owed him money.

The Empress of Russia was a debtor to the amount of 100,000*l.*, but she regularly paid 6,000*l.* per annum interest.

Prince Eugene was also in his list for a large sum, and on the King of Spain he had immense claims. His principal estate lay, indeed, in that country, but he had also large estates in Germany, Italy, Sicily, and in England—many great mortgages and reversions unknown to the presumed successors, and amongst the latter he cited the painful case of his being one day obliged to dispossess his dearest friend of an inheritance on which he relied, or make him dependent on his generosity for the restitution.

His brother immediately took suitable measures to enter into Emanuel College, with an income of 6000*l.* per annum; and young C. on being asked what his father had said on the information being given, that he was to have an estate purchased for him with the 100,000*l.* destined to be his portion? replied with emotion, “he burst into tears.”

For some reasons which young C. would not assign, the realization of his promises was to be deferred until the 1st of *January* 1818; but to sustain his statements in the interval, and lull the suspicions of an anxious suspense, he desired his father to take him to Mr Weatherby of Newmarket, who, after the first introduction was over, and the father had retired, received directions from young C. to make his *will*. To the observation that he was a *minor*, he replied, that the property

being *personal*, he had the legal right. In the next interview, he desired Mr Weatherby to be one of the executors, to which he agreed, if the father or brother were joined with him; and at the third interview, he insisted that Mr W. should accept of a legacy to a considerable amount, but this Mr W. *refused*, although young C. always affirmed he had acceded to the proposition.

The *will* was made, and a copy given young C. From this time the interviews with Mr Weatherby became more frequent, and Mr Weatherby receiving instructions to purchase various estates, opened a correspondence with the agent of Lord Cholmondeley, &c. The knowledge of this fact made proselytes of the most sceptical; and applications from all quarters, and on all subjects, were addressed to young C. in the view of deriving benefit from the distribution of his treasures.

Every one who had any thing to sell, whether of real or personal property, made their offers, and no one received direct refusals.

Negotiations were opened at the same time for change of name, armorial honours, and such distinctions as his pride suggested, or his wealth seemed to justify; but although he sometimes affirmed that a British earldom would be added to his Spanish titles of nobility, it is not believed that he was warranted in such an assertion by any direct arrangement with his Majesty's ministry.

The want of ready money was no doubt, for some time, a subject of much solicitude to the *Cræsus* of 1818, but his tale had acquired so much confidence, that a relative to whom he said 100,000*l.* had been promised on the *great pay-day*, entreated him to make use of 1200*l.* lying idle in *Oaks's* bank at Bury.

The offer was accepted; and young C. was so eager to grasp the prize,

that his servant arrived with the check at the bank before the doors were opened.

This circumstance, and the employment of a common groom as the receiver of such a large sum, excited some suspicion, and the clerk was sent over to young C. with the money. Young C. gave him 1*l.* for his trouble, put 99*l.* into the purse, which was soon *carelessly* left about, to be seen full of bank-notes, and 1100*l.* were placed in the bank of Messrs Hammond and Eden, at Newmarket, who afterwards opened a credit of 1000*l.* in favour of young C. with their correspondents, Messrs Cox and Bidulph, Charing-Cross.

The young man now saw himself the object of general interest, not merely in a Newmarket circle, but amongst all ranks in every part of the kingdom, and he also found that even the most exaggerated absurdities fascinated more than probable narrative. Still he was not indifferent to the dumb shew of the drama.

He generally read great part of the night, wrote and received many letters, pretended to dispatch couriers to London and Liverpool, but without ostentation, and kept a German secretary (who once travelled with Lord Darlington) in constant employment. His expences were not considerable, but still he was sometimes profuse, and his allowance of 200*l.* per annum to his groom appeared a culpable extravagance, until he justified it by stating, that it was no more than a just compensation for the confidence he was obliged to repose in him, and the fatigue he encountered in carrying his *most secret* dispatches to their various destinations.

Sometimes a draft was *accidentally* suffered to fall from out his pocket-book, and he appeared eager to recover it, but not before the figures repre-

senting a considerable sum had been seen by some of the company.

Now and then he produced drafts signed by himself, but under assumed names, to verify some anecdote he might be relating relative to the mysterious transactions of the old man, and which obliged him to pursue the same *alias* system.

Amongst those drafts was one on Hanbury and Lloyd, in favour of the Duke San Carlos, and in the name of Puerta, for 335,000*l.*; another on the same firm for 150,000*l.* after date, as he stated he had overdrawn the house 100,000*l.* for the moment, to make a Spanish loan. This draft not being on stamp paper, he said, was of no consequence, as the stamp might be affixed at any time, and then it would be rendered legally valid. Another in the name of Forrester, on the bank of Shrewsbury, for 37,000*l.*; and this draft he *appeared* to send instantly by the post, as he requested the bell might be rung for his servant to carry it there; and, on his coming, gave him what was then presumed to be the letter which he had shewn.

As the 1st of January approached, his character seemed to change; instead of his usual gentleness, he displayed great violence of temper, and an irritation on the most trifling subjects, that greatly alarmed all about him for the state of his mind. At length his language was so extravagant, that it was feared the acquisition of fortune had overpowered his faculties, and his physicians were consulted, but they contradicted the opinion, and vouched for his sanity of mind.

Many circumstances having transpired, which gave cause to suspect that the whole story of young C. was an invention, sustained by a fabric of falsehoods and disingenuous acts, every person whom he had named in the

course of his narration as a banker, agent, &c. was applied to for information, and all disowned knowledge of him, except from public report or schoolboy connection. Every fact affirmed by him was examined, and not one was authenticated which related to money transactions.

The whole was visionary, but still most artfully wrought; and so successful was his manner in making dupes, that to this hour there are many who confide in his re-appearance with all the treasure to which he has pretended.

One very respectable person affirmed, that he had seen a remittance to young C. from Spain, amounting to 350,000*l.*; a draft of *frightful* amount from Liverpool, and that he *knew* he possessed two millions in the funds; nay, that a banker, within a few doors of him, had but the day before said he would have paid his bill for 100,000*l.* if it had been presented, instead of the 300*l.* bill which was cashed. Other persons had heard a respectable solicitor declare he *knew* young C. had great estates in Scotland, from which 45,000*l.* had been received; that he had many diamonds at Rundles and Bridges, and altogether 700,000*l.* per annum. Others that he meant to buy an estate, and pay 500,000*l.* for it in gold, and some offered large bets he would be in possession of Houghton by the 1st of January. Others cited noblemen and gentlemen of the greatest accuracy, who had *known* the old man at Shrewsbury, and who had heard it said at the time, "that he would *cut up*, when dead, for more money than any man in the empire." Others, that they had known those who had dealt in diamonds with him, and almost every one professed to have an authority which justified original and still unshaken belief.

Even those to whom property purchased by young C. but not *paid for*,

had been *returned*, seemed to think an injury more than a service was likely to be done them by the restitution, and no statement of *detected falsehood* could counteract or weaken the infatuation.

All these discoveries were communicated the ensuing day to Mr Weatherby, who admitted that they authorized a bad opinion of the young man, but still he had faith in him, and as a proof, had paid that morning a bill on his account of 40 odd pounds, by verbal message, and without any other security; for he reported again, as he had done the preceding day, that he never had any reference given him, nor was any document ever shewn him, to authenticate the boy's story, or prove his possession of one shilling.

Never, indeed, was any confidence more sincere than Mr W.'s, for he not only had been in treaty for Houghton with Lord C., and for other estates, but he had employed Mr H. and Sir S. Romilly to make his client a ward in Chancery; and as some difficulty arose from the young man's property being personal, and conveyed by deed of gift, it was arranged that young C. should give his father 100,000*l.*, and the father should make a settlement on him to this amount, which would enable the Chancellor to interfere; a process as easy as the prescribed duty of a commander of an Indiaman, which commences, it is said, by the simple direction, "first get a ship."

At length a letter, which young C. had given to Mr W., with orders that it should not be opened until the 1st of January, was, under the urgent necessity of the case, examined, (the father thereto consenting), and that letter being found to contain only false references, Mr W. suffered the bandage to be drawn from his eyes, which a generous confidence had so perseveringly maintained.

A letter from Messrs S. and E. of Liverpool, removed the last lingering doubts, and Mr W. immediately wrote and published the acknowledgment of his having been deceived by a lunatic or depraved impostor.

The charm being broken, a letter written by young C., and dated Paris, in which he anticipated the discovery of his false references, but yet affirmed the general truth of his story, although received the day preceding the publication of Mr W.'s recantation, had no effect upon his decision, but it was so far satisfactory as to remove some of Mr W.'s uneasiness as to the course taken by young C. after he reached Calais, since it is said he had letters of recommendation, which, if he had gone direct into Germany, he might have used, to the great prejudice of Mr W., who had rendered himself responsible, by his first published letter, for the money he might take up abroad, as well as the debts he had incurred in England.

Of the original 1100*l.* advanced by the relative, young C. had drawn out all but 10*l.*, by London and Newmarket checks; but he has left several hundred pounds to be paid by his family. There is indeed a report, that the relative alluded to had previously advanced 800*l.*, but this report wants confirmation. At all events, it is certain that this young man spent above 1600*l.* in two months, without being at any expence for house, equipage, &c. But although this sum was large for one whose previous expenditure had been so very limited, still it is not of sufficient magnitude to justify the supposition that his objects were merely pecuniary.

“MONTROSE, *Sunday evening, Dec. 14, 1817.*—During the whole of yesterday we had the wind from the south-east, with rain towards evening. At 9 o'clock it began to blow a violent gale, which continues till this time,

(8 o'clock P.M.) Between 12 and 1 o'clock to-day, a vessel appeared in the offing, apparently driving in towards the shore. At this time the tide was scarcely half flood, and as the wind was blowing almost right in-shore, and a tremendous sea running, the greatest anxiety was manifested for her safety; and crowds of people were running in all directions towards the beach. At the time the vessel was driving, a flag was displayed from the house where the life-boat is kept, and every assistance of men and horses being procured, the boat was hurled to the beach in a few minutes, to be in readiness. The vessel, which was now plainly observed from the shore, was smack rigged, and appeared making exertions to gain the harbour. In the opinion of the seamen on shore, whether from fatigue, or some defect in the vessel, those on board seemed to have little management of her; so that after almost gaining the river, she was struck by some tremendous seas, and precipitated on the Annette, a sand-bank running out from the north side of the entrance to the harbour. The situation of those on board the vessel now became perilous in the extreme—the tide forcing her in-shore, and the waves breaking over her with great violence. She had now got so near the land, that the people on shore could distinctly observe her decks crowded with passengers, and thence concluded her one of the packets employed in the coasting trade. Two fishing boats, on the first appearance of danger, had proceeded to the mouth of the river, and made the usual signals on such occasions, but, from the heavy sea running, were unable, after repeated attempts, to cross the bar. The life-boat, which was brought to the beach, and manned with the greatest alacrity, now proceeded to the vessel, and, though repeatedly driven back, succeeded in getting so close to

her, as to throw a rope with a grappling-iron on board, which was fastened to the bolt-stay; but it unfortunately gave way, and the boat was driven, by the fury of the sea and wind, to leeward of the vessel, and was unable to make up again. Anxious to afford every assistance, the men in the life-boat now rowed in-shore, and came round by the deep water on the back of the *Annette*. Having reached the shoal water on the south-west end of it, a number of seamen on the shore, much to their honour, with one impulse rushed into the water, some of them breast high, to assist the crew in dragging the boat into the river, which they effected, after extraordinary exertions. The boat now made for the vessel a second time, but, melancholy to relate, before they could reach her, she was upset, and her mast giving way, she was turned literally keel up-permost, and every soul on board perished. At the time the life-boat was alongside, they spoke those on board, and ascertained the vessel to be the Forth packet of Aberdeen, Thomas Galloway master, with thirty-eight passengers on board, men, women, and children. The distracted feelings of the numerous spectators on shore, during these awful moments, may be imagined, but cannot possibly be described. From the shore the spectators had beheld the agonies of those on board, each clinging desperately to whatever they could lay hold of, to preserve them from the devouring element around. One young woman was observed among the passengers, with an infant at her breast; and now, in an instant, all were buried in the ocean, in sight of multitudes who could render them no assistance. The vessel now soon became a total wreck, and fragments of her and her cargo were driven on shore in every direction. The spectators now lined the

beach, to pick up and save whatever came on shore, and, if possible, to afford assistance to any of the sufferers who might luckily be cast on shore with life.—The bodies of a man and woman were found, and carried to the hospital, but every effort to restore animation was ineffectual. The man was ascertained to be Alexander Paterson from Edinburgh, who was lately in this place selling ladies' boots and shoes. The woman was elderly, and in poor habit. These are all the persons who have yet been got. All this happened in less than an hour and a half after the striking of the vessel. Several knapsacks belonging to the 1st battalion royal artillery are come on shore; and from the numerous parcels directed Edinburgh, it appears she had been bound for Leith. Much praise is due to Provost Barclay, the late Provost Thom, Mr Burnes, and several other of the Magistrates, who used every exertion in their power. The Provost had made every thing be in readiness at the hospital, and had the medical men in attendance. Indeed all ranks of people on the shore seemed to have foregone every other consideration but that of saving the persons and cargo of the vessel. We cannot help, however, noticing particularly the exertions of Captain Bertram, who, besides being indefatigable otherwise, assisted in carrying the body of Mr Paterson to the hospital.

“A fire is kindled on the beach, and the staff of the militia and others are employed in collecting and securing the wreck of the vessel and cargo. The storm is still unabated.”

—Mr Hone, in a letter to the editors of the London papers, complains that bills have been posted announcing the republication of the parodies on which he has been tried, and disclaims all knowledge of them, adding, that he shall never write any work of the

same tendency again ; and that when he comes to publish the report of his trials, he shall feel it his duty most earnestly to exhort all his fellow-citizens to abstain from parodying any part of the holy writ, or the service of the church of England.

Mr Carlile, who has been a prisoner in the King's Bench for some time, for republishing the parodies charged as libels against Mr Hone, was on Saturday night liberated on his own recognizance.

THE PRETENDED DAUPHIN OF FRANCE.—The following details have been published respecting the person assuming the name of the Dauphin, who is now in prison at Rouen :—

He is a young man of about four or five and thirty, handsome deportment, and well informed. He has been now a prisoner two years, during which period he has been sent before two courts for trial as an impostor, and both these courts declared themselves incompetent to take cognizance of this crime. Before one of these courts he was desired by the president to uncover himself. The Dauphin haughtily replied, " When did it become the custom that a monarch uncovered himself to his subjects ?" He declares he can prove he is what he assumes, and demands to be taken to the Tuilleries, and when there, he will indicate places where, when young, he concealed several things, which he will there name and describe most minutely ; and, says he, when the Queen my mother was in prison at the Temple, she with a sharp instrument made a curious mark on the back of his neck, (which he shews), and with the same instrument she at the same time made a similar one upon that of the Duchess his sister : That when young, and playing with his sister, he with a knife accidentally stabbed her in the body, the mark of which remained ; and he will, if confronted with her, describe the very spot where it is.

The sabotier, said to be his father, being called into court, was asked if that was his son ? He replied, Yes. The mother being called in, and asked the same question, said, No, and that she had never seen the man before. The daughter corroborated her mother, and said she had never seen him, and that he was not at all like her brother.

He is not closely confined at Rouen, and has always plenty of money in his pockets ; he sends for every thing of the best, and when brought in, makes his gaoler taste of it, for fear of being poisoned. Such as go to see him out of curiosity, style him " Sire," and " Your Majesty."

He says, that some years ago, not knowing how to escape out of France, he boldly told Buonaparte who he was ; that he did not want to reign, and only wished for a safe escort out of the country. Buonaparte, adds he, named one of his ministers, who is now living, and he saw me safe to the frontiers. This person is living, and he will name him, in order that he may identify him for the man he escorted out of France.

It is strange, that during the numerous interrogations he has had, he has never uttered a word to commit himself. People seem to think there is much mystery in it ; for if there is not reason to believe him what he pretends to be, he would long before this have been tried and sent to the gallies. It is said he has a strong party in this country.

It has been well ascertained, that the person poisoned was not the Dauphin. The surgeon who inspected the body of the child given out for the Dauphin, asserted it was not ; and for so doing he was found poisoned himself in his bed the next morning.

This young man has travelled a great deal, and has been received at most of the courts in Europe.

V.
PUBLIC
AND
PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE
YEAR 1816.

INCOME.

ORDINARY REVENUES.

Permanent and Annual Taxes.

CUSTOMS	L.8,168,780
Excise	19,013,630
Stamps	6,184,288
Land and Assessed Taxes	7,257,906
Post Office	1,659,854
One shilling in the pound on Pensions and Salaries	22,576
Sixpence in the pound on Pen- sions and Salaries	13,660
Hackney Coaches	26,496
Hawkers and Pedlars	22,036
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Total Permanent and Annual Duties	42,370,230

*Small Branches of the Hereditary
Revenue.*

Alienation Fines	6,513
Post Fines	7,082
Seizures	14,584
Compositions and Proffers	608
Crown Lands	136,070

EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.

War Taxes:	Customs	1,007,810
	Excise	4,531,637
	Property Tax	12,039,120
	Arrears of Income Duty	36
	Lottery, net profit	234,680
	Monies paid on Account of Loans raised for Ireland	4,558,558
	Balance due by Ireland, on joint Expenditure	1,184,009
	Issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c.	5,091
	Unclaimed Dividends,	303,506
	Surplus Fees of regulated Public Offices	28,619
	Imprest Monies repaid	101,259
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Total (independent of Loans)		66,579,420
Loans paid into the Exche- quer		8,939,802

Grand Total Income 75,519,223

EXCISE.

*Net Payments into the Exchequer in the
year ending the 5th of January 1817.*

Auctions	L.245,930
Beer	2,881,772
Bricks and Tiles	229,919
Candles	301,033
Cocoa-nuts and Coffee	102,024
Cyder, Perry, and Verjuice	7,363
Glass	319,310
Hides and Skins	573,631
Hops	192,784
Licences	669,979
Malt	1,438,091
Paper	416,807
Printed Goods	363,487
Salt	1,503,431
Soap	755,499
Spirits, British	1,563,299
Ditto, by Act 51. Geo. III. c. 59.	516,640
Spirits, Foreign	1,263,654
Ditto, by Act 51. Geo. III. c. 59.	87,640
Starch	31,202
Stone Bottles	7,407
Sweets and Mead	10,923
Tea	1,334,786
Tobacco and Snuff	578,903
Vinegar	41,373
Wine	837,062
Wire	7,947

Total Permanent Duties 16,274,986

Tobacco and Snuff, (commen- ced 26th of March)	466,474
Malt, additional . ditto	1,121,289
Malt, old (commenced June 24)	551,314

Total Annual Duties 2,139,077

Malt, per Act 43. G. III. c. 81.	1,207,934
Sweets . . Ditto	1,880
Spirits, British Ditto	729,811
—, Foreign Ditto	711,884
Tea . . . Ditto	1,380,143
Tobacco and Snuff, 46 G. III. cap. 39	314,810
Brandy, &c. 47. G. III. c. 27.	115,612
—, 52. G. III. cap. 3.	—

Total War Duties 4,462,074

Total Duties of Excise 22,879,132

<i>Payments into the Exchequer of the Duties arising from STAMPS in Great Britain, &c.</i>							
				ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.		
Deeds, Law Proceedings, and other written Instruments (except Legacy Receipts, Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories, Bills of Exchange, and Promissory Notes and Receipts,) and on Licences to Dealers in Thread Lace				L.1,880,646	2	6	L.180,064 14 2
Legacies				685,172	0	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	16,580 0 0
Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories				610,442	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	22,010 0 0
Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes				625,266	7	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	113,070 0 0
Receipts				182,459	7	10	14,430 0 0
Newspapers				281,146	10	2	13,812 19 0
Almanacks				31,073	13	3	— — —
Medicine and Medicine Licences				35,069	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	290 0 0
Fire Insurances				536,912	9	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	18,240 0 0
Cards				19,820	11	2	— — —
Gold and Silver Plate				67,558	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,170 0 0
Dice				1,203	8	4	— — —
Pamphlets				711	5	7	7 3 0
Advertisements				115,960	5	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	15,053 8 6
Stage Coaches				254,328	0	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	14,960 0 0
Post Horses				224,884	9	6	— — —
Race Horses				830	7	2	61 15 4
				5,553,184	17	0	412,250 0 0
Lottery				4,289	11	10	

NET PRODUCE OF THE REVENUE ARISING FROM THE POST-OFFICE.

Inland, East and West Indies, and America	L.1,115,486	8	1
Foreign	121,296	18	7
Two-penny Post	57,786	18	10
Scotland	139,557	4	10
Ireland	20,505	10	11
	L.1,454,633	1	3

FINANCES OF IRELAND.

The Total Expenditure for the Year 1816 amounted to	-	L.14,612,560
The Total Gross Receipt and Sums to be accounted for	-	L.7,681,324
Deduct Charges of Management, Expense of Collecting, Bounties, &c.	1,380,558	
Leaving the whole Amount of the Total Net Revenue	-	6,300,766
Actual Deficiency to be made good out of the English Exchequer	-	8,311,794

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.		L.	L.
Total on Account of Interest	- - -	31,392,889	
- - Ditto - - Charges of Management	- -	265,400	
- - Ditto - - Reduction of the National Debt	- -	13,886,599	
			45,044,889
The INTEREST ON EXCHEQUER BILLS	- - -	—	2,196,177
The CIVIL LIST	- - -	1,028,000	
The other Charges on the Consolidated Fund.	Courts of Justice	70,092	
	Mint	15,236	
	Allowances to the Royal Family, Pensions, &c.	427,009	
	Salaries and Allowances	60,588	
	Bounties and Compensations	—	
	Miscellaneous { Charge on the Russian Loan made in Holland, per Act 55 George III. c. 115.	121,964	
	Other Miscellaneous Services	1,850	
			1,724,741
The CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND	- - -	—	128,514
The other PAYMENTS in ANTICIPATION of the EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS, viz.			
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	Customs, England	129,965	
	—, Scotland	74,649	
	Excise, England	11,073	
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	—, Scotland	31,444	
	Excise, England	14,000	
Militia and Deserters' Warrants	Post Office	13,700	
		83,749	
The NAVY, viz.			358,582
Wages	- - -	3,445,000	
General Services	- - -	3,250,647	
The Victualling Department	- - -	1,128,061	
The Transport Ditto	- - -	1,692,617	
			9,516,325
The ORDNANCE		—	2,661,711
The ARMY, viz.—			
Ordinary Services	- - -	8,607,497	
Extraordinary Services, including Remittances and Advances to other Countries	- - -	6,171,225	
		14,778,722	
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries	- - -	1,731,139	
LOANS, REMITTANCES, and ADVANCES, to the Countries, viz.—			13,047,582
Ireland	- - -	2,581,148	
Russia	- - -	1,096,355	
Sicily	- - -	117,748	
Sweden	- - -	506,098	
Naples	- - -	263	
Spain	- - -	1,121	
Holland	- - -	23	
Minor Powers under Engagements with the Duke of Wellington	- - -	9,527	
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES—			4,312,287
At Home	- - -	3,661,300	
Abroad	- - -	247,861	
			3,909,161
Deduct sums which, although included in this Account, form no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain, viz.			
Loan, &c. for Ireland	- - -	2,581,148	
Sinking Fund on Loan to the East India Company	- - -	132,998	
			82,899,975
			2,714,146

YEARS.	OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS			Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures exported.
		British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Total Exports.	
1814	L.36,559,788	L.36,092,167	L.20,499,347	L.56,591,514	L.47,851,453
1815	35,989,650	44,053,455	16,930,439	60,983,894	53,217,445
1816	30,106,818	36,714,534	14,545,933	51,260,467	42,942,951

Species of Goods exported.	Year 1815.	Year 1816.	Species of Goods exported.	Year 1815.	Year 1816.
Alum - - -	L.23,829	L.20,468	Leather, wrought and unwrought	L.582,821	L.403,236
Bacon and Hams -	66,074	52,524	—, Sadlery and Harness -	126,112	115,854
Bark, British Oak, for Tanners -	132,792	99,703	Linen Manufactures	1,828,203	1,476,143
Beef and Pork, salted	231,519	166,526	Molasses - - -	165,036	96,713
Beer and Ale -	334,534	351,007	Musical Instruments	86,437	92,498
Brass and Copper Manufactures -	752,611	675,004	Oil (Train), of Greenland Fishery	49,671	195,135
Bread and Biscuit -	85,255	76,811	Plate, Plated Ware, Jewellery, and Watches - -	284,213	302,077
Butter and Cheese -	264,120	216,543	Salt - - -	224,114	152,619
Cabinet and Upholstery Wares -	142,375	145,068	Salt Petre, British refined - -	15,537	53,268
Coals and Culm -	465,581	425,305	Seeds of all sorts -	83,671	56,546
Cordage - - -	221,236	176,127	Silk Manufactures -	692,929	533,374
Corn, Grain, Meal, and Flour -	605,793	480,079	Soap and Candles -	211,519	196,605
Cotton Manufactures	19,127,266	13,078,794	Stationery of all sorts	242,096	195,693
— Yarn -	1,781,077	2,707,385	Sugar, refined -	2,942,042	2,153,476
Earthenware of all sorts - -	716,222	637,201	Tin, unwrought - -	148,624	171,886
Fish of all sorts - -	484,790	368,879	— and Pewter Wares, and Tin Plates - - -	324,738	331,605
Glass of all sorts - -	779,070	782,770	Tobacco, British manufactured	7,074	12,990
Haberdashery and Millinery -	603,585	498,040	Whalebone - - -	10,687	17,449
Hardwares and Cutlery - -	2,349,676	1,987,092	Woollen Manufactures - - -	10,198,334	8,404,481
Hats, Beaver and Felt — of all other sorts	303,692	247,191	All other Articles	3,586,726	3,161,934
Hops - - -	115,179	69,998	Total declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures exported - -	53,217,445	42,942,951
Iron and Steel, wrought and unwrought - -	161,949	131,594			
Lead and Shot - -	1,280,928	1,095,782			
	327,528	329,478			

Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys

	On Sept. 30, 1815.			On Sept. 30, 1816.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	17,346	2,139,301	135,006	17,442	2,152,968	134,060
Scotland	2,863	254,926	18,629	2,958	263,536	18,775
Ireland	1,163	60,123	5,551	1,178	63,229	5,681
Plantations	2,991	203,445	14,706	3,775	279,643	16,859
Guernsey	61	6,662	508	65	7,237	494
Jersey	69	7,519	626	77	7,992	636
Isle of Man	367	9,300	2,283	369	9,335	2,315
Total	24,860	2,681,276	177,309	25,864	2,783,940	178,320

GENERAL VIEW OF

An Account of the Quantity of Woollen Goods exported from Great Britain, which Exported, and also distinguishing, as far as possible,

COUNTRIES to which EXPORTED.	QUANTITY AND DECLARED VALUE OF WOOLLEN					
	Cloths, of Superfine, Second, and Inferior Quality.	Napped Coatings, Duffles, &c.	Kerseymeres.	Baizes of all Sorts.	Flannel.	Blankets and Blanketing.
	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.
	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Yards.	Yards.
Russia - - -	79 671	27	2,180	128	62,436 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,742
Sweden - - -	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	832	58
Norway - - -	588	217	60	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,335	268
Denmark - - -	717	34	354	...	8,142 $\frac{1}{2}$	382
Poland - - -	2	...	...	...	100	180
Prussia - - -	83	67	214	3	1,324	...
Germany - - -	9 274	27,740	27,882	200	144,972	12,660
Holland - - -	9 892	13,374	2 374	1,741	37,928	7,690
Flanders - - -	3,164	6 586	1,575	13	44,555	6,663
France - - -	73	...	67	$\frac{1}{4}$	1,944	15
Portugal, &c. - -	39 854	7,466	3,931	13,114	14,859	44,745
Spain, &c. - - -	3 395 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,228	930	5,584	42,554	10,152
Gibraltar - - -	4,344	1,270	950	883	79,720	2,150
Italy - - -	7,729	2,772	658	48	20,623	57 $\frac{1}{2}$
Malta - - -	8,453	1,305	811	53	4,730	100
Turkey and Levant -	185	51	...	...	1,450	650
Ireland, and Isle of Man	21,734	61	4,008	91	200,707	30,500
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, } and Alderney }	991	93	20 $\frac{1}{4}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	25,054	4,280
Asia - - -	19,433	170	231	330	225,487	23,824
Africa - - -	1,485 $\frac{1}{2}$	498	1,122	241	14,386 $\frac{1}{2}$	14,190
America; viz. United } States }	195,124	19,798	39,899	4,446	2,288,758	1,265,746
— British Northern } Colonies }	32 412	1,827	2,248 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,051	484,129	258,359
West Indies - - -	16,649 $\frac{1}{4}$	529 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,708	8,109	69,729	233,597
Foreign continent colonies	33,319	5,409	2,911	13,926	12,999	39,320
Honduras - - -	4 30	...	50	...	700	1,860
Total	488,658 $\frac{1}{4}$	10,522 $\frac{1}{2}$	95,184 $\frac{3}{4}$	50,129 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,792,454 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,964,701
Declared Value	L.4,201,073	L.388,999	L.579,687	L.278,538	L.323,163	L.244,926

Sheep and Lambs' Wool Imported in the year ending 5th January 1817.

FROM	Libs.	FROM	Libs.
Russia - - -	228,676	Italy - - -	108,234
Denmark - - -	80,646	Turkey - - -	26,811
Iceland and Feroc - -	33,395	Ireland and Isle of Man, (produce)	600,377
Prussia - - -	16,712	Foreign	1,171
Germany - - -	2,816,655	New Holland - - -	13,611
Holland - - -	143,390	Cape of Good Hope - -	9,623
Flanders - - -	77,625	United States of America -	43,465
France - - -	221,595	Spanish South America -	206,454
Portugal, &c. - -	493,277	Brazils - - -	5,512
Spain - - -	2,958,607	British West Indies - -	6,329
Gibraltar - - -	29,652		
			8,117,864

THE BRITISH WOOLLEN TRADE.

in the Year ending 5th January 1817; distinguishing the Countries to the various Articles, and their Respective Value.

GOODS AND YARN EXPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN.						
Carpets and Carpeting.	Stuffs, Woollen or Worsted.	Stockings. Worsted.	Sundry articles, consisting of Hosiery, not described, Rugs, Cover-lids, Tapes, &c.	Woollens, mixed with Cotton.	Woollen and Worsted Yarn.	Total Declared Value of the Preceding.
Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Declared value	Quantity.	Quantity.	
Yards.	Pieces.	Doz. Pairs.	L.	Yards.	Libs.	L.
30,863	2,261	208 0	1,234	12,433	...	818,923
1,240	15	4 9	21	...	...	1,520
645	479	41 4	919	1,715½	...	8,897
1,047	891	10 0	152	786	...	13,164
1,130	52	...	...	...	...	460
1,832	188	3 0	1,028	2,260	...	5,673
73,579	37,748	93,936 7	16,052	135,862	...	423,672
28,737½	31,447	8,636 10	3,986	19,730½	...	228,237
6,162	5,635	5,145 6	3,645	31,785	...	98,669
352	345	196 0	443	2,338	...	4,361
18,043	27,472	3,417 0	35,206	25,190	...	568,454
6,064	11,644	2,840 0	25,931	5,846	...	146,540
2,600	10,659	892 10	13,846	19,593	...	103,544
2,765	14,852	62 0	1,060	2,894	...	102,829
317	3,682	87 0	693	3,382	...	67,335
13,595	1,816	20 0	104	...	...	11,072
46,894	8,150	12,453 0	11,582	121,483	523,638	562,200
7,211	837½	650 6	280	548½	...	23,295
9,879	187,820	629 0	8,863	4,044	...	1,030,221
3,718	1,638¼	1,520 0	1,139	2,940	...	37,853
526,964	202,061	69,039 6	47,802	198,268	...	3,029,667
69,563	21,362	18,709 4	8,995	24,103	8,757	447,628
3,080	13,094	837 6	4,916	215,912	...	251,602
9,946	9,810	2,483 0	7,746	54,805	...	417,806
...	14	7 0	...	...	...	861
866,226½	593,972¾	131,849 10	L.194,043	885,918½	532,395	8,404,481
L.184,186	L.1,656,811	L.151,060		L.134,296	L.67,699	

GENERAL VIEW OF
Account of all Cotton Piece and Woven Goods

	Calicoes, &c. White or Plain.	Muslins, &c. Printed, Chequered, &c.	Muslins, &c. White or Plain.	Muslins, Printed, Che- quered, &c.	Fustians.
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
Russia - - -	554,952	121,199	623,491	360	18,703
Sweden - - -	18,628	7,917	61,404	...	50 ⁰
Norway - - -	38,654	147,588	21,359	4,159	2,403
Denmark - - -	204,555	571,039	444,945	...	183,869
Prussia - - -	48,557	931,843	225,583	711	78,283
Germany - - -	6,265,485	16,902,678	5,575,376	77,575	3,909,877
Holland - - -	2,744,911	5,728,708	1,633,342	37,592	496,744
Flanders - - -	1,126,012	1,873,708	1,567,388	44,765	663,782
France - - -	44,026	68,591	81,060	27,650	31
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira - - -	4,408,250	5,724,806	1,925,271	45,706	560,759
Spain and Canaries - -	542,140	998,508	193,832	1,726	99,128
Gibraltar - - -	2,882,868	5,168,037	2,157,243	37,945	536,523
Italy - - -	3,133,439	4,453,689	2,790,203	22,519	575,963
Malta - - -	1,173,773	2,406,373	3,210,699	81,851	95,408
Turkey - - -	232,526	623,584	820,719	43,628	16,252
Ireland - - -	525,733	146,548	123,009	...	442,317
Isle of Man - - -	24,946	44,548	7,165	...	866
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney - - -	197,502	157,236	3,312	...	2,249
East Indies, and China -	252,560	968,903	462,051	12,724	9,020
New Holland - - -	5,147	15,163	2,723	350	5,342
Cape of Good Hope - -	158,254	312,865	116,810	8,119	48,153
Barbary and Morocco -	22,600	5,059	240	...	...
Coast of Africa - - -	59,228	351,900	13,461	...	9,816
United States of America	12,175,975	16,922,239	5,495,417	156,464	837,468
West Indies - - -	6,680,147	14,860,343	4,440,786	401,839	261,162
The Brazils - - -	4,771,176	7,959,670	2,799,574	6,633	289,436
Spanish Colonies, and Continent of America -	791,668	932,002	319,079	...	143,767
British Provinces in North America - - -	1,167,990	1,988,142	344,715	8,699	199,511
Total - - -	50,251,102	90,392,886	35,460,257	1,021,015	9,486,882

Cotton Yarn Exported in

		Libs.	Declared Value.
Russia - - -	-	2,554,942	L.407,987 2 6
Sweden - - -	-	5,788	1,512 10 0
Norway - - -	-	187	50 13 0
Denmark - - -	-	35,780	4,699 5 0
Prussia - - -	-	34,420	5,869 19 1
Germany - - -	-	10,594,400	1,748,646 13 4
Holland - - -	-	769,105	130,886 7 10
Flanders - - -	-	739,245	150,512 10 8
France - - -	-	2,481	978 0 0
Portugal - - -	-	39,626	9,775 0 0
Spain - - -	-	10	0 0
Gibraltar - - -	-	50,342	8,198 10 2
Italy - - -	-	252,691	48,302 2 0

THE BRITISH COTTON TRADE.

Exported in the Year ending 5th January, 1817.

Cotton and Linen mixed.	Counterpanes and Bed Twilts.	Lace and Patent Net.	Tapes and Small Wires.	Cotton for Stitching and Sewing.	Hosiery: viz. Stockings.	Hosiery of all other Sorts.
Yards.	Number.	Yards.	Declared Value.	Libs.	Doz. Pair.	Declared Value.
...	528	213	...	40	1,611 8	L.33 0 0
...	5	115	...	10	43 3	...
...	34	2,732	L.32 13 5	131	101 8	2 8 0
...	9	15,159	160 12 0	139	75 0	10 15 0
...	15	3,600	5 0 0	720	184 6	14 0 0
...	1, 82	234,606	259 9 6	7,897	5,925 5	366 18 0
...	1,104	442,774	405 14 11	7,516	7,415 6	357 17 0
...	1,288	23,914	422 5 0	845	9,389 2	1,372 1 0
...	...	1,761	7 0 0	128	114 6	132 0 0
4,550	332	109,056	1,530 0 0	60,897	28,465 0	4,545 10 6
...	252	30,159	566 3 7	23,419	3,229 6	4,234 5 7
9,515	195	13,889	770 0 0	50,840	13,972 9	7,872 0 9
450	240	16 675	431 0 0	3,101	4,902 2	437 10 0
...	39	18,771	50 0 0	2,946	3,330 0	1,038 0 0
...	...	...	12 7 0	40	292 0	11 0 0
1,717	10,259	25,569	281 16 0	3,922	17,809 5	1,812 2 0
...	...	...	20 0 0	20	40 0	...
...	69	300	63 0 0	398	635 0	22 0 0
500	48	14,744	315 0 0	1,718	7,086 4	1,538 16 8
...	50	1,000	...	58	200 0	10 1 0
...	48	16,606	368 9 0	1,132	3,994 0	514 18 5
...
...	12	25	...	...	156 6	7 19 0
32,971	1,876	787,031	16,691 10 9	55,479	199,821 0	6,588 18 6
11,285	1,193	185,719	2,771 19 11	2,997	12,743 8	1,092 2 6
2,173,988	1,381	492,396	4,918 0 2	6,513	57,276 3	1,070 1 2
3,000	2	118,834	1,767 14 0	6,077	22,620 11	2,176 2 0
28,575	...	6,290	96 6 0	5,878	7,158 6	28 0 0
2,266,655	20,561	2,561,838	31,926 1 3	242,861	408,595 8	35,289 7 1

the Year ending 5th January, 1817.

	Libs.	Declared Value.
Malta	166,860	L.25,563 5 0
Turkey	474,199	80 627 3 3
Ireland	622,107	78,936 17 8
Isle of Man	820	61 10 0
Guernsey and Jersey	4,374	1,639 0 0
Asia	624	189 18 10
Africa	91	21 10 0
America, United States	3,856	1,403 10 0
British North American Colonies	9,584	1,174 9 6
British West Indies	1,180	321 13 0
Foreign Colonies	70	30 0 0
	16,362,782	2,707,384 10 10

GENERAL VIEW OF
Account of all Linen Cloth Imported into and Exported

	Quantities Imported.	QUANTITIES			
		Foreign Europe.	Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and Man.	Asia.	Africa.
FOREIGN LINENS.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.
Plain of Germany, Silesia, &c.	61,409 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,691	...	...	1,200
— of Russia	111,115 $\frac{1}{4}$	42,961	...	600	18,760
— of Flanders and Holland	8,131 $\frac{1}{2}$	134	...	416	...
Canvas Hessians	3,477 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,985	...	1,782	...
— Packing or Spruce	6,440	789	...	5,160	...
Hinderlands, Brown	184	...	...	...	...
Drillings and Pack Duck	19,276	...	...	...	417
Sail Cloth	10,688 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	...	...	...
Total Number of Ells	220,722 $\frac{1}{4}$	57,560	...	7,958	20,377
Damask and Diaper of Silesia, &c.	Yards. 20,181 $\frac{1}{4}$	Yards. 216	Yards. ...	Yards. ...	Yards. ...
— of Holland	273 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	...	...	...
Total Number of Yards	20,454 $\frac{1}{2}$	236	...	...	...
Cambrics and French Lawns	Pieces. 38,461 $\frac{1}{4}$ 115	Pieces 84 107	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces. 6 ...
Total Number of Pieces	38,576 $\frac{1}{4}$	191	...	...	...
Unrated—Chequered and Striped	Declared Value. L. s. d. 149 14 10	Declared Value. L. s. d. ...	Declared Value. L. s. d. ...	Declared Value. L. s. d. ...	Declared Value. L. s. d. ...
— Not Chequered and Striped	179 11 2	...	...	6 11 0	...
Sails, Foreign made	2160 9 5	...	...	...	...
Total, entered at Value	2490 0 5	...	...	6 11 0	...
IRISH LINENS,	Yards. 41,204,854	Yards. 2,572,587	Yards. 156,773	Yards. 15,777	Yards. 14,870

Foreign Linen Yarn Imported.

		Cwts.	qrs.	lbs.
Year ending 5th January, 1815	-	45,926	2	17
1816	-	41,196	0	11
1817	-	9,691	3	7

THE BRITISH LINEN TRADE.

from Great Britain in the Year ending 5th January, 1817.

EXPORTED TO.						Quantities re- tained for Home Consumption.
United States of America.	British North American Colonies.	British West Indies.	Foreign West Indies.	Other Parts of America.	Total Quantities Exported.	
Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.	Ells.
...	...	94,131	15,04	30,735	148,261	Excess of Export.
27,529	105,300	161,579	30,600	10,190	397,519	456,814 $\frac{1}{2}$
...	...	684 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,426	...	7,660	1,219 $\frac{1}{2}$
...	4,621	53	...	...	13,441	4,169
412	...	2,234	4,623	...	13,218	8,966 $\frac{1}{2}$
...	...	...	...	...	...	184
...	308	427	...	...	1,152	11,651
...	...	1,372	1,715	2,244	5,331	5,357 $\frac{1}{4}$
27,941	110,229	260,480	58,868	43,169	586,582	331,233 $\frac{1}{4}$
Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1,618	18,495 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	...	...	126	2,057
...	273 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	...	20
1,618	18,768 $\frac{3}{4}$	97	...	...	126	2,077
Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.
1,655	42,421 $\frac{1}{4}$	787	1,275	489	...	4,296
...	Excess of Export.	...	2,859	...	592	3,558
1,655	39,795 $\frac{1}{4}$	787	4,134	489	592	7,854
Declared Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.	Declared Value.
L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
...	...	...	...	86 10 0	...	86 10 0
...	179 11 2	...	...	...	...	6 11 0
...	2,160 9 5	...	...	...	...	...
...	2,340 0 7	...	...	86 10 0	...	98 1 0
Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1,474,053	32,603,032	322,418	2,114,876	351,015	1,579,453	8,601,822

Flax Imported in the Year ended 5th January, 1817.

UNDRESSED.

	Cwts.	qrs.	lbs
Russia	150,321	1	19
Sweden	419	3	15
Prussia	880	0	26
Germany	11	2	20
Holland	57,907	1	25
Flanders	2,265	1	12
Portugal	631	1	9
Ireland	182	0	10
	212,619	1	24

Dressed Flax

13 lbs.

GENERAL VIEW OF
Account of Silk Goods Exported from Great Britain,

	Stuffs of Silk, only including Gauze and Crape.			Stockings, Gloves, Sewing Silk, &c.			Silk mixed with Gold and Silver.		
	Quantity.		Official Value.	Quantity.		Official Value.	Quantity.		Official Value.
	Lbs.	oz.	L. s. d.	Lbs.	oz.	L. s. d.	Lbs.	oz.	L. s. d.
Russia	96	0	163 0 0	132	8	290 9 6	—	—	—
Sweden	—	—	—	7	0	12 5 0	—	—	—
Norway	2	5	4 0 11	—	—	—	—	—	—
Denmark	6	0	10 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prussia	50	0	87 10 0	8	8	14 17 6	—	—	—
Germany	244	8	409 5 0	149	8	261 12 6	—	—	—
Holland	143	0	247 5 0	44	4	76 7 9	—	—	—
Flanders	146	0	255 10 0	32	0	56 0 0	—	—	—
France	—	—	—	6	0	10 10 0	—	—	—
Portugal, &c.	851	11	1,490 5 1	1,506	9	2,636 9 8	—	—	—
Spain, &c.	422	14	740 0 8	3,983	2	6,970 9 5	—	—	—
Gibraltar	893	13	1,561 13 5	892	8	1,561 17 6	—	—	—
Italy	38	4	66 18 9	40	0	70 0 0	—	—	—
Malta	—	—	—	12	0	21 0 0	—	—	—
Turkey and Levant	—	—	—	3	0	5 5 0	—	—	—
Ireland and Isle of Man	8,983	3	15,682 6 5	6,854	11	11,995 14 0	12	0	48 0
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney	303	2	530 8 9	328	4	574 8 9	—	—	—
East Indies and China	2,535	2	4,436 9 4	1,356	4	2,373 3 5	—	—	—
New Holland	112	8	196 17 6	14	8	25 7 6	—	—	—
Africa	844	2	1,477 4 5	281	14	493 5 8	13	0	52 0
United States of America	6,626	11	11,557 12 11	21,581	1	37,725 4 2	—	—	—
British North American Colonies	13,092	5	22,095 9 2	5,200	4	8,825 15 6	0	6	1 10
The West Indies	4,379	13	7,475 6 10	5,950	2	10,363 16 0	20	0	80 0
Foreign Colonies, Continent of America	1,759	10	3,046 6 9	2,975	9	5,189 0 8	—	—	—
Honduras	48	0	84 0 0	4	12	8 6 3	—	—	—
Total	41,578	15	71,618 4 11	51,364	4	89,501 5 9	45	6	181 10

Raw and Thrown Silk Imported and Exported in the Three Years ending, 5th January, 1817.

IMPORTED.

	1815.	1816.	1817.
Raw Silk of Bengal	L.965,414	L.861,379	L.764,668
— China	150,629	216,129	88,987
— All other sorts	518,458	365,086	92,142
Thrown Silk	645,722	357,733	192,130
Total quantity	2,280,223	1,800,333	1,137,922
Official value	1,477,875	1,031,255	595,808

EXPORTED.

	1815.	1816.	1817.
Raw Silk of Bengal	L. 18,121	L.42,128	L.268,897
— China	2,205	9,291	13,455
— All other sorts	12,394	41,553	17,902
Thrown Silk	60,714	51,658	51,567
Total quantity	93,434	145,630	351,821
Official value	114,198	144,801	275,200

Duty on Raw and Thrown Silk imported	360,769	250,448	198,587
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THE BRITISH SILK TRADE.

in the Year ending 5th January, 1817.

Stuffs of Silk and Grogram Yarn.			Stuffs of Silk, and Inkle or Cotton.			Stuffs of Silk and Worsted.			Total Official Value.		
Quantity.		Official Value.	Quantity.		Official Value.*	Quantity.		Official Value.			
Lbs. oz.	L.	s. d.	Lbs. oz.	L.	s. d.	Lbs. oz.	L.	s. d.	L.	s.	d.
—	—	—	807 8	194	16 8	673 0	157	0 8	745	6	10
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	5	0
—	—	—	5 8	2	0 4	14 8	5	0 8	11	1	11
—	—	—	365 8	87	6 0	174 0	40	12 0	138	8	0
—	—	—	5 0	1	3 4	85 0	19	16 8	123	7	6
—	—	—	1,916 14	628	13 2	2,715 9	720	18 11	2,020	9	7
—	—	—	271 0	79	0 0	2,960 0	692	2 8	1,094	15	5
—	—	—	578 8	134	19 8	367 0	85	12 8	532	2	4
—	—	—	60 0	14	0 0	2 0	0	9 4	24	19	4
—	—	—	2,719 12	759	11 0	8,207 14	1,951	16 9	6,838	6	6
—	—	—	1,759 8	410	11 0	12,320 11	2,874	16 7	10,995	17	8
—	—	—	1,098 0	445	0 8	1,718 0	434	4 8	4,002	16	3
—	—	—	20 0	8	6 8	68 0	15	17 4	161	2	9
—	—	—	99 0	59	8 0	455 12	106	6 10	186	14	10
—	—	—	50 0	30	0 0	6 0	1	8 0	36	13	0
26 0	6	1 4	1,006 15	435	14 6	7,737 5	1,806	13 1	29,974	9	4
9 4	2	3 2	24 6	5	13 9	389 8	90	17 8	1,203	12	1
—	—	—	220 0	51	6 8	256 0	59	14 8	6,920	14	1
—	—	—	50 0	11	13 4	7 0	1	2 8	235	1	0
—	—	—	244 0	56	18 8	248 4	57	18 6	2,137	7	3
—	—	—	19,946 9	6,305	16 6	19,630 1	4,670	3 8	60,258	17	3
24 0	5	12 0	2,192 11	806	16 4	3,207 5	890	19 1	32,626	2	1
104 1	24	5 7	3,108 5	862	7 8	6,672 10	1,655	1 0	20,460	17	1
—	—	—	1,713 0	410	14 0	5,873 9	1,370	9 11	10,016	11	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	80 0	18	13 4	110	19	7
163 5	38	2 1	38,262 0	11,801	17 11	73,869 0	17,727	17 4	190,868	18	0

FIRST REPORT

From the Select Committee on Finances.

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into and state the income and expenditure of the United Kingdom, for the year ended the 5th of January, 1817, and also to consider and state the probable income and expenditure, (so far as the same can now be estimated) for the years ending the 5th of January, 1818, and the 5th of January, 1819, respectively, and to report the same, together with their observations thereupon, from time to time to the House, and also to consider what further measures may be adopted for the relief of the country from any part of the said expenditure, without detriment to the public interest,

Having had under their consideration the state of various offices in the United Kingdom, which are commonly, though incorrectly, known under the general denomination of *sinecures*, conceive that they cannot better discharge the duty imposed upon them by the latter part of the order of reference, than by bringing under the early notice of the House, the annual charge incurred by the continuance of offices, either wholly useless, or the salaries of which appear disproportionate to their actual duties; and of the system, which they submit, as fit to be substituted in their stead.

The subject is by no means new to the House, having been brought under discussion at various times within

the last ten years, and particularly in the session of 1812 and 1813.

The object of your Committee was to ascertain, first, what offices may be reduced or regulated (after the expiration of the existing interests) without detriment to the public service. Secondly, under what regulations such of those offices as it may be deemed proper to continue, ought to be administered, after the expiration of the existing interests. Thirdly, as it is obvious, that whenever such regulations and reductions as are contemplated by your Committee shall be carried into effect, the means of rewarding meritorious public service will be in great measure taken from the Crown, your Committee deem it indispensable that provision should be made for enabling the Crown, under proper regulations and restrictions, to afford a reasonable recompense for the faithful discharge of high and effective civil offices.

OFFICES IN ENGLAND.

The view which your Committee have taken of the two offices of Chief Justice in Eyre, North and South of Trent, is that they may be abolished without detriment to the public service, and the emoluments thereof become a future saving to the public; regard being had in these, as well as in every other office which forms the

subject of this Report, to the existing interests.

In the Exchequer,—
Auditor of the Exchequer,
Clerk of the Pells,
Four Tellers of the Exchequer; also,
The Warden of the Cinque Ports.
Governor of the Isle of Wight; also,
Commissary-General of Musters.

The office of one of the Joint Paymasters may also be abolished, being wholly inefficient and useless, with regard to all business connected with the army; but it must be recollected, that an effective and very important situation, without salary, has been frequently held, and is now held, by one of the Joint Paymasters; for the discharge of which, your Committee do not consider the salary of 2000*l.*, at present attached to the office of second Paymaster, as more than adequate; but they submit to the House, that it will be more consistent with the system which they wish to introduce, that the Vice-President of the Board of Trade should receive a salary as such, than be paid indirectly as one of the Joint Paymasters-General.

One Deputy Paymaster-General.

The office of Paymaster of Marines is now discharged in person, under regulations adopted in 1813, without any deputy allowed, or paid by the public; but as some further inquiries may be necessary before your Committee can finally report upon it, they defer their observations until the estimates for the navy shall come before them, with which this office is immediately connected.

Upon the office of Paymaster of Widows' Pensions, although no strong objections occur to your Committee against uniting it with the foregoing office; yet, so long as it continues at the low scale of expense at which it is now fixed, it does not seem expedient to recommend any alteration for the purpose of effecting a saving, which

would, if any, be very inconsiderable. The annual charge is no more than 680*l.*, and ample security is taken, amounting to 20,000*l.*, for the money in charge, and for the punctual payment of nearly 70,000*l.* in very small sums, to 2200 widows, scattered over every part of the United Kingdom, and many of them resident abroad. It must be farther observed, that though the salary of this office, having been formerly paid out of the produce of old stores, is now annually voted in the naval estimates, yet the appointment is not vested in the Crown, but in the governors of this charity.

Law Clerk in the Secretary of State's office; also,

Collector and Transmitter of State Papers.

The inconsiderable offices of Principal Housekeeper, and Warehousekeeper in the Excise Office, Established Messenger in the War Office, and some others included in the table of the bill of 1812 and 1813, were at that time held as sinecures; with regard to these, it is sufficient to lay down as a rule, that no person in future should be allowed to hold any inferior office of this description, without performing the duty in person; and where no duty is attached (as in the case of Cartaker to his Majesty,) all such nominal offices should be suppressed.

The offices of Joint Postmaster-General in England and Ireland do not appear to your committee to come under the general description of those which form the subject of this report. If, on the one hand, they are strongly of opinion that it would be inexpedient to place this branch of the public revenue under the direction of a board, with a constitution similar to that of other revenue boards, as recommended by the finance committee of 1797, in their seventh report; on the other hand, they are by no means prepared to state

an opinion, that the management of the revenue of the post-office, amounting in England to a gross receipt of 2,116,087*l.* and involving an expenditure of 593,620*l.* and amounting in Ireland to a gross receipt of 230,000*l.* and involving an expenditure of 148,000*l.*, together with the complicated concerns by which this department is connected with the convenience of the community, and the commercial interests of the empire, can without disadvantage, be permanently confided to one individual.

Your committee have learnt with satisfaction, that, by the last indenture of the Mint, the office of Clerk of the Irons has been merged in that of superintendent of the machinery, which is a very necessary and effective office; and that it is provided by the same indenture, that the office of Comptroller of the Mint should, at the termination of the present existing interest, be executed in person by the present deputy, at the salary which he now receives, thereby saving the salary and emoluments of the principal. The office of Warden of the Mint, it is understood, will, in like manner, be discontinued; as well as every other office in this department, which comes within the principle of regulation or abolition, which it is the object of your committee to extend to all offices of this description.

Clerk of the Parliaments.—

Four Clerks of the Signet, and Four Clerks of the Privy Seal.

Comptroller-General of Accounts, Excise, and Inspector-General.

Register to Commissioners of Excise; Inspector-General of Coffee and Tea, &c. and all other offices, the duties of which are connected with the collection and receipt of the public revenue, ought, in the opinion of your committee, to be abolished, so far as the salaries of those offices are payable to individuals who do not execute in

person the efficient duties of such offices.

SCOTLAND.

Keeper of the Great Seal.—Your committee recommend, that this office should be preserved; but the salary regulated to 2000*l.*

Keeper of the Privy Seal.—It is recommended that this office should be continued at a salary of 1000*l.*

Lord Justice-General.—Your committee recommend, that after the termination of the existing interest in this office, the President of the Court of Session, for the time being, should assume the title, rank, and privileges of Lord Justice-General, the salary discontinued.

Keeper of the Signet.—All the duties of this office may be annexed to that of Lord Register, and the fees should be carried to the public account; for the office of Lord Register, a fixed salary of 1500*l.*

Knight Marshal.—The office to be retained, but the salary discontinued.

Vice-Admiral.—Ditto.

Governor and other offices in the Mint may be abolished.—Also,

Receiver-General of Bishops' Rents, Auditor of Exchequer,

Assistant Surveyor-General of Taxes, Comptroller-General of Customs,

Cashier and Receiver-General of Excise.—This office ought to be executed in person; and even taking into consideration the amount of the security required, which is stated to be 30,000*l.* a salary of 1000*l.* a year would be ample.

Three old Inspectors of Wheel-carriages, Gazette Writer, and Inspector-General of Roads.

IRELAND.

Clerk of the Pells,

Teller of the Exchequer,

Auditor-General.

The necessary duties attached to these offices must continue to be per-

formed; but the salary and emoluments now receivable by the principals should become, as in the English Exchequer, a saving to the public.

Keeper of the Privy Seal.—This office is now held for life; but it should be granted during pleasure only, and always annexed to the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.
Surveyor-General of Crown Lands,
Keeper of Records, Birmingham Tower,
Keeper of the Records of Parliament,
Clerk of the Paper-office.

These officers have charge of public documents, which may be transferred to the building which has been constructed for the custody of the public records of Ireland.

Accountant to the Board of General Officers,
Secretary to ditto.
Corrector and Supervisor of his Majesty's Printing Press,
Compiler of the Dublin Gazette,
Master of the Revels,
Seneschal of his Majesty's Manors,
Accountant General (an office paid from the civil list),
Supervisor of Accounts, Barrack Department,
Barrack Master of the Royal Barracks:—Also,
Constables of the Castle of Limerick,
— — — — — Dublin,
— — — — — Castlemain:—Also,
Clerk of the Council,
Mustermaster General (held by two persons),
Pratique Master of the Port of Dublin,
Storekeeper of the Customs.

There were several other offices enumerated in the table annexed to the bill of 1813, in the Custom and Excise departments of the revenue, the duties of which were not performed in person.

Your Committee have learnt with satisfaction, that to any of these offices which have become vacant since the passing of that bill by the house, no appointment has been made by the Irish

Government; and that the salaries attached to them, have been saved, by removing the individuals holding them to other effective offices.

They therefore have only to express their opinion, that such of the offices enumerated in the table as yet remain, should be abolished as opportunities occur, and to recommend generally that the duties of all offices, of whatever description, connected with the collection and receipt of the public revenue, should be performed in person, by those who hold them, at reasonable rates of salary.

ENGLAND.

Offices in Courts of Law in the gift of the Crown.

The appointments to the under-mentioned offices in the Court of Exchequer having been stated to your Committee not to belong to the Judges of that court, but to be in the gift of the Crown, and it appearing that the duties of them are executed by deputy, there appears no reason for their being continued, except upon such an establishment as may afford an adequate remuneration to the proper officers hereafter appointed to discharge the duties in person.

Exchequer

King's Remembrancer,
Clerk of the Pleas,
Clerk of the Pipe,
Comptroller of the Pipe,
Deputy ditto,
Marshal,
Foreign Apposer,
Surveyor and Receiver-General of Green Wax,
Three Messengers out of four,
Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer,
Clerk of Foreign Estreats,
Clerk of the Nichils,
Comptrollers of First Fruits.

Alienation Office.

Three Commissioners,
Receiver-General,
Two Entering Clerks,
Master in Chancery,
Solicitor of the Exchequer.

SCOTLAND.

Director of the Court of Chancery,
Clerk of the Court of Chancery,
Principal Clerk in the Court of Admiralty,
King's Remembrancer,
Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer,
One of the Clerks in the Pipe Office,
Presenter of Signatures, Exchequer,
Register of Seisins,
Clerk of the Admission of Notaries in the Court of Session :

With respect to the offices of Director of the Court of Chancery, Presenter of Signatures, and Register of Seisins in Scotland, as the duties of these three offices are stated to be highly important, and not only intimately connected with each other, but with the legal forms and proceedings on which the titles and security of real estates essentially depend in that part of the United Kingdom, your committee would, upon every principle, abstain from interfering with any of those legal forms and proceedings ; and the emoluments of them ought to be regulated, as to ensure the due execution in person of their respective duties, by individuals competent by their professional knowledge to discharge those duties, and by their station in society to give such security as may be deemed adequate.

IRELAND.

All the offices in the courts of law in Ireland, included in the list annexed

to the bill of 1816, with the exception of those which have hitherto been in the gift of the Chief Judges of the courts of law in Ireland, ought, in the opinion of your committee, to be regulated on such principles as shall ensure the performance of their duties in person by those who hold them.

Public Registrar of Deeds,
Clerk of Crown and Hanaper,
Chief Remembrancer,
Clerk of the Pipe,
Comptroller of the Pipe,
Chirographer,
Prothonotary, Common Pleas,
Prothonotary, King's Bench,
Crown Office, King's Bench,
Transcriber and Foreign Apposer,
Clerk of the Report Office,
Pursuivant, Court of Exchequer,
Register of Forfeitures,
Usher of the Exchequer,
Register, Court of Chancery,
Accountant General, ditto,
Sergeant at Arms, Pleas Office,
Lord Treasurer, or 2d Remembrancer, Exchequer.

The right of appointment to the Clerkship of the Pleas of the Court of Exchequer has been contested by the Chief Baron of that Court ; and the right is not yet finally determined.

The duties of the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery are now performed in person by the individual who holds the office.

The same observation applies to the office of Comptroller of the Pipe.

Colonial Offices.

Upon the Colonial offices sufficient materials have not been laid before your committee for presenting them fully and satisfactorily to the view of the house ; but the general principle to be applied in dealing with them appears to be, in the first place, that of enforcing, to the utmost, residence within the colonies, or foreign posses-

sions to which those offices belong, and personal performance by the principal of the duties annexed to them : the second object to be attained ought to be the reduction of the salaries to such a rate, as may afford a fair and sufficient recompence for the services to be performed ; and any saving which can be derived from such regulations should be applied (as the case may be) in aid of some of the public burdens incidental to the civil government of such colonies or foreign possessions : observing farther, that in the old colonies any such application of savings must be made at the recommendation of the governors of such colonies, with the consent of the local legislatures of each.

It is difficult to state, with accuracy, the aggregate annual value of all the offices which have been mentioned. Those which depend upon fees fluctuate considerably in their amount from various circumstances ; and there are several others (particularly those belonging to the colonies) of which the income has never been exactly returned.

The whole may be estimated at from ~~90,000~~ £. to 100,000 £.

Regulations applicable to Offices, the Duties of which are necessary to be continued.

The inquiries now made have fully confirmed the observation contained in the First Report of the Committee upon *Sinecure Offices*, appointed in 1810 : “ That the number of offices, which have revenue without any employment either of principal or deputy, is very inconsiderable, and that by far the greatest number of offices, which are commonly described as sinecure, fall properly under the description of offices executed by deputy, or offices having revenue disproportionatc to employment.”

The only situations in England, of any considerable emolument, which can be considered as perfect sinecures, are the two offices of Chief Justice in Eyre, north and south of Trent ; there will be no difficulty in transferring any formal duties belonging to these offices (if any such still remain) to the Commissioners of Woods and Land Revenue. These salaries, as well as that of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, being paid out of the English civil list, and the salaries of several offices in Scotland and Ireland being, in like manner, charged upon the respective civil lists of those parts of the United Kingdom, your Committee recommend, that a general rule should be laid down for carrying to the Consolidated Fund these and similar savings, as they may arise.

In Scotland, the office of high rank and emolument, that of Lord Justice-General, should be annexed by law to that of Lord President of the Court of Session.

Your Committee are of opinion, that it should be left to the judgment and responsibility of the Lords of the Treasury for the time being, as vacancies occur, to place the several offices proposed to be regulated upon such an establishment, with respect to the number and rank of the persons requisite for the discharge of the efficient functions of such offices, and the amount of salary to be assigned to each person, as may appear to them adequate, after a full inquiry into the nature and extent of the duties to be performed, and the degree of official and pecuniary responsibility which necessarily attaches to some of them. If it should be thought proper in any act to be passed, with reference to the subject of this report, to enact, that when ever any of the said offices shall be reduced and regulated, there shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament a comparative statement of the number, duty,

and emolument of the respective officers under the old and new establishments, your Committee conceive that the Parliamentary check, created by this arrangement, would be sufficient to prevent any abuse of a power, which seems properly to belong to the Lords of the Treasury, as the official and responsible advisers of the crown, upon all matters which relate to the superintendence and controul over the public expenditure.

It appears, that on a vacancy which recently occurred in the office of Clerk of the Pleas in the Court of Exchequer, by the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, a claim to the appointment to that office was preferred by the Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and an individual was appointed by him, and was sworn in before the Court of Exchequer. A proceeding by *quo warranto*, was instituted on the part of the Crown, and the judgment of the Court of King's Bench was adverse to the claim of the Chief Baron. An appeal, however, has been made to the Court of Error; and may hereafter be made, by either party to the House of Lords. In the meantime, by an act of the legislature, 56th Geo. III. c. 122, the emoluments of the office are paid into the Treasury, and the due discharge of all the official duties provided for. It is not impossible that claims, similar to those which have been preferred in this instance by the Chief Baron, may be preferred to the appointment to other offices in the law courts of Ireland, of great and disproportionate emolument, which have hitherto been considered as at the disposal of the Crown.

Your Committee cannot, however, avoid submitting to the House, whether it would not be perfectly consistent, both in justice and sound policy, to provide for the regulation of all

such offices, after the expiration of the legally vested interests, upon the principles on which it is proposed to regulate other offices partaking of the nature of sinecures.

The duties attached to many of the principal offices in the courts of law in Ireland appear indeed to be so various and important, and to be necessarily performed by so many persons, that it would be extremely difficult, without the most mature consideration, and probably without inquiries, instituted on the spot, to suggest any arrangement for the future conduct of the business of these offices, when the existing interests in them shall have terminated.

Your Committee understand, however, that there is at present a commission in Ireland, appointed in consequence of an address of the House, to inquire into the state of the courts of law in that part of the United Kingdom. It would be very desirable that the members of this commission should be required by the Executive Government, to examine, with as little delay as possible, into the circumstances under which the several offices in the courts of law, which have hitherto been considered in the disposal of the Crown, stand, and that they be required to suggest a plan for the future regulations of these offices.

Mode of rewarding high and efficient Political Services.

Your Committee would have found themselves under considerable difficulty in submitting to the House any specific plan for enabling the Crown to reward high and efficient political services, if they had not taken for their guidance the principles and regulations established by the bill so often referred to, as the basis of the suggestions

which they have to offer under this head.

Retaining the list and classification of offices according to that bill, your Committee are of opinion, that it would be expedient either to limit the total sum, which should in no case be exceeded, or to proceed, in another mode, towards obtaining the same object :

- 1st. By limiting the number of pensions which could be granted, and in operation at any one time in each class.
- 2dly. By providing that the power of granting such pensions should be called progressively into operation at stated intervals, affording a reasonable probability, that at least an equal saving will have been effected by the falling in of the salaries or emoluments of some of the offices to be regulated or abolished, instead of commencing at once upon the vacancy of the first of such offices as might exceed 2,000*l.* a year, or of any one given period.
- 3dly. That the provision of the bill which could have made it lawful for his Majesty, when any person should have served in more than one of the ~~four~~ classes, to grant such pension as is annexed to the highest class in which he may have been employed, (without any reference to the duration of his service in that class,) should be so far amended as to require from any such person, a certain period of service in the higher class.

With reference to these principles of modification, your Committee submit, that the number of pensions in each of the four classes should be limited as follows :

1st Class—First Lord of the Treasury, First Lord of the Admiralty, three Secretaries of State, Chancellor of the Exchequer—six pensions of 3,000*l.*

2d Class—Chief Secretary for Ireland,—Secretary at War—three pensions of 2,000*l.*

N.B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland was included in this class in the Bill of 1813.

3d Class—Two Secretaries of the Treasury—Principal Secretary of the Admiralty—six pensions of 1,500*l.*

4th Class—Under Secretaries of State—Clerk of the Ordnance—six pensions of 1,000*l.*

That the Crown should have the power of granting one pension in each of these classes, except the second, at the end of two years from the adoption of this system by the legislature ; and so in succession at intervals of two years, until the expiration of twelve years, when it shall be lawful to the Crown to grant the whole number of pensions proposed in each class. With respect to the second class, it is proposed that the power should not commence till the expiration of four years, so as to come into complete operation at the same period of twelve years, as in the three other classes.

Your Committee conceive that the offices of the President of the Board of Controul, and Secretary to that Board, come within the description of effective, civil, and political offices, so far as to entitle them to be considered in any general system intended to be laid down with regard to such offices ; but they leave it to the wisdom of the House to determine whether, as their salaries are entirely drawn from another quarter, and not from public revenue, these offices ought to be included in the provisions of any bill which may be framed upon the recommendations contained in this report, or to form the subject of some other legislative measure.

The regulations of the Bill, with respect to length of service in each of the four classes, your Committee are of opinion might be amended in the following manner :

1st Class—Not less than two years'

service in one or more of the offices of that class.—2d and 3d classes—either five years' service in one of the offices of that class, or three years in that class, and not less than five years in some of the offices of the other classes, so as to make, in that case, at least eight years' service; but in the whole 4th class, at least ten years' service.

The only farther alteration which it has occurred to your Committee to recommend in limitation of the regulations of the bill, is, that the pensions of each class should, in all cases, be limited to the smaller sum specified in the bill, viz. 3,000*l.* for the first class; 2,000*l.* for the second; 1,500*l.* for the third; and 1,000*l.* for the fourth; without any progressive increase depending upon length of service; and that one half of such pension should abate upon the grantee being appointed to any civil office or employment under the Crown of equal or greater amount.

It has occurred to your Committee, that circumstances might possibly arise, though of occasional and rare occurrence, in which it might be highly expedient for the Crown to possess the power of granting one pension in the first class, without reference to any specific period of service in the person to whom it might be granted; and although there might be no actual va-

cancy in the class. They therefore submit to the House, whether it might not be expedient to grant such a power, subject to any regulations in the mode of exercising it which may be thought necessary, and subject also to a provision that any such grant should be held to be supernumerary; so that, upon any subsequent vacancy arising in the first class, it should not be filled up, except in favour of the person holding such extraordinary pension; who from that time would be considered as forming one of the limited list of six.

Although it may be objected to the limited number proposed by your Committee for each class, that circumstances may arise in which, from the whole number of pensions in any of the classes having been previously granted, the Crown might for a time be debarred from remunerating a person, who by long and meritorious services, might be entitled to such a reward; such an inconvenience, they apprehend, could only exist for a short time; and on the other hand, your Committee are of opinion that, without some such limitation, the saving, which they contemplate as one of the inducements to substituting this mode of recompensing public service, for that which is now at the disposal of the Crown, might be ultimately disappointed.

March 28, 1817.

ACCOUNT OF ALL OFFICES IN THE COLONIES, WITH THEIR SALARY AND EMOLUMENTS.

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.		
I.—LEEWARD ISLANDS.			
Governor,	L.	s.	d.
Lieutenant-General of the Leeward Islands	4,000	0	0
Lieutenant-Governor of Antigua	300	0	0
Lieutenant-Governor of Montserrat	200	0	0
Chief Justice of Antigua	200	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown ditto	250	0	0
Naval officer of ditto	825	0	0
Attorney-General of ditto and Montserrat	625	0	0
Solicitor-General of ditto and ditto	Not ascertained.		
Register in Chancery of Antigua	Not ascertained.		
Chief Justice of Montserrat	120	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of ditto.	150	0	0
Naval officer of ditto	150	0	0
Provost Marshal of the Leeward Islands	No return.		
	Not ascertained.		
II.—BAHAMAS.			
Governor	2,839	16	0
Chief Justice	919	0	0
First Assistant Judge	384	3	0
Second do. do.	Not known.		
Secretary and Register, and Clerk of the Council	1,069	8	10
Attorney General	397	10	0
Provost-Marshal	537	10	0
Naval Officer	150	0	0
III.—BERBICE.			
Lieutenant-Governor	4,392	18	6
Colonial Secretary	1,607	0	0
Vendue Master	720	0	0
Receiver-General	1,081	6	2

OFFICES.		Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.		
IV.—BARBADOS.				
Governor	.	4,000	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Council	.	1,100.	0	0
Provost-Marshal,	.	749	7	0
Register in Chancery	.	191	8	0
Naval Officer	.	600	0	0
Attorney-General	.	163	0	0
Solicitor-General	.	No emoluments.		
V.—BERMUDAS.				
Governor and Commander in Chief	.	2,000	0	0
Chief Justice	.	530	0	0
Attorney-General	.	150	0	0
Secretary and Provost-Marshal	.	642	0	0
VI.—CAPE BRETON.				
Lieutenant-Governor	.	600	0	0
Chief Justice	.	500	0	0
Attorney-General	.	145	0	0
Secretary and Register	.	255	0	0
Naval Officer	.	188	0	0
VII.—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.				
Governor	.	10,000	0	0
Colonial Secretary	.	{ L. 3,500, & 2,000 dol- lars for house-rent.		
VIII.—CEYLON.				
The Governor	.	10,000	0	0
Chief Secretary to Government	.	3,200	0	0
Chief Justice	.	6,000	0	0
Puisne Judge	.	3,500	0	0
Advocate-Fiscal	.	1,500	0	0
IX.—DEMERARY.				
Lieutenant-Governor	.	5,500	0	0
Secretary and Register	.	4,611	16	0
Receiver	.	632	15	0
Public Master	.	3,000	0	0

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.
Naval Officer	500 0 0
Harbour Master	654 1 4
X.—DOMINICA.	
Governor	No return.
Lieutenant-Governor	300 0 0
Chief Justice	1,065 0 0
Attorney-General	148 18 0
Master and Examiner in Chancery	86 17 4
Secretary, Register, and Clerk of the Council	373 0 0
Naval Officer	514 13 0
Provost-Marshall	550 0 0
XI.—NEW BRUNSWICK.	
Lieutenant-Governor	1,589 0 0
Chief Justice	750 0 0
Judge of the Supreme Court	509 0 0
Ditto	509 0 0
Ditto	509 0 0
Attorney-General	155 0 0
Secretary and Register	417 14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Naval Officer	200 0 0
XII.—GIBRALTAR.	
Governor	Not known.
Lieutenant-Governor	{ L.3,500 per annum.
Deputy Judge-Advocate	800 0 0
Civil Secretary in the Garrison, and Registrar of the Superior Court	{ L.1,200 fixed salary.
Civil Judge	— —
XIII.—GRENADA	
Governor	No return.
Lieutenant-Governor	300 0 0
Chief-Justice	Not known.
Attorney-General	Not known.
Secretary, Register, and Clerk of the Council	1,566 0 0
Naval Officer	317 0 0
Provost-Marshall	546 10 0
Solicitor-General	Not known.

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.
XIV.—HELGOLAND.	
Lieutenant-Governor	{ 30s. per day, 15s. do. table- money.
XV.—IONIAN ISLANDS.	
King's Commissioner	1,000 0 0
XVI.—JAMAICA.	
Governor	6,992 17 2½
Lieutenant-Governor	Not known.
Attorney-General	1,000 0 0
Secretary, and Clerk of Enrolments	4,500 0 0
Naval Officer	1,955 7 2
Receiver-General	Not known.
Provost-Marshal	3,644 13 10
Register in Chancery	6,164 10 11¾
Clerk of the Crown and Peace	420 0 0
Chief of the Supreme Court	3,882 0 0
Vendue Master	Not known.
Clerk of the Markets	200 0 0
Governor of Fort-Charles	Not known.
XVII.—LOWER CANADA.	
Captain, General, and Governor in Chief	4,536 12 3
Lieutenant-Governor	1,500 0 0
Bishop of Quebec	2,000 0 0
Chief Justice	1,500 0 0
Chief Justice of Court of King's Bench at Montreal	1,100 0 0
Secretary and Register	454 0 0
Clerk of the Crown	400 0 0
Attorney-General	300 0 0
Solicitor-General	200 0 0
Naval Officer	280 0 0
Executive Councillor	100 0 0
Ditto	100 0 0
Ditto	100 0 0
Ditto	100 0 0
Ditto	100 0 0
Ditto	100 0 0
XVIII.—MALTA.	
Governor	5,000 0 0

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.		
XIX.—MAURITIUS.			
Governor	10,000	0	0
Chief Judge, and Commissary of Justice	3,000	0	0
XX.—NEWFOUNDLAND.			
Governor	800	0	0
Chief Justice	1,000	0	0
XXI.—NOVA SCOTIA.			
Lieutenant-Governor	2,200	0	0
Bishop of Nova Scotia	1,400	0	0
Chief Justice	992	0	0
Secretary	647	10	0
Attorney-General	387	10	0
Solicitor-General	90	0	0
Naval Officer	329	15	7
Clerk of the Crown, and Prothonotary	176	4	0
XXII.—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.			
Lieutenant-Governor	800	0	0
Chief Justice	700	0	0
Attorney-General	200	0	0
Secretary and Register	150	0	0
Naval Officer	120	0	0
Provost-Marshal	70	0	0
XXIII.—SAINT LUCIA.			
Governor	3,000	0	0
Secretary and Registrar	375	0	0
Naval Officer	385	0	0
XXIV.—SAINT VINCENT.			
Governor	2,975	0	0
Secretary, Register, and Clerk of the Council	710	18	8
Naval Officer	295	10	0
Attorney-General	213	0	0
Provost-Marshal	1,100	0	0

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.		
XXV.—SAINT CHRISTOPHER'S, NEVIS, AUGUILLA, AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.			
Governor	4,000	0	0
Lieutenant-Governor of St Christopher	200	0	0
Ditto of Nevis	300	0	0
Ditto of the Virgin Islands	200	0	0
Chief Justice of St Christopher	140	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of ditto	500	0	0
Naval officer of ditto	495	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of Nevis	252	10	0
Naval Officer of ditto	166	0	0
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown in the Virgin Islands	140	0	0
Attorney-General	No return.		
Solicitor-General	No return.		
XXVI.—SIERRA LEONE.			
Governor	2,000	0	0
Chief Justice, and Judge of the Admiralty Court	1,500	0	0
XXVII.—TRINIDAD.			
Governor	{ Not less than L.5,000, nor more than L.6,000		
Chief Judge	3,136	0	0
Attorney-General	200	0	0
Secretary, Register, and Clerk of the Council	701	14	6
Naval Officer	684	0	0
Provost-Marshal	422	0	0
XXVIII.—TOBAGO.			
Governor	2,937	1	2
Chief Justice	1,112	5	4
Provost-Marshal	857	11	8
Secretary and Register	950	0	0
Naval Officer	326	3	10
Attorney-General	No return.		
XXIX.—UPPER CANADA.			
Lieutenant-Governor	2,465	0	0
Chief-Justice	1,200	0	0
Attorney-General	315	0	0
Solicitor-General	100	0	0

OFFICES.	Salaries and Emoluments, according to the latest returns.		
	L.	s.	d.
Secretary and Register	362	5	11
Clerk of the Council	461	9	9
Clerk of the Crown	304	2	1
Executive Councillor	100	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
XXX.—NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.			
Governor	2,000	0	0
Lieutenant-Governor	400	0	0
Judge-Advocate	1,200	0	0
Judge of the Supreme Court	800	0	0
Provost-Marshal	91	5	0
Principal Surgeon	365	0	0
Assistant Ditto	182	10	0
Ditto Ditto	136	17	6
Ditto Ditto	91	5	0
Principal Chaplain	350	0	0
Assistant Ditto	260	0	0
Ditto Ditto	182	10	0
Ditto Ditto	240	0	0
Ditto Ditto	182	10	0
VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.			
Lieutenant-Governor	800	0	0
Deputy Judge-Advocate	600	0	0
Provost-Marshal	91	5	0
Chaplain	100	0	0

ACCOUNT OF ALL MISSIONS AND CONSULSHIPS AT
FOREIGN COURTS AND PORTS.

PLACES.						Salaries and Allowances per Annum.	House Rent per Annu. n.
AMBASSADORS.							
France	.	.	.	.	.	11,000	...
Russia	.	.	.	.	.	11,000	1,000
Austria	.	.	.	.	.	11,000	1,000
Spain	.	.	.	.	.	11,000	1,000
Netherlands	.	.	.	.	.	11,000	1,000
Ottoman Porte	.	.	.	.	.	8,000	
ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.							
Prussia	.	.	.	.	.	7,000	500
Two Sicilies	.	.	.	.	.	5,500	500
United States	.	.	.	.	.	5,500	500
Sweden	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	400
Bavaria	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	400
Denmark	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	400
Sardinia	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	400
ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY.							
Wurtemberg	.	.	.	.	.	3,600	300
Tuscany	.	.	.	.	.	3,600	300
Swiss Cantons	.	.	.	.	.	3,600	300
Saxony	.	.	.	.	.	3,600	300
Hamburgh	.	.	.	.	.	2,800	300
SECRETARIES OF EMBASSY.							
France	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Russia	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Austria	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Spain	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Netherlands	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Ottoman Porte	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
Ditto Oriental Secretary	.	.	.	.	.	1,100	
CHARGE D'AFFAIRS.							
Persia	.	.	.	.	.	2,000	

PLACES.	Salaries and Allowances per Annum.	PLACES.	Salaries and Allowances per Annum.
SECRETARIES OF LEGATION.		L.	
		Ragusa, and the Bocca di Cataro	200
Prussia	L. 700	Genoa	600
Portugal	550	Nice	400
Charge d'Affaires	L.3 per diem.	Leghorn	600
Two Sicilies	550	Roman States	600
United States	550	Civita Vecchia	244
Sweden	500	Naples	1,000
Bavaria	500	Sicily	600
Charge d'Affaires	L.3 per diem.	Gottenburgh	1,000
Denmark	500	Norway	600
Sardinia	500	Denmark	600
Wurtemberg	500	Konigsberg	700
Tuscany	500	Stettin	400
Swiss Cantons	500	Hamburgh	480
Saxony	500	Embder	560
		Netherlands	1,672
		Antwerp	600
		Ostend	560
		Egypt	1,672
		United States	1,672
		Carolinas	788
		Massachusets	788
		New London	300
		New York	400
		Maryland	300
		Virginia	400
		New Orleans	200
		Lisbon	Fees made up to L.1,500 per annum.
		Oporto	
			Fees made up to L.700 per annum.
CONSULS.			
France	1,672		
Corsica	200		
Spain	1,672		
Cadiz	528		
Barcelona	600		
Galicia, and the Asturias	400		
Balearic Isles	352		
Madeira	700		
Brazils	1,672		
Pernambuco	788		
Venice	1,000		
Fiune	400		
Trieste	244		

REPORT

By the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to Inquire into certain Meetings and Combinations endangering the Public Tranquillity, and to Report to the House as they shall see occasion.

Ordered to Report,

That the Committee have met, and have proceeded in the examination of the papers referred to them.

Their attention was, in the first instance, directed to those which relate to the metropolis; and they have found therein such evidence as leaves no doubt in their minds that a traitorous conspiracy has been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of this kingdom, and of effecting a general plunder and division of property.

In the last autumn, various consultations were held by persons in the metropolis engaged in this conspiracy. Different measures, of the most extensive and dangerous nature, were resolved upon; partial preparations were made for their execution, and various plans were discussed for collecting a force sufficient for that purpose. But at a subsequent consultation, another plan was adopted, which was to get a great number of men together to see what force could be raised, and it was

agreed, that the best way to get them together would be to call a public meeting. Spafields was fixed upon as the place affording the greatest facilities for entering the town, and attacking the most important points in the city. In pursuance of this design, and in order to assemble in the neighbourhood of London a greater number of the poorer classes of the community, and particularly of those in whose minds the pressure of the times might be supposed to have excited disaffection and discontent, advertisements were inserted in newspapers, and handbills were industriously distributed, inviting the distressed manufacturers, mariners, artisans, and others, to assemble at that place on the 15th of November. A large body of people accordingly assembled at the time and place prescribed. The most inflammatory language was there held to the multitude, having a direct tendency to excite them to outrage and violence; and the meeting was in fact followed by some acts of plunder and riot. A petition to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was agreed to at that meeting, and an adjournment to Palace-yard on the first

day after the meeting of parliament, was proposed; but the 2d of December was subsequently fixed upon (on the proposition of one of the persons concerned in the plans already described) for another meeting in Spafields; and that day appears to have been determined upon for the execution of their design.

Various schemes were formed for this purpose; amongst them was a general and forcible liberation of all persons confined in the different prisons in the metropolis: into some of which, in order to facilitate its execution, an address was introduced, assuring them, that their liberty would be restored under a new government; announcing the intended attack upon all the prisons for that day; apprising the prisoners that arms would be ready for them; exhorting them to be prepared with the national tricolour cockade, and to co-operate by the most violent and sanguinary means to ensure success.

It was also proposed to set fire to various barracks, and steps were taken to ascertain and prepare the means of effecting this purpose. An attack upon the Tower and the Bank, and other points of importance, was, after previous consultations, finally determined upon. Pikes and arms to a certain extent were actually provided, and leaders were named, among whom the points of attack were distributed. It further appears, that the interval between the two meetings was employed with unremitting assiduity by some of the most active agitators, in taking regular circuits through different quarters of the town. In these they either resorted to the established clubs or societies, or laboured in conversations, apparently casual, at public-houses, to work up the minds of those with whom they conversed, into such a state of ferment and irritation, as to render them, when collected in sufficient numbers, for what-

ever ostensible purpose, the fit and ready instruments for the execution of any project, however rash and desperate. In the course of these circuits, one of their chief objects appears to have been to take every opportunity of attempting to seduce from their allegiance the soldiers of the different guards, and at the barracks. The principal persons concerned in this plan actually proceeded to Spafields on the 2d of December, some of them with concealed arms, and with ammunition previously prepared: they had also provided themselves with tri-colour flags, and with a standard, bearing the following inscription:—"The brave soldiers are our brothers; treat them kindly." And also with tri-colour cockades, evidently adopted as the signal of revolution. After much inflammatory language, a direct invitation was, by one of these persons, addressed to the multitude to proceed immediately to actual insurrection; and it appears quite certain, that the acts of plunder which were perpetrated for the purpose of procuring arms, and the other measures of open insurrection which followed, were not accidental or unpremeditated, but had been deliberately preconcerted, as parts of a general plan of rebellion and revolution. There appears also strong reason to believe that the execution of those projects, at that particular time, was expected by some of the associations in distant parts of the country. The conspirators seem to have had the fullest confidence of success; and a persuasion has subsequently been expressed amongst them, that their plans could have been defeated only by casual and unexpected circumstances. Even after the failure of this attempt, the same plans appear not to have been abandoned.

Your Committee are deeply concerned to be compelled, in further execution of their duty, to report their

full conviction that designs of this nature have not been confined to the capital, but have been extended, and are still extending, widely in many other parts of Great Britain, particularly in some of the most populous and manufacturing districts.

At the meeting of the 2d of December, in Spa-fields, that part of the assembly which had not engaged in the acts of plunder and insurrection before mentioned, came to a resolution to adjourn the meeting to the second Monday after the meeting of Parliament, namely, the 10th of February; and it appears, by the papers referred to the Committee, that meetings in various parts of the country, conformably to a plan settled by the leading persons in London at an early period, were intended to be held on the same day.

It appears manifest, that the persons engaged in various parts both of England and Scotland, in forwarding the plans of revolution, have constantly waited for the example of the metropolis. Intelligence of the event of the meeting there, on the 2d of December, was anxiously expected; and as the first report of the beginning of the disturbance excited in a high degree the spirits of the disaffected, so its speedy suppression produced the expression of strong feelings of disappointment.—Had it even partially succeeded, there seems much reason to believe that it would have been the signal for a more general rising in other parts of the kingdom. Since that time, it appears to be the prevailing impression amongst the leading malcontents in the country, that it is expedient for them to wait till the whole kingdom shall (according to their expression) be more completely organized, and more ripe for action.

What is meant by completely organizing the country, is but too evident from the papers before the Committee. It appears clearly that the object is,

by means of societies or clubs, established, or to be established, in all parts of Great Britain, under pretence of parliamentary reform, to infect the minds of all classes of the community, and particularly of those whose situation most exposes them to such impressions, with a spirit of discontent and disaffection, of insubordination, and contempt of all law, religion, and morality; and to hold out to them the plunder and division of all property, as the main object of their efforts, and the restoration of their natural rights; and no endeavours are omitted to prepare them to take up arms on the first signal for accomplishing these designs.

It is on these grounds that your Committee have been led to look with particular anxiety to the formation, principles, and conduct of those societies or clubs, by which the ends of the disaffected have been hitherto so much forwarded, and are expected by them to be finally accomplished. Many of these societies pass under the denomination of Hampden Clubs. Under this title, societies of very various descriptions appear to have been formed, all professing their object to be parliamentary reform. This name, and their professions, may have induced many persons to become members of such societies, who may not be aware of the ultimate intentions of many of their leaders; and the Committee would by no means ascribe to all these societies the same practices and designs which they have found to be but too prevalent amongst a large number of them; but they find that, particularly among the manufacturing and labouring classes, societies of this denomination have been most widely extended, and appear to have become some of the chief instruments of disseminating doctrines, and of preparing for the execution of plans, the most dangerous to the public security and peace.

Others of these societies are called

Union Clubs, professing the same object of parliamentary reform, but under these words, understanding universal suffrage and annual parliaments—projects which evidently involve not any qualified or partial change, but a total subversion of the British constitution.

It appears that there is a London Union Society, and branch unions corresponding with it, and affiliated to it. Others of these societies have adopted the name of Spencean Philanthropists; and it was by members of a club of this description that the plans of the conspirators in London were discussed and prepared for execution.

The principles of these last associations seem to be spreading rapidly among the other societies which have been formed, and are daily forming, under that and other denominations, in the country. Among the persons adopting these principles, it is common to disclaim parliamentary reform as unworthy of their attention. Their objects are avowed in a handbill dispersed by the society of that description in London, and in numerous other publications. These objects are, “A parochial partnership in land, on the principle that the landholders are not proprietors in chief; that they are but the stewards of the public; that the land is the people’s farm; that landed monopoly is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and destructive of the independence and morality of mankind.”

The societies under these different names are so numerous, and so various, that it has been difficult to obtain a complete view of all of them, or to comprehend them under any general description.

The country societies are principally to be found in, and in the neighbourhood of, Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, Mansfield, Derby, Chesterfield, Sheffield, Blackburne, Manchester, Birmingham, and Norwich, and in Glasgow and its vicinity;

but they extend and are spreading, in some parts of the country, to almost every village. In addition to all the arts of seduction, resort is also had to a system of intimidation, and threats are held out to those who refuse to join. Their combinations are artfully contrived to secure secrecy in their proceedings, and to give to the leading members undisputed authority over the rest. Oaths of secrecy have been frequently administered, some of which are of the most atrocious and dreadful import.

They do not, however, trust to this security alone to prevent discovery; their proceedings are seldom reduced to writing; they pass and are communicated by word of mouth. The more numerous meetings delegate all authority to a managing committee; and by that committee, and by meetings of delegates from the committees of different societies, every thing of importance is transacted.

The committees themselves are also cautious of reducing any of their proceedings to writing, communicating with each other only by delegates and missionaries.

It appears that, in some parts of the country, arms have been lately procured by individual members of these societies, in considerable quantities, which can only be done with a view to the use of force. Subscriptions are also generally required, which, although the amount paid by each individual may be very small, may produce, from the large numbers of the contributors, no inconsiderable fund.

The destructive objects which the leading members of these societies have in view, are demonstrated by their publications and by their proceedings, all equally calculated to inflame the minds of the members, and, in general, of the poorer classes of the community. At the ordinary meetings of the societies, which are often continued to a late

hour, their time is principally employed in listening to speeches tending to the destruction of social order, recommending a general equalization of property, and at the same time endeavouring to corrupt the morals of the hearers, and to destroy all reverence for religion. The landholder has been represented as a monster which must be hunted down, and the fundholder as a still greater evil; and both have been described as rapacious creatures, who take from the people 15d. out of every quartern loaf. They have been told that parliamentary reform is no more than a half measure, changing only one set of thieves for another, and that they must go to the land, as nothing short of that would avail them. Another principal employment of their time is to listen to publications of the same description as the speeches, containing the same doctrines, and leading to the same purposes; and the meetings are frequently terminated, particularly in London, by profane and seditious songs, and parodies of parts of the Liturgy, in which the responses are chaunted by the whole company. By such means, and by the profession of open infidelity in which some of the members indulge in their speeches, the minds of those who attend their meetings are tainted and depraved; they are taught contempt for all decency, all law, all religion and morality, and are thus prepared for the most atrocious scenes of outrage and violence.

Amongst the most effectual means of furthering these dangerous designs, the Committee think it their duty particularly to call the attention of the House to the unremitting activity which has been employed throughout the kingdom in circulating, to an unprecedented extent, at the lowest prices, or gratuitously, publications of the most seditious and inflammatory nature, marked with a peculiar character of irreligion and blasphemy, and tending not

only to overturn the existing form of government, and order of society, but to root out those principles upon which alone any government, or any society, can be supported.

The Committee cannot but consider the late attack upon his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on his way from opening the present session of parliament, as an additional and melancholy proof of the efficacy of this system to destroy all reverence for authority, and all sense of duty, and to expose to insult, indignity, and hazard, the person of the immediate representative of the sovereign, even in the exercise of one of the most important parts of his royal functions.

It appears to be an essential part of the system to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by public meetings, convoked either by the leaders of these societies, or by others, in the metropolis, and in populous places and districts, to address the multitude in terms of unprecedented license and violence, amounting even in some instances to an open declaration that, in case of non-compliance with their petitions, the sovereign will have forfeited his claim to their allegiance. These proceedings are subsequently printed and circulated, and thus become a fresh vehicle for sedition and treason.

By the frequency of these meetings, and by the new practice of continuing them (under various pretexts) by frequent adjournments, the minds of his majesty's well-disposed and peaceable subjects are held in a state of perpetual agitation and alarm. The appointment of such public meetings, in a variety of different places, on the same day, appears to be considered as the most effectual means of accomplishing the designs of the disaffected, and must evidently, in a high degree, embarrass and impede the exertions of all civil powers applicable to the sup-

pression of disturbances, distract the attention of government, and oblige them so to subdivide and harass the military force which it may be necessary to call in for the assistance of the civil power, as to render it inadequate to the maintenance of public tranquillity.

Such a state of things cannot be suffered to continue without hazarding the most imminent and dreadful evils; and although the Committee do not

presume to anticipate the decision of Parliament as to the particular measures to be adopted in the present emergency, they feel it to be their duty to express their decided opinion, that further provisions are necessary for the preservation of the public peace, and for the protection of interests in which the happiness of every class of the community is deeply and equally involved.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN REGARD TO RESIDENCE AND NON-RESIDENCE.

	Total of each Class.	
NON-RESIDENTS,—I. BY EXEMPTIONS.		
Residence on other Benefices	1,999	
Official Chaplains	49	
Chaplains to privileged individuals	29	
Ecclesiastical, Collegiate, and Cathedral Officers	297	
Officers in the Royal Chapels of St James and Whitehall	1	
Reader in his Majesty's private Chapel at Windsor	1	
Preachers and Readers in the Inns of Court and at the Rolls	7	
Public Officers and Tutors in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge }	91	
Resident Fellows in Oxford and Cambridge	63	
Provost of Eton, Warden of Winchester, Fellows of both	—	
Schoolmasters and Ushers of Eton, Westminster and Winchester	9	
Students residing in Oxford or Cambridge, under 30 years of age	—	
Exemptions not notified	1	
N. B. It is stated in the respective Diocesan Returns, that, in the above Classes, there are who perform the Duties of their Parishes }	—	—
Total Exemptions	2,547	
II.—LICENCES.		
Infirmity of Incumbent or Family	517	
Want or unfitness of Parsonage House	1,844	
Resident in a Mansion within the Parish, belonging to Incumbent or Relative }	60	
Incumbents possessing small Livings, licensed to Curacies	102	
Schoolmasters or Ushers of Endowed Schools	140	
Masters or Preachers of Hospitals	4	
Endowed Preachers or Lecturers	24	
Licensed Preachers in Proprietary Chapels	15	
Librarians of the British Museum, Sion College, and Trustees of Lord Crew's Charity }	2	
Incumbents residing in the Neighbourhood, and doing the Duties of their Parishes }	4	
Inenumerated Cases confirmed by the Archbishops	44	
Inenumerated Cases within the Archbishops' Dioceses	2	
N. B. It is stated in the respective Diocesan Returns, that, in the above Classes, there are who perform the Duties of their Parishes }	—	1,062
Total Licences	2,758	

	Total of each Class.	
III.—CASES WHICH COULD NOT BE INCLUDED AMONG LICENCES OR EXEMPTIONS.		
Absence without Licence or Exemption	698	
• N. B. It is stated in the respective Diocesan Returns, that, in the above Class, there are who perform the Duties of their Parishes	—	379
• Dilapidated Churches	36	
Sinecures and Dignities not requiring Residence	27	
• Livings held by Bishops	24	
Vacancies	137	
Recent Institutions	90	
Held by Sequestration	33	
No Return	259	
• N. B. It is stated in the respective Diocesan Returns, that, in the above Seven Classes, there are who perform the Duties of their Parishes	—	11
Total of the above Eight Classes	1,304	
Miscellaneous Cases not before included	195	
It is stated in the respective Diocesan Returns, that, in the above Class, there are who perform the Duties of their Parishes	—	19
Total doing Duty	—	1,990
RESIDENT.		
In the Parsonage House	3,248	
Alternately on one or other of his Preferments	43	
Not in the Parsonage House, but doing the Duty	507	
	3,798	
NON-RESIDENT, as above.		
Exemptions	2,547	
Licences	2,758	
Cases not included in the above	1,304	
Miscellaneous Cases	195	
Of these the Duties of the Parish are done by 1990	6,804	
Residents brought down	3,789	
Total Benefices	10,602	

PROPOSALS AND REGULATIONS

RELATIVE

TO THE ROYAL NAVY.

*Made by the Board of Admiralty, and sanctioned by Order in Council,
commencing the 1st of January, 1817.*

It was to be expected, that in the natural lapse of time, and still more in the course of a war, unexampled in duration and extent, several variations from the old establishment and regulations of the Royal Navy should have taken place; and, however desirable, in the view either of economy or convenience, uniformity may be, it was impossible, during the pressure of war, either to resist the innovations which temporary circumstances rendered necessary, or to re-mould and reform the whole system of the navy, on every occasion on which some alteration was introduced.

We therefore find that there have grown up several inconsistencies, irregularities, and departures from the establishments, in particular articles of the naval service; and as we think this a favourable occasion for endeavouring to remedy the inconvenience which arises from these irregularities, and to reduce, as far as may be practicable, the several alterations which have been made, into one regular system, we

most humbly beg leave to submit to your Royal Highness's gracious consideration, the following observations and propositions on the rates, classification, and schemes of arming and manning his Majesty's ships, and on the pay, ratings, and number of the officers and warrant and petty and non-commissioned officers, of his Majesty's navy and royal marines, and the establishment of the companies of royal marine artillery.

1. The post-ships of the royal navy are divided into six rates; besides which, there are the various classes of sloops, fire-ships, bombs, gun-vessels, yachts, schooners, and cutters.

The division of the royal navy into six rates, took place in the reign of King Charles the First, and at that period, and for several years afterwards, these rates included the whole navy.

In the reign of King Charles the Second, the sloops, fire-ships, and yachts, became distinguished from the sixth rates.

At the Revolution, the rates comprised nearly the same classes of ships which they now do, except that the sixth rate still included vessels of a less number of guns than twenty.

In the year 1719, a general establishment for building was adopted, which however was not long adhered to.

In 1733, a scheme of manning and armament, or gunning, as it was called, was proposed, but the latter was not adopted till the year 1742, and then only as applying to the ships built since 1740.

In 1742, the ships of 20 guns, of the sixth rate, were increased to 24 guns, and 160 men, and this became, for the time, the lowest class of post-ships.

In the year 1745, the Board of Admiralty, observing that "no establishment or regulation for building ships had been made since the year 1719, which had been long discontinued; that instead thereof, ships had been built according to particular schemes and proportions, without any standard or uniformity; those of the same rate being often of unequal dimensions, so that the stores and furniture of one would not suit another of the same class,—a matter of infinite inconvenience in point of expense," &c. directed a committee, composed of all flag-officers unemployed, of the commissioners of the navy who were sea officers under the presidency of Sir John Norris, admiral of the fleet, and assisted by all the master shipwrights, to consider and propose proper establishments of guns, men, scantling of timbers, masts, yards, stores, &c. for each rate and class of his Majesty's ships.

This committee made a very elaborate report, and the whole was established by order in council of his Majesty King George the Second, on the 27th of March, 1746.

By this establishment, the rates, ar-

mament, and complements of his Majesty's ships, were to be as follows:

Rate.	Guns.	Men.
2	100	850 or 750
2	90	750 or 660
3 {	80	650 or 600
3 {	70	520 or 460
4 {	60	420 or 380
4 {	50	350 or 280
5	44	280 or 220
6	24	160 or 140

On this establishment, it is to be observed, that the 80 gun ships of the third rate were on three decks, and that the Board of Admiralty had suggested to the committee the expediency of substituting, instead of this class, ships of 74 guns on two decks and a half, a proposition decidedly rejected by the committee.

A short period only had however elapsed, before a striking instance was given, both of the way in which innovations are produced, and of the impossibility of resisting them; for, on the 3d of February, 1747, the Board of Admiralty acquainted his Majesty, that "the French ship *Invincible*, lately captured, was found to be larger than his Majesty's ships of 90 guns and 750 men; and suggested that this ship, and all other prizes of the like class, and also his Majesty's ships of 90 guns, when reduced to two decks and a half, and 74 guns, should be allowed a complement of 700 men;" and, in 1748, the Board represented to the King in council, that the ships built according to the representations of the committee had not answered their expectations, and they therefore prayed his Majesty's sanction for departing, in new ships about to be built, from the forms and models so lately established. This was granted, but not till the Board had been called upon by the Council to lay before it a particu-

lar account of the alterations and variations designed; and on several subsequent occasions, in which the said establishment was departed from, a minute detail of the variation was previously submitted for the approbation of his Majesty in council. We therefore notice these particulars, to shew the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of establishing and adhering to any fixed forms or scantlings; on which subject we shall humbly submit some observations hereafter.

Subsequent to this period, the introduction of 74's appears to have gradually advanced, as well as of frigates of intermediate sizes, between 44's and 24's; for, in the latter end of the reign of King George the Second, the classes of ships comprised in the several rates were as follow, viz.

	Guns.		Guns.
1st Rate	100	5th Rate	44
2d Rate	90		38
3d Rate	80		36
	74		32
	70	6th Rate	30
	64		28
4th Rate	60		24
	50		20

During the whole of the period herein before referred to, and indeed down to 1793, the force of the ships was stated from the actual number of guns they really carried; But the introduction of carronades, which began partially in 1779, and which was finally adopted, on the present extended scale in the Navy, during the course of the first revolutionary war, increased the armament of the vessels, as they were found able to carry a greater number of carronades than the guns in whose stead they were adopted, so that the real force of the ships has no longer corresponded with their nominal force; and that principle of variation being once admitted, ships have since that

time received denominations as to their number of guns, often, we believe, capriciously, and in one or two classes only of the whole navy, agreeing with their real force.

A few instances will shew your Royal Highness the inconsistencies into which this deviation from the old rules of the service has led.

The *Caledonia*, rated 120 guns, carries 120 guns; while the *Hibernia*, a ship of nearly the same dimensions, which carries exactly the same number of guns, is rated only at 110 guns, being a less number by 4 than that at which the *Jan Joseph* is rated, though the former has in fact 10 guns more than the latter.

All ships of the second rate, though rated at 98, carry upwards of 100 guns, and they have all more guns than the *St George*, a first rate, which is rated and carries 100 guns; and they ought all, therefore, according to the established regulations, to be included in the first rate, and there are in fact no real second rates, viz. three deckers of between 90 and 100 guns, at present existing in the Royal Navy, in a sea-going condition.

In the 3d rate, some of the ships rated at 80 guns, carry near 90, and others rated at 74 carry 80 guns, but the majority of the same denomination carry 74, and this is one of the very few cases in which the real and nominal force agree.

In the fourth-rate, of the ships rated at 50 guns, one class (that on two decks) carries 58 guns, another (that on one deck) carries 60 and upwards.

In the fifth-rate there are three frigates rated at 44 guns, namely the *Sy-bille*, taken from the French, which carries 48 guns; the *Lavinia*, built after her, which carries 50 guns; and the late American ship *President*, the guns mounted in which, on the day of her capture, were 54, besides one 42-pounder howitzer.

The frigates rated at 40 guns carry 50, and those rated at 38 carry 46 and upwards.

The majority of those rated at 36 guns carry 44, and some of those rated at 32 carry 46 and 48, being more than others that are rated at 38 and 36.

Similar differences between the real and the nominal amount of force exist in the fifth-rate, but it is unnecessary to specify the details.

We trust we shall be excused for observing to your Royal Highness, that it is wholly unworthy the character of the Royal Navy of this kingdom, to maintain this system, which, though introduced by the accidental cause we have mentioned, and without any design of deception, yet may give occasion to foreign nations to accuse us of misrepresentation, when we state that a British frigate of 38 guns has taken a foreign frigate of 44, when, in fact, the British frigate was of equal, if not superior, force.

We therefore humbly recommend that your Royal Highness will be pleased to order, that the rule for stating the force of his Majesty's ships, which prevailed prior to the year 1793, and which, in fact, never was formally abrogated, should be revived and established; and that in future all his Majesty's ships should be rated at the number of guns and carronades which they actually carry, on their decks, quarter-decks, and forecastles.

The recurrence to this ancient practice of the service will render some slight variation, as to the limits of some of the rates themselves, necessary; and we therefore humbly propose that the following scale of rates be adopted:—

The first rate to include all three-deckers, inasmuch as all sea-going ships of that description carry 100 guns and upwards.

The second rate to include all ships of 80 guns and upwards, on two decks.

The third rate to include all ships of 70 or upwards, and less than 80 guns.

The fourth rate to include all ships of 50 and upwards, but less than 70 guns.

The fifth rate to include all ships from 36 to 50 guns.

The sixth rate to include all ships from 24 to 36 guns.

Though, by this regulation, no ship under 24 guns will hereafter be a post ship, we, in pursuance of the ancient practice of the service, propose that all his Majesty's yachts should be considered as post ships, and should be rated, one as a second rate, and the rest as third rates, but with such complements as we may appoint.

It is necessary here to state, that several sloops are now rated as post ships, and *vice versa*; and, as much inconvenience to the officer who may be in the command of such ships, and much embarrassment to the public service, would arise, if the present rates of such vessels were to be immediately changed, we submit to your Royal Highness that with regard to any such vessels at present in commission, this new arrangement shall not apply, until they shall be paid off, or till some other favourable opportunity shall offer of placing them in their proper rates.

Your Royal Highness will observe that this scheme differs very little from that which has grown into use, and still less from the last establishment (that of 1746,) which had the sanction of his Majesty in Council, and which, strictly speaking, may be said to be still in force.

We beg leave farther to represent to your Royal Highness, that the schemes for manning his Majesty's ships have, from the causes already referred to with regard to the guns, and from accidental and temporary circumstances, become so very various, that though these six rates were originally intended to regulate, amongst other things, the amount of the respective

complements, there exist at this moment, not fewer than twenty-nine different scales for manning the ships of the six rates; the third rate alone including seven distinct complements.

It were to be desired that all this variety and irregularity should be abolished; but we have seen that, so early as the year 1746, there were sixteen schemes of manning, and the variety of ships which have been from time to time built or captured (which, though they may fall under the same rate, are yet of very different sizes) render perfect uniformity in this point impracticable: we are, however, of opinion, on mature consideration, that this variety may be very much diminished, and that two, and, in one or two rates, three schemes of manning, in each rate, will be found to answer all the practical purposes of the service, and will tend to simplify the system, by thus reducing the twenty-nine schemes before mentioned to thirteen or fourteen.

We therefore submit for your Royal Highness's gracious approbation, that the following be the only complements to be hereafter allowed to the several rates of his Majesty's ships and vessels:—

Rate.	Men.
1st	900, 850, or 800
2d	700, or 650
3d	650, or 600
4th.....	450, or 350
5th.....	300, or 280
6th.....	175, 145, 125

Of sloops there are so many varieties, that we cannot propose to reduce the eight schemes of complement now existing, to less than four: viz. sloops, 135, 125, 95, and 75 men.

Brigs (not sloops), cutters, schooners, and bombs, we propose to reduce to from ten schemes of complement to two, namely, 60 or 50 men.

And we also propose that for small craft, which may not require so large a complement as 50 men, we may be authorized to assign such a complement as we may deem necessary.

As there are no longer any regular fire ships in the service, we humbly propose that, whenever it may become necessary to fit out any vessels of this description, we may be authorized to assign to them such complement of officers and men, together with the pay of such rate or class, as the size of the vessel employed, or the nature of the particular service may render expedient.

We farther propose, that when it shall be necessary to fit out troop ships, we may be authorized to assign to them such rates and complements as may seem proper.

By these regulations, the forty-seven varieties of complements, now in use in the navy, will be reduced to twenty.

Having thus submitted to your Royal Highness our proposition for the rating and manning of his Majesty's ships, it is next our duty to state, that the varieties in the rigging and arming of ships are at least as great as in the complements; the irregularities and deviation from establishment in regard to the form, scantling, &c. of his Majesty's ships, complained of in 1745, are now exceedingly increased, and are of much more serious injury to the service, both in respect to convenience and economy.

It is obvious that the extra expense of providing masts, yards, rigging, and stores of various dimensions, for ships of the same actual force, must be very great; because, if not required for the particular ship for which they were originally prepared, they are either useless, or must be altered to fit some other ship at a great loss of labour, time, and materials; and, in case of accidents or urgency, this variety disables the ships from assisting each

other ; and it requires that the naval arsenals, both at home and abroad, should be furnished, at a very great expense, with a much larger assortment of these articles than would be necessary if they could be made more generally applicable to the probable wants of the whole fleet ; this will be explained to your Royal Highness more forcibly, by stating that for the single class of ships of the third rate, called 74's, there were lately not less than seven different schemes of masting and rigging ; and that a squadron might be composed of seven vessels of this force, which could not properly employ one another's spare spars and sails, and for each of which the dock yard must necessarily have their individual gear.

It is in this particular, above all others, that uniformity would be desirable ; but the experience of what occurred immediately after the establishment of 1746, as we have already stated, and of all subsequent times, shews that it is unfortunately unattainable ; the varieties of ships produced by successive endeavours to improve our models, and still more the great number of ships of all classes, which have been captured from the various enemies with whom we have been at war, render any scheme of perfect uniformity impracticable ; but this very important subject has not escaped our consideration.

We have, in conjunction with the Navy Board, and with the assistance of a committee of experienced sea officers, taken measures for pushing this principle of uniformity as far as the nature of the case would allow ; and though the experience of what has occurred on former occasions dissuades us from attempting to establish, by the approbation and sanction of your Royal Highness in Council, minute details of the forms, lines, and scantlings of his Majesty's ships, we have

the satisfaction of stating, that a system of gradual assimilation is in progress, and that we hope to see it every day become of more extensive operation, and more practical utility ; and we beg leave humbly to assure your Royal Highness, that no efforts shall be spared on our parts, to prevent for the future, any unnecessary deviation from the establishment of rigging and armament, and to reduce the variations which exist to as few classes as possible.

We now proceed to submit to your Royal Highness some observations on the present mode of calculating the sea pay of the officers and men of the fleet.

The pay of all classes in the service is liable to certain permanent deductions ; and the pay of commissioned and warrant officers receives a very considerable addition, under the name of *compensation* ; so that the rates of pay stated in the pay table would give a very erroneous idea of the actual pay of the several classes.

But the present system is also liable to other and more serious objections ; for these deductions, for causes which are now become obsolete, affect the different classes very irregularly.

Thus, the deduction from the pay of a post captain, commanding a ship whose complement may be 215 men, is 4s. 3d. *per mensem*, while that from the pay of all captains of smaller post ships, and of all commanders, is 4s. 9d. while the deduction from the still inferior pay of lieutenants and masters, is as much as from 6s. to 7s. 9d. *per mensem*—and while the deductions from a gunner or boatswain of a first-rate are 5s. 9d., those from the carpenter are 6s.

The addition, by way of compensation, has an equally irregular effect.

The nominal pay of post captains is the same for all ships of the same rate ; and yet in the third rate, for instance,

for which the pay in the pay-table is 23*l.* 2*s.* *per mensem* ; there are, in fact, six rates of pay, namely :—

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
40	5	9	} <i>per mensem.</i> {	42	0	0
43	15	9		45	10	0
47	5	9		48	3	3

It is obvious that this system of alternate deduction and addition, must occasion great trouble and perplexity in the mode of keeping accounts ; and it will be evident to your Royal Highness, how inconvenient this confusion must be, to all branches of the public service concerned with this matter ; which is increased by the circumstance that the officers who are entitled to draw for their pay by bill, can only draw for their personal pay, from which the several deductions are previously to be made.

We have therefore humbly to re-

commend to ybur Royal Highness, that the pay of all officers and men be established, and stated in the pay-table, at a rate of NET pay, including all additions, and exclusive of all deductions.

The effect of this, as it regards all classes, will be stated in a general pay-table, hereunto annexed ; but as the change of system obliges us to propose an average rate of pay for officers of the same rate, who now receive various compensations ; and as we have also to propose some increase of pay to some other classes, we think it proper, in this case, to lay before your Royal Highness a view of the several rates of pay, or of pay and compensa^{ti}on united, as they now stand, and the annual rates of net pay which we propose to establish in lieu thereof, to which we shall subjoin some explanation of several points of alteration, viz.—

FLAG OFFICERS.

ADMIRAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FLEET.

Present.		Proposed.	
£	s.	£	s.
Net pay and compensation	2663 12	Net pay, 6 <i>l.</i> per diem	£2,190
As Commander-in-chief	547 10	As Commander-in-chief, 3 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,095
Total, 3,211 2		Total, 3,285	

ADMIRAL COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF.

Net pay and compensation	1,788 11 9	Net pay, 5 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,835
As Commander-in-chief	547 10 0	As Commander-in-chief, 3 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,095
Total, 2,336 1 9		Total, 2,930	

NOT COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF.

Net pay and compensation	1,788 11 9	Net pay 5 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,835
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VICE-ADMIRAL COMMANDING IN CHIEF.

Net pay and compensation	1,251 19 0	Net pay, 4 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,460
As Commander-in-chief	547 10 0	As Commander-in-chief, 3 <i>l.</i> per diem	1,059
Total, 1,799 9 0		Total, 2,555	

NOT COMMANDING IN CHIEF.

Present.	Proposed.
Net pay and compensation £1,251 19 0	Net pay, 4 <i>l.</i> per diem. . . . £1,460

REAR-ADMIRAL COMMANDING IN CHIEF.

Net pay and compensation . 881 5 1	Net pay, 3 <i>l.</i> per diem 1,095
As Commander-in-chief . 547 10 0	As Commander-in-chief 3 <i>l.</i> per diem 1,000
Total, 1,428 15 1	Total, 2,190

NOT COMMANDING IN CHIEF.

Net pay and compensation . 881 5 1	Net pay, 3 <i>l.</i> per diem 1,095
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CAPTAINS.				MASTERS.			
1st Rate	£812 6 0		£				£
2d —	800 18 6	1st Rate	800	Of the fleet	172 12 8		200
3d —	683 6 9			1st Rate	172 12 8	1st Rate	170
	626 18 3	2d —	700	2d —	159 2 2	2d —	160
	615 10 9			3d —	145 11 11	3d —	150
	592 15 9	3d —	600	4th —	132 1 8		140
	570 0 9			5th —	118 11 2		120
	547 5 9	4th —	500	6th —	105 11 10		110
	524 10 9			Sloop	91 10 8		100
4th —	461 9 3			SECOND MASTERS.			
	438 13 3			In 1st, 2d, 3d, and 5th			
	404 9 9	5th —	400	rates	67 9 3		70
	393 4 2			In 5th rates, and infra	67 9 3		60
5th —	368 10 9			PURSERS.			
	357 3 3			1st Rate	72 4 4	1st Rate	70
	345 15 9	6th —	350	2d —	65 15 9	2d —	60
	334 8 3			3d —	59 6 10	3d —	60
	323 0 9			4th and 5th	52 18 3	4th and 5th	55
6th —	300 5 9			6th & sloop	49 13 10	6th & sloop	50
	306 18 9			CHAPLAINS.			
	295 11 3			In all rates	160 8 8		160
	284 3 6			MEN WHO HAVE PASSED.			
COMMANDERS.				1st Rate	48 17 9	1st Rate	60
Various rates from	368 10 9		300	2d —	44 19 6	2d —	55
to . . .	261 8 9			3d —	42 9 6	3d —	50
LIEUTENANTS.				4th —	37 10 0	4th —	50
Commanding	148 12 10			In all others	33 4 10	In all others	54
	130 12 4						
1st of line of battle ships of 7 years standing	119 4 2		150				

MIDSHIPMEN PASSED.				
1st Rate	35	3	10	} 1st Rate 50
2d ———	31	18	9	
3d ———	30	6	2	
4th ———	27	17	3	
All others	25	8	5	} 2d and 3d Rate 45

CLERKS.				
1st Rates	55	14	7	} 1st Rate . . . 60
2d ———	51	19	10	
3d ———	48	11	2	
4th ———	41	12	8	
All others	37	3	1	} 2d ——— . . . 55

SCHOOLMASTERS.				
1st Rate	35	3	10	} 3d ——— . . . 55
2d ———	31	18	9	
3d ———	30	6	2	
4th ———	41	12	8	
All others	25	8	5	} 4th ——— . . . 50

Your Royal Highness will observe in this table, that the most considerable alteration has been made in favour of flag-officers ; and of this we beg to submit the following explanations : —

So long ago as the year 1693, the pay of the flag-officers of the fleet was at a higher rate than it stands at present, as will appear on a comparison of the rates established by Order in Council of the 2d February of that year, with the present rates :—

	1693.	1816.	
Admiral of the Fleet	£6 0 0	£5 10 0	} per diem.
Admiral	4 0 0	3 17 0	
Vice-Admiral	3 0 0	2 15 0	
Rear Admiral	2 0 0	1 18 6	

By the said Order in Council of the 22d of February, 1693, the extravagant number of servants previously allowed was abolished, and the officers were allowed a number about equal to the present establishment.

This wise and salutary plan, which excluded all profits on servants, and assigned an adequate rate of net pay, was, however, rescinded by Order in Council of the 18th of April, 1700, which established the following rates

of pay, and re-established the following extravagant number of servants :

	Pay.	Servants.
Admiral of the Fleet,	£5 0 0	50
Admiral	5 10 0	30
Vice Admiral	2 10 0	20
Rear-Admiral	1 15 0	15

And at these rates the pay of the flag-officers remained for upwards of 100 years, till, by Order in Council of the 23d of April, 1806, his Majesty was pleased, by a small addition, to make the pay what it at present is.

It is not easy to determine what, besides their pay, were the advantages that these officers made by their servants ; but it is computed, in the appendix to the Order in Council of the 22d of February, 1693, that the annual saving to the public, on the reduction of the servants, would be on each officer as follows :—

Admiral of the Fleet	£1,014 0 0
Admiral	557 14 0
Vice-Admiral	301 4 0
Rear-Admiral	177 9 0

Whether, therefore, these sums, or the sums granted as compensation, be added to the officers' pay, it will be apparent to your Royal Highness, that even on the reduced scale of 1700, the pecuniary advantages of the flag-officers of his Majesty's fleet were as great as they were for upwards of 100 years after, and very inconsiderably, if at all, less than they are at present.

We trust, therefore, on a review of these circumstances, and of the increase which has taken place in other parts of his Majesty's service, that the addition which we propose, of about 150l. per annum to admirals, 190l. to vice-admirals, and 210l. to rear-admirals, will appear moderate and reasonable.

With regard to the latter class of officers, it is worthy of observation, that if a rear-admiral should be ser-

ving in a first-rate, his whole pay and compensation amount to but 881*l.*; while his captain, who lives at his table, and who is comparatively at no expence, receives 812*l.* We notice this, not as thinking the captain's pay too much, as we propose only to reduce it to 800*l.*, but as shewing the inconsistency of the present arrangement, and the necessity of making some addition to the flag-officers' pay.

Your Royal Highness will farther observe, that we propose to double the allowance at present granted to commanders-in-chief under the name of table-money. We have done so; on a very mature consideration of the situation of officers of this rank; and your Royal Highness must be aware of the necessity of this increase from the circumstance which has been frequently communicated to your Royal Highness, of the difficulty of inducing officers to accept, particularly in times of peace, this command; and your Royal Highness is aware, that of six rear-admirals, now commanding in chief

on foreign stations, we have been obliged to recommend that your Royal Highness should be pleased to allow three of them to receive the emoluments of full admirals; and we should, if the measure we now propose should not be adopted, find ourselves under the necessity of proposing to your Royal Highness to extend the same indulgence to the other three commanders-in-chief abroad.

We have also not been inattentive to the rates of pay allowed to the officers of his Majesty's army of corresponding ranks. A military commander of the forces, whose situation is equivalent to that of a naval commander-in-chief, receives, in addition to his unattached pay, 9*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per diem; whereas we propose for the naval commander-in-chief, an addition of only 3*l.* per diem; but as the sea pay of the flag-officer is greater than the unattached pay of the general, it is necessary, in order to give your Royal Highness a fair comparative view of the subject, to submit the following table:—

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Admiral.

Sea pay.....	£1,835
As Commander-in Chief.....	1,095
	<hr/>
	£2,930

Vice-Admiral.

Sea pay.....	£1,460
As Commander-in-Chief.....	1,095
	<hr/>
	£2,555

Rear-Admiral.

Sea pay.....	£1,095
As Commander-in-Chief.....	1,095
	<hr/>
	£2,190

COMMANDER OF THE FORCES

General.

Unattached pay.....	£693	10	0
As Commander of Forces, 3,458	0	0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£4	151	10 0

Lieutenant-General.

Unattached pay.....	£593	0	0
As Commander of Forces, 3,458	0	0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£1,051	0	0

Major-General.

Unattached pay.....	£446	0	0
As Commander of Forces, 3,458	0	0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£3,904	0	0

Your Royal Highness will perceive that the military officer's pay is, in every case, nearly one-third more than we propose for the naval officer; but there are circumstances peculiar to the naval service, which, in our opinion, counterbalance this superiority.

In times of peace, the number of officers having commissions as commanders of the forces, is, we are informed, very limited; whereas the commanders-in-chief in the navy are almost as numerous in peace as in war; the number, therefore, of flag officers who will receive this advantage, and the narrower sphere of their duties, must be set off against the inferiority of the sum received.

In times of war, the number of commanders-in-chief, if not greater, is not less than that of commanders of forces; but we consider that the superior advantages to be derived by the flag officer, from his share of prize money, will generally afford an ample compensation for the proposed inferiority of pay.

Upon the whole, then, of this part of the subject, we trust that your Royal Highness will agree with us, that the proposed rates of pay are just and equitable, as well with regard to the officers themselves, as to the public service at large; and that, however they may nominally differ from the rates allowed to the general officers of his Majesty's army, they will be found to establish as much real equality as the difference of the two services will admit of.

We have presumed to enter into this comparison with the pay of the army, lest it should be hereafter supposed that we had not considered the subject in reference to the military service; and in order to shew that, although a perfect similarity cannot be effected, we have endeavoured, as far as it was possible, to attain a real equal-

ity, and to obviate any complaints on the score of the apparent differences.

We think it farther necessary to propose, that commanders-in-chief shall be entitled to this allowance of 3l. per diem, only while their flags are flying within the limits of their respective stations, and that, on their decease, or during their absence, the said sum shall be paid, as is at present provided, to the officer who shall succeed to the command, if he be a flag officer; but if he be a captain, that he shall be entitled to the sum of 1l. per diem during the time his broad pendant may be hoisted as commanding on the station.

And we farther propose that all flag officers, whether commanders-in-chief or otherwise, shall be allowed to draw for the whole of their sea pay and commander-in-chief's pay, without distinction.

We farther beg leave to observe to your Royal Highness, that the advance of three months' pay now made to flag officers on their appointments, is so inadequate to the necessary expenses of their outfit, that it has been the custom to grant to flag officers appointed commanders-in-chief on certain foreign stations, an imprest of one thousand pounds by way of outfit;—but we think it better that, in lieu of this occasional indulgence, every flag officer appointed to the chief command of a foreign station, should be entitled to receive an advance of six months' pay, which would obviate the necessity of the occasional imprests we have hitherto been obliged to grant.

The pay of the other classes has been computed, not with a view to any considerable increase, but at a sum calculated upon the averages of the present rates.

It will at first sight appear, that the pay proposed for captains and commanders is considerably more than the

average of the several rates now established ; but upon this we have to observe, that the difference is not so great as it appears to be :—

Firstly, because the lower rates of pay are attached to the ships of the smallest size in each rate, which are gradually disappearing from the navy, so that the majority of officers now employed receive the higher rates of pay ; and secondly, because captains of flag-ships are at present entitled to a considerable addition of pay, which comes highest in the lowest rates, and in peace affects a greater proportional number than in war. The value of this addition we have calculated in the amount of net pay before proposed, and these circumstances render the real increase of expence on this head less than it appears.

We have proposed that the pay of first lieutenants of line of battle ships shall be increased from 119*l.* 3*d.* per annum, which they now receive in common with all other lieutenants, to 150*l.* per annum, provided they shall be of seven years standing ; and we recommend that lieutenants commanding small vessels should be raised to the same sum ; and we trust that your Royal Highness, considering the important duties and high responsibility of the senior lieutenants of line of battle ships, will be of opinion that this increase is just and expedient ; and the increase of 18*l.* per annum to lieutenants, who may be subjected to the expence and responsibility of a separate command, will not, we trust, be considered too great.

It is proper to add, that the principle of making a distinction in favour of first lieutenants of line of battle ships, is not new to the service ; as at the first establishment of half-pay, in 1693, this advantage was extended only to first lieutenants of 1st, 2d, 3d

rates, who had served as such for a certain period.

Though we have, for the reason before stated, recommended the discontinuance of the flag pay to captains, (having provided an equivalent therefor,) we do not propose to withdraw the allowance of 6*d.* per diem allowed to lieutenants of flag ships, by his Majesty's Order in Council of the 21st September, 1796, having made no addition to the pay of this class of officers, except in the single instance before-mentioned.

We have farther taken into consideration the pay at present granted to young gentlemen, mates or midshipmen in his Majesty's service, the average of which (for it varies in different rates) may be taken of the former at 40*l.* and of the latter at 30*l.* per annum. We do not feel it necessary to propose an increase of these rates, with regard to young men who have not passed their examination for lieutenants ; but we hope that your Royal Highness will be of opinion, that those who have passed that examination, and whose responsibility and usefulness, as well as their necessary expences, increase with their age, are entitled to a higher remuneration than young persons who may have lately entered his Majesty's service. We therefore have proposed an increase of pay to all mates and midshipmen who may have passed their examination.

We have to observe that the examination of young gentlemen for the rank of lieutenant has been lately made more strict, as, besides the usual examination in seamanship before naval officers, they are now obliged to undergo another at the naval college, as to their proficiency in the scientific branches of their profession. We cannot but hope that the distinction, which we propose to establish in favour of those

who shall have passed the prescribed examination (though it is new in his Majesty's service,) cannot be considered as objectionable, either in principle or amount.

Connected with this part of the subject is the situation of school-master on board his Majesty's ships, which is at present so ill remunerated, (namely, at the same rate as the youngest midshipmen,) that it is found impossible to obtain persons of adequate acquirements to undertake this duty; we however feel so strongly the importance of the subject of the education of young persons in his Majesty's navy, as well of the upper ranks as the lower, that we have felt ourselves bound to propose to your Royal Highness an addition to the pay of the school-masters in the fleet; and if the chaplain should perform the duty of school-master, which is highly desirable, we propose that he should receive the pay of both offices; this regulation, we think, will have the double tendency of improving both the condition and respectability of the chaplain and the schoolmaster; and our desire to encourage persons to undertake this duty induces us to recommend that the allowance to the schoolmaster, called Queen Ann's bounty, of 20*l.* per annum, and the remuneration to the chaplain for the tuition of young gentlemen, granted by the Orders in Council of the 4th March, 1812, and 4th March, 1813, may be continued.

The arrangements respecting warrant and petty officers we shall state distinctly in subsequent sections of this memorial.

(The rest of this section relates to the drawing of bills for pay, &c.)

The Report, after stating the inconsistencies in the existing rates of pay for boatswains, gunners, carpenters, &c. proposes the following regulations:

1st. The pay and superannuation of gunners, boatswains, and carpenters, shall be regulated by the same scale.

2d. The scale of sea and ordinary pay shall be as follows, in the several rates.

Rate.....	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	<i>et inf.</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sea....L.	100	90	80	70	65	60	
Ordinary	85	75	65	55	50	45	

3d. The above pay is to be personal and net, and no deductions or compensations are to be made.

4th. No warrant officer shall be appointed to a fifth-rate, who shall not have served two years either in a sixth-rate or sloop in commission; nor to a fourth-rate who shall not have served two years in a fifth-rate in commission; nor to a third-rate, who shall not have served one year in a fourth-rate in commission, or three years in a fourth or fifth-rate in commission; nor to a second-rate, who shall not have served two years in a third-rate in commission; nor to a first-rate, who shall not have served three years in a second or third-rate in commission. But as in times of peace it may not be possible for officers to serve the required time in commission, we submit, that in cases of vacancy, when there happens to be no man who has served the requisite time for an appointment, it may be given to the person who may be, in our opinion, in other respects the best qualified for, and entitled to the situation.

5th. In the event of any warrant of-

ficer being put out of his ship by her being lost, broken up, or otherwise, he shall be placed as supernumerary in one of his Majesty's ships in ordinary of the same rate, until we may have an opportunity of giving him another appointment.

6th. The rates of superannuation of warrant officers shall be according to the following scale, formed on a consideration of the total length of service as a warrant officer, with the length of service in commission:—

Total Service. Commissioned Service. Pensions.

• 30 years.....	20 years.....	L.85 •
• 30.....	15.....	75
30.....	10.....	65
30.....	5.....	55
20.....	20.....	75
20.....	15.....	65
20.....	10.....	55
20.....	5.....	45
15.....	15.....	60
15.....	10.....	50
15.....	5.....	40
10.....	10.....	45
10.....	5.....	35

7th. Officers whose length of service may happen not to fall exactly under any of the preceding numbers, shall be pensioned agreeably to the rate which may come nearest to their length of service.

8th. Officers having a shorter period of service than the lowest of the foregoing, shall receive either the pension to which their services would entitle them from Greenwich Hospital, or such other sum, not exceeding 30*l.* per annum, as we, on a view of the individual case, may appoint.

9th. No warrant officer shall reckon as service, either for promotion or superannuation, any time for which he shall not have a certificate of good conduct from the captains or commanders of the ships in which he may have served; and if the certificate

should not state the good and meritorious conduct of the officer for the specified period, such time is to be disallowed him; but if the warrant officer thinks he has any reason to complain thereof, he may address his complaint to our secretary, for our inquiry and final decision; and in this case, we submit that we be authorized to allow the time or not, as we may judge proper.

If your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to sanction the foregoing propositions on this branch of the subject, we shall be enabled to superannuate several hundreds of worn-out and disabled officers, who are at present on the ordinary, and of whom we cannot clear the list (which ought to be effective) with justice and humanity to these old servants of the public, while the present partial and inadequate rates of superannuation exist; but we have farther the satisfaction of stating to your Royal Highness, that this benefit to the naval service will not create any additional expense to the country; as the saving of cost now incurred for victualling and keeping in full pay so large a number of inefficient persons, will not only compensate the whole additional expense of the arrangement relative to warrant officers, which we thus humbly submit to your Royal Highness's gracious consideration, but will even diminish considerably the expence which, on the peace establishment, may arise from the other propositions which we have submitted.

IV. We now beg leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that having had under consideration the numbers and ratings of the petty officers of his Majesty's fleet, we have found that there are several useful duties for which no proper ratings are provided; while, on the other hand, several ratings are preserved in the table which have become obsolete, and

which have no duties now attached to them, and which are now, we have reason to think, given to men whom the several captains think deserving of higher pay, and for whom they have no appropriate ratings.

With a view, therefore, of remedying these irregularities, and of giving fair encouragement to that useful class of men, the petty officers, we humbly submit that your Royal Highness may be pleased to sanction the establishment of the following additional ratings, the effective duties of which are now performed without any corresponding ratings.

Admiral's Coxswain,
Coxswain of the Launch,
———— of the Pinnace,
Captain of the Hold,
Yeoman of the Signals,
Cooper's Mate,
———— Crew,
Gunner's Yeoman,
Carpenter's Yeoman,
Captain's Steward,
———— Cook,
Ward or Gun-room Steward,
———— Cook,
Ship's Tailor.

Two of these ratings have been already established by Order in Council, but we have nevertheless included them in the above list, because they are not in the general table of ratings, and in order to lay before your Royal Highness, at one view, the whole of this part of the subject.

And we farther submit to your Royal Highness, to be pleased to sanction the abolition of the following obsolete unnecessary ratings:—

Yeoman of the Powder Room,
———— of the Sheets,
Quarter-Master's Mates,
Trumpeters,
Gun-smiths,

Midshipman Ordinary,
Coxswain's Mates,
Swabbers,
Ordinary Trumpeter,
Shifter,
Gunner's Tailors.

The expense to be occasioned by the establishment of the former ratings will, after deducting that of the ratings proposed to be abolished, be very inconsiderable; namely, 3*l.* 2*s.* per mensem in a first rate, and less in proportion in the others; being in the whole, on one ship of each class in the royal navy, only 12*l.* 7*s.* per mensem. We beg leave farther to state, that, as the carpenters, and carpenter's mates, and carpenter's crews find their own tools, and are alone, of all the classes in the ship, liable to this species of extra expense; and as we have, by late regulations, given much more activity and employment to this description of persons, to the great benefit of the service, we propose to allow to each person of these classes 7*s.* per mensem, in addition to their pay, to supply themselves with tools; this allowance being, in fact, already, though partially, made.

V. We now beg leave to call the attention of your Royal Highness to the companies of royal marine artillery.

These companies were formed, one at each division, in the year 1804, for the purpose, in the first instance, of supplying the service of his Majesty's bomb vessels before that time performed by the royal artillery; but it was also intended that these companies should, particularly in time of peace, be employed at the respective divisions, in drilling the whole of the marines to gunnery.

We are so well satisfied of the great utility of having a considerable body of marines trained to gunnery, that we are induced to recommend that the

royal marine artillery be increased to eight companies, as well for the purpose of encouraging and training the other marines, as to enable us, on occasions, to embark a certain number of well-trained artillery-men in others of his Majesty's ships as well as in the bombs; experience having proved the great advantages to be derived to the service from this practice, which has been of late tried to a small extent.

We therefore humbly propose to your Royal Highness, to be pleased to sanction the establishment of eight companies of royal marine artillery; but in order that the whole establishment may not exceed what your Royal Highness has pleased to declare to be a fit peace establishment of marines, we humbly propose to transfer a certain number of officers and men from ordinary marines to the artillery, and we hereto subjoin schemes of the establishment of royal marine and royal marine artillery, respectively, which we think proper for the present period, by which the corps will consist of eighty companies, of which eight will be artillery.

This measure, which will give great efficiency to the corps of marines, and, to use the expression of the original promoters of the marine artillery, double its utility both ashore and afloat, will be a very inconsiderable, if any, expense to the public; because we have proposed to reduce an equivalent number of ordinary marines, and shall further submit some reductions in the number of officers attached to the artillery companies; and in time of war, a farther diminution of expense from what it would be under the present system, will, if your Royal Highness shall be pleased to adopt our suggestions, arise from the following circumstances:—

The royal artillery, when embarked in bombs, had certain advantages granted to them, in consideration, we

presume, of their being taken out of their natural course of shore service: these advantages the royal marine artillery have claimed, and hitherto enjoyed, under, we think, an erroneous construction of his Majesty's Order in Council, establishing the pay and allowances of these companies.

It is evident that, however just it was to grant such advantages to the royal artillery, when removed from their ordinary duties, it was certainly unnecessary to give them to the marine artillery, whose natural course of service it was to embark, and which in fact was formed for this especial purpose. We trust, therefore, that your Royal Highness will see the expediency of correcting this error, at this favourable opportunity, when it can be done without any immediate injury to individuals, because at present none of the marine artillery are embarked, nor, according to the original regulations, would they have been embarked, in time of peace; while we therefore propose to continue the increased shore pay, and to encourage the artillery and the corps in general, by doubling the numbers who will receive this increased pay, we think we may fairly propose to abolish the distant and contingent advantage of the extra sea pay, to which in fact we doubt that any other right has hitherto existed, than an erroneous construction of his Majesty's Order in Council.

We therefore propose, that when the royal marine artillery shall embark, the sea pay of all ranks shall bear to their pay ashore the same proportion that the sea pay of the marines in general bears to their shore pay.

For all these purposes herein before mentioned, we beg leave to subjoin to this memorial, a table of the rates of his Majesty's ships, and the force and complements of each rate, and also of the pays, numbers, and ratings of all the officers and men in the fleet, both

seamen and marines ; and we humbly recommend to your Royal Highness, to be pleased to recall and annul the table now in force under his Majesty's Order in Council of the 31st December, 1806, and to sanction and establish in lieu thereof, the table hereunto annexed, on which, for the sake of perspicuity and convenience, we have distinguished the several classes for sharing the produce of seizures, agreeably to your Royal Highness's Order in Council of the 14th October last.

We now have to submit to your Royal Highness, in order that the funds of the Chest and Hospital at Greenwich, and of the Widows' Charity, to which the deductions, herein before proposed to be abolished, are applied, may not suffer by this arrangement, that your Royal Highness may be pleased to direct that the calculated amount of the said deductions, on the number of officers and men respectively employed, shall be paid over by the Navy Board to the funds of the said institutions, under such regulations and checks as we may think necessary, for ensuring the full and equi-

table arrangement of this matter between these different branches of the service ; which, we have no doubt, can be attained with great convenience to all the officers concerned, and without any increase of establishment, or any expense whatsoever to the public. And, finally, we have to submit that the whole of this arrangement shall be carried into execution from and after the 1st of January next, or as soon after as conveniently may be.

In proposing alterations in the present practice of the naval establishments, so important as those herein before submitted to your Royal Highness, we have thought it right to enter into a detail of the motives and principles by which we have been guided. We have, ourselves, in the investigation which has led to this memorial, found considerable inconvenience from the want of explanation as to the precise views on which former arrangements were made ; and we therefore humbly hope that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to excuse the length of detail into which, on the present occasion, we have presumed to enter.

LETTER

Addressed, by order of the Emperor NAPOLEON, from General Count MONTHOLON to Sir HUDSON LOWE, British Governor of the Island of St Helena.

GENERAL.—I have received the treaty of the 3d of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which accompanied your letter of the 23d of July.

The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of that treaty ; he is not the prisoner of England.—

After having placed his abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the *advantage of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son*, he repaired, voluntarily and freely, to England, with a view of living there, as a private individual, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of every law cannot constitute a right. The

person of the Emperor Napoleon is actually in the power of England, but he neither has been, nor is, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, either in fact or of right, even according to the laws and customs of England, which never included, in the exchange of prisoners, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, though united to these powers by treaties of alliance, and making war conjointly with them.

The Convention of the 2d of August, concluded fifteen days after the Emperor was in England, cannot have of right any effect. It exhibits only a spectacle of the coalition of the four greatest powers of Europe for the oppression of *a single man*!—a coalition which the opinion of every nation and all the principles of sound morality equally disavow.

The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, having neither in fact or in right any claim over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could decide nothing respecting him.

Had the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that Prince would have recollected relations which religion and nature have formed *between a father and a son*—relations which are never violated with impunity.

He would have recollected, that Napoleon had *four* times restored him to the throne, viz. at Leoben in 1797,—at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna,—at Presburgh in 1806—and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies had possession of his capital, and three-fourths of the monarchy! That Prince would have recollected the protestations he made to Napoleon at the *bivouac* in Moravia in 1806, and at the interview in Dresden in 1812.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the

Emperor Alexander, he would have recollected the ties of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and during *twelve years* of daily correspondence.

He would have recollected the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when, though he could have made him, with the wreck of his army, *prisoner*, he contented himself with taking his parole, and allowed him to operate his retreat. He would have recollected the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself, in order to extinguish the fire at Moscow, and to preserve that capital for him—assuredly, that prince would never have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign could not have forgotten that it depended on the Emperor Napoleon, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin. He would not have forgotten, in the presence of a *disarmed* enemy, the protestations of attachment and sentiments of gratitude which he testified to him in 1812, at the interviews in Dresden.

It accordingly appears, from articles two and five of the treaty of the 2d of August, that these princes, being incapable of exercising any influence over the disposal of the emperor, who was not in their power, accede to what may be done thereon by his Britannic Majesty, who takes upon himself the charge of fulfilling every obligation. These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with having preferred the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon had formed of the liberality of the laws of England, and of the *influence of the opinion* of a *great, generous, and free people over*

their government, decided him to prefer the protection of *these* laws to that of a *father-in-law*, or an old friend.

The Emperor Napoleon had it in his power to secure, by a diplomatic treaty, whatever was personal to himself, by putting himself either at the head of the army of the Loire, or at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but wishing henceforth for nothing but retirement, and the protection of the laws of a free state, either English or American, all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary. He conceived that the English people were more bound by a conduct which was, on his part, frank, noble, and full of confidence, than they would have been by the most solemn treaties. He *has been deceived*—but this error will for ever cause *true* Britons to blush, and will, in the present, as well as the future generations, be a *proof of the bad faith of the English Administration*.

Austrian and Prussian Commissioners are arrived at St Helena. If the object of their mission be the fulfilment of a part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care that the English agents, in a small colony, in the midst of the ocean, do not fail in the respect due to a prince connected with these sovereigns by the bonds of *relationship*, and so many other ties, proofs of the character which belongs to these two monarchs will be recognized in this proceeding; but you, sir, have declared that these Commissioners have neither the *right nor the power* of giving any *opinion on what may be passing on this rock*!

The English ministers have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to St Helena, at the distance of 3000 leagues from Europe! This rock, situated within the tropics, and 500 leagues from any continent, is

subject to the devouring heats of these latitudes. It is covered with clouds and fogs during three-fourths of the year, and is at once the most arid and the most humid country in the world. Such a climate is most inimical to the health of the emperor, and hatred must have dictated the choice of this residence, as well as the instructions given by the English ministry to the officers commanding in the island.

They have even been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon *general*, as if it were wished to oblige him to consider himself as never having reigned in France.

The reason which determined him not to assume an *incognito* name, as he might have resolved to do on leaving France, were these:—First Magistrate for life of the Republic, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; and received, as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his court.

He accredited to the King of England, Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after an exchange of letters between the ministers for foreign affairs of the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris invested with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries possessing full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and remained for several months at the Court of the Thuilleries; when Lord Castlereagh afterwards signed at Chatillon the ultimatum, which the allied powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he recognised by that the fourth dynasty. This ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris; but in exacting that France should renounce Belgium, and the left bank of the

Rhine, it exacted what was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and the proclamations of the allied powers—what was contrary to the oath, by which, at his coronation, the emperor swore to maintain the integrity of the empire. The emperor, besides, thought that these natural limits were necessary, both for the security of France, and to preserve the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the French nation, in the situation in which it was, ought rather to run the hazard of all the chances of war, than to depart from that policy. France had obtained this integrity, and would have preserved it with honour, if treason had not betrayed itself in the aid of the allies.

The treaty of the 2d of August, and the act of the British Parliament, called the Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte, and gave him only the title of General. The title of General Buonaparte is, doubtless, eminently glorious; the emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of first consul and emperor; which proves that he has been both first magistrate of the republic, and sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks which belong of divine right to certain families, do not belong to the age, nor do they participate in the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the order of its dynasty, because great changes had taken place in public opinion, in which the reigning princes not participating, they became enemies to the welfare of the great majority of the nation; for kings are only hereditary magistrates, who exist for the welfare of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings.

It is in the same hateful spirit that orders have been given that the Emperor Napoleon shall not be allowed to

write or receive any letters, unless they are opened and read by the English ministers and the officers at St Helena. They have interdicted to him the possibility of receiving intelligence from his wife, his mother, his son, or his brothers; and when, in order to avoid the inconvenience of having his letters read by subaltern officers, he wished to send letters sealed to the Prince Regent, he was told that the order could not be departed from, and that the letters must pass open, such being the instructions of the ministry. This conduct needs no observation; it gives rise, however, to strange ideas as to the spirit of the administration which could dictate what would be disavowed even at Algiers. Letters have arrived at St Helena, for the officers in the suite of the emperor; they were broken open and transmitted to you, but you have not communicated them, because they did not come through the channel of the English ministry. Thus they had to go back 4000 leagues; and these officers had the grief of knowing, that there was intelligence on the rock, from their wives, their mothers, their children, and that they could not know the nature of it for six months—the heart must solace itself.

They could not obtain either the Morning Chronicle, the Morning Post, or any French journals. Now and then a few stray numbers of the Times reached Longwood. In consequence of a request made on board the Northumberland, some books were sent, but all those relative to the affairs of late years have been carefully kept back. He wished to correspond with a bookseller, in London, in order to have direct the books which he wanted, and those relative to the events of the day—this was prevented. An English author, having made a tour to France; and having published an account of it in London, he took the trouble to transmit it to you, in order that it

might be presented to the emperor; you thought proper not to transmit it, because it was not sent to you by the express desire of your government. It is said also that other books sent by their authors have not been transmitted, because some of them were inscribed to the Emperor Napoleon, and others to Napoleon the Great. The English ministry is not authorised to order any of these vexations; the law, although unique, by which the British parliament regards the emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war, has never prohibited prisoners of war from subscribing to journals, or receiving printed books—such a prohibition takes place only in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The island of St Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is inaccessible every where—briggs surround the coast—posts are stationed on the shore within sight of each other, which render impracticable any communication with the sea. There is only one small town (James Town) where there is an anchorage, and where vessels touch. To prevent an individual from quitting the island, it is sufficient to guard the shore by land and sea. To lay an interdict on the interior of the island can therefore have no other object than to deprive him of a promenade of from eight to ten miles, which it would be possible to make on horseback, and the privation of which will shorten the life of the emperor. The emperor has been established at Longwood, exposed to every wind, and where the land is sterile and uninhabitable, without water, and not susceptible of any cultivation. There is a circuit marked out of about 1200 toises; at about 11 or 1200 distance a camp is established on a hill, and another camp in an opposite position at the same distance; in short, in the midst of the heat of the tropic, there is nothing to be seen but camps.

Admiral Malcolm having learned the

utility which the emperor would derive from a tent in that situation, caused one to be set up by his sailors, at twenty paces distance in front of the house; it was the only place in which a shade could be found. The emperor had as much reason to be satisfied with the spirit that animated the officers and soldiers of the brave 53d regiment, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland.

The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn for the company's farm. The deputy-governor of the island had since built some chambers; it served him for a country house, but it was not in a proper habitable state; workmen had been employed at it for a year, and the emperor has been continually subjected to the inconvenience and insalubrity of inhabiting a house in the progress of building. The chamber in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of ordinary dimensions; but every alteration at Longwood prolongs the inconvenience of having workmen there. There are, however, in this miserable territory, beautiful situations, presenting fine trees, gardens, and good houses. There is, besides, Plantation House; but the positive instructions of government forbid you from giving up this house, although much expence would thereby have been saved to your government—an expence incurred in fitting up at Longwood a hut, covered with paper, which is already unserviceable.

You have interdicted all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the island—you have, in fact, placed the house at Longwood *au secret*—you have prevented any communication with the officers of the garrison; it seems, therefore, to be your study to deprive us of the little resources which this miserable territory affords; and we are here, just as we should be, on the insulated and uninhabited rock of Ascension. During the four months that you

have been at St Helena, you have, sir, rendered the situation of the emperor much worse. Count Bertrand has observed to you, that you violate even the laws of your legislature, and that you trample under foot the rights of general officers, prisoners of war. You have replied, that you act according to the letter of your instructions, and that your conduct to us is not worse than is dictated by them.

I have the honour to be,

GENERAL COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

After I had signed this letter, I received yours of the 17th August, in which you subjoin the account of an annual ~~sum~~ of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable for the support of the expences of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you thought possible. We do not think we have any thing to do with the discussion of this point. The table of the emperor is scarcely provided with strict necessities, and all the provisions are of the worst quality. You ask of the emperor a fund of 12,000*l.* sterling, as your government will only allow 8000*l.* for all the expences. I have already had the honour of informing you, that the emperor had no funds—that for a year past he had neither written nor received any letter; and that he is altogether ignorant of what has passed, or is passing, in Europe. Transported by force

to this rock, without being able to write or to receive any answer, the emperor is now entirely at the mercy of the English agents. The emperor has always desired, and is still desirous, to provide himself for all his expences, of whatever nature, and he will do it as soon as you render it possible, by taking off the interdictions laid upon the merchants of the island with regard to his correspondence, and directing that it should not be subjected to any inquisition on your part, or by any of your agents. Thenceforth, the wants of the emperor would be known in Europe, and those persons who interested themselves in his behalf might send him the funds necessary to provide for them.

The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives birth to strange ideas. Are your ministers then ignorant that the spectacle of a great man in captivity and adversity is a most sublime spectacle? Are they ignorant that Napoleon at St Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every description, to which he opposes nothing but serenity, is greater, more sacred, and more venerable, than when seated upon the first throne in the world, where, for so long a time, he was the arbiter of kings? Those who, in such a situation, are wanting to Napoleon, are blind to their own character, and that of the nation which they represent.

s MONTHOLON,

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DURING THE

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CAP. I. To continue and extend the Provisions of an Act of the Forty-ninth Year of his present Majesty, for regulating the Trade and Commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope, until the 5th day of July 1820; and also for regulating the Trade of the Island of Mauritius.—Feb. 24, 1817.

CAP. II. For raising the sum of twenty-four millions, by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year 1817.—Feb. 24.

The Treasury may raise 24,000,000*l.* by Exchequer bills, in like manner as is prescribed by 48 Geo. III. cap. 1.—Treasury to apply the money so raised.—To be payable out of the Supplies for the next Session.—To bear an interest not exceeding 3½*d.* per cent. per diem.—To be current at the Exchequer after April 5, 1818.—Bank of England may advance 15,000,000*l.* on the credit of this Act, notwithstanding the Act 5 and 6 Gul. and Mariæ.

CAP. III. To empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government.—March 4.

That all or any person or persons that are or shall be in prison within that part of the United Kingdom called Great Britain, at or upon the day on which this Act shall receive his Majesty's royal assent, or after, by warrant of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, signed by six of the said Privy Council, for high treason, suspicion of high treason, or treasonable practices, or by warrant signed by any of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, for such causes as aforesaid, may be detained in safe custody, without bail or mainprize, until the 1st day of July 1817; and that no judge or justice of the peace shall bail or try any such person or persons so committed, without order from his said Majesty's Privy Council, signed by six of the said Privy Council, until the 1st day of July 1817; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.—Act in Scotland of 1701, so far as relates to treason, suspended.—Persons committed there not to be tried, &c. Without such order as aforesaid.—From and after the 1st day of July 1817, the said persons so committed shall have the benefit and advantage of all laws

and statutes in any way relating to, or providing for, the liberty of the subjects of this realm.—Privileges of Members of Parliament not invalidated.—Persons against whom indictments for high treason are already found, to be tried thereon.—The Secretary of State may order persons committed, to be removed to any other gaol; but persons so removed are not to be deprived of right to be tried or discharged.

Cap. IV. To extend the privileges of the Trade of Malta to the Port of Gibraltar.—March 4.

Cap. V. For continuing to his Majesty certain Duties on Malt, Sugar, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain; and on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in England; and for receiving the Contributions of Persons receiving Pensions and holding offices; for the Service of the Year 1817.—March 4.

Cap. VI. To make perpetual certain Parts of an Act of the Thirty-sixth Year of his present Majesty, for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts; and for the Safety and Preservation of the Person of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent against Treasonable Practices and Attempts.—March 17.

Cap. VII. To revive and make perpetual Two Acts of the Thirty-seventh Year of his present Majesty, the One in the Parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the Parliament of Ireland, for the better Prevention and Punishment of Attempts to Seduce Persons serving in his Majesty's Forces by Sea or Land from their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to Mutiny or Disobedience.—March 17.

Cap. VIII. To continue until the 5th day of April 1820, an Act of the Fifty-second Year of his present Majesty, to regulate the Separation of

damaged from sound Coffee, and to permit Dealers to send out any quantity of Coffee, not exceeding Eight Pounds weight, without a Permit.—March 17.

Cap. IX. For vesting all Estates and Property occupied for the Barrack Service in the Comptroller of the Barrack Department, and for granting certain Powers to the said Comptroller.—March 17.

Cap. X. To regulate the Vessels carrying Passengers from the United Kingdom to certain of his Majesty's Colonies in North America.—March 17.

Security to be given for 500*l*. by the master or other person.

Penalty on taking more passengers, than the number allowed, 50*l*.

Passengers to be apportioned according to the tonnage of the vessel, in the proportion of one adult person, or of three children under fourteen years of age, for every one ton and a half of the burden of such ship or vessel.

Water and provisions to be laid in for twelve months consumption.

Abstract of Act to be exposed in the vessel, on penalty of 10*l*.

Cap. XI. To facilitate the progress of business in the Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall.—March 17.

It shall and may be lawful for any one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, when occasion shall so require, to sit apart from the other Judges of the same Court, in some place in or near to Westminster Hall, for the business of adding and justifying special bail in causes depending in the same Court, whilst others of the Judges of the same Court are at the same time proceeding in the dispatch of the other business of the same Court in bank, in its usual place of sitting.

Cap. XII. For punishing Mutiny

and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.—March 21.

Cap. XIII. For the regulating of his Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on Shore.—March 21.

Cap. XIV. To indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, and for extending the Time limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March 1818; and to permit such Persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the Execution of Indentures of Clerks to Attornies and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary Term 1818.—March 21.

Cap. XV. To continue, until the 5th day of July 1818, an Act of the 46th year of his present Majesty for granting an additional Bounty on the Exportation of the Silk Manufactures of Great Britain.—March 21.

Cap. XVI. For raising the Sum of Eighteen Millions, by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the year 1817.—March 25.

Cap. XVII. To repeal, during the continuance of Peace, so much of an Act of the 9th year of his present Majesty as prohibits the Exportation of Pig and Bar Iron and certain Naval Stores, unless the Pre-emption thereof be offered to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy.—March 29.

Cap. XVIII. To facilitate the hearing and determining of Suits in Equity in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer at Westminster.—March 29.

On account of the great increase in the proceedings on the Common Law side in the Court of Exchequer, the Chief Baron is empowered to hear and determine suits in equity, subject to an appeal to the House of Lords.

Cap. XIX. For the more effectual preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.—March 31.

It is enacted, that no meeting of more than 50 persons, except county meetings, be held without notice being given by public advertisement, signed by seven housekeepers, in the local newspaper, five days before such meeting. Notice to be given to the clerk of the peace. Meetings held without previous notice to be deemed unlawful assemblies. Persons continuing assembled contrary to this Act to the number of 12, and not dispersing in one hour after being required to do so by proclamation, to be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and to suffer death. In case of resistance, justices are indemnified for the killing or hurting of offenders. Sheriffs-depute in Scotland have the same powers as magistrates in England.

It is further enacted, That every house, &c. in which any public lecture, discourse, or debate shall be held, on any subject whatever, for the purpose of raising or collecting money or any other valuable thing from the persons admitted, or to which any person shall be admitted, by ticket or token of any kind, delivered in consideration of money, unless previously licensed, shall be deemed to be disorderly. Two justices may license places for lectures, discourses, or debates, for any time not exceeding one year, for which licence one shilling, and no more, shall be paid, revokable at any quarter or general sessions. Upon evidence on oath that any place so licensed is commonly used for the purpose of delivering lectures of a seditious or immoral tendency, justices may adjudge the licence to be forfeited. Lectures delivered at the universities, inns of court, Gresham College, the College of the East India Company, or to any society or body incorporated or established by royal charter, or by authority of Parliament, are excepted from the operation of this Act, as well as lectures delivered by a schoolmaster to the youth

under his instruction. Prosecutions to be commenced within six months after the offences. This Act to continue in force till the 24th of July 1818.

It shall not be lawful to convene any meeting of more than 50 persons, within the distance of one mile from the gate of Westminster Hall, except such parts of the parish of St Paul's, Covent Garden, as are within that distance, on any day when either House of Parliament or the Courts of Law are sitting.

After the passing of this Act, all societies or clubs calling themselves Spenceans, or Spencean Philanthropists, and all other societies and clubs professing the same objects and doctrines, shall be utterly suppressed and prohibited. Societies taking unlawful oaths, or electing committees, delegates, &c. to be deemed unlawful combinations and confederacies within the meaning of the Act 39 Geo. III. c. 79.

This Act not to extend to Freemasons' lodges; nor to declaration approved by two justices; nor to meetings or societies for charitable purposes; nor to Quakers' meetings. Licences of public houses where unlawful clubs are held to be forfeited. Persons not liable to prosecution under this Act for having been members of any club previous to the passing of this Act. This Act not to extend to Ireland, and may be repealed or altered this session.

Cap. XX. For making further Regulations in respect to the Pay of the Officers of the Royal Navy, in certain cases therein mentioned.—March 31.

Cap. XXI. To revive and continue for two years, and from thence until the end of the then next Session of Parliament, two Acts made in the 47th and 50th years of his present Majesty,

for the preventing improper persons from having Arms in Ireland.—April 29.

Cap. XXII. To amend two Acts of the 54th and 55th years of his Majesty's Reign, to provide for the better Execution of the Laws in Ireland, by appointing Superintending Magistrates and additional Constables in Counties in certain Cases.—April 29.

Cap. XXIII. To further continue, until the 25th day of March 1820, an Act of the 7th year of King George the Second, for the free Importation of Cochineal and Indigo.—April 29.

Cap. XXIV. To alter and enlarge the Powers of an Act passed in the 54th year of his present Majesty, intitled, "An Act for the further Improvement of the Land Revenue of the Crown."—May 23.

Cap. XXV. To explain and amend an Act made in the 48th year of his present Majesty, for repealing the Duties of Assessed Taxes, and granting new Duties in lieu thereof; and to exempt such dwelling-houses as may be employed for the sole purpose of Trade, or of lodging Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, from the Duties charged by the said Act.—May 23.

Mills, or places of manufacture, &c. not attached to a dwelling-house, not liable to duty, though a servant licensed to guard the same abide therein.

Exemption for one glazed window in a dairy in a farm-house.

Cap. XXVI. To amend and render more effectual four several Acts passed in the 48th, 49th, 52d, and 56th years of his present Majesty, for enabling the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to grant Life Annuities.—May 23.

Cap. XXVII. For repealing the Duties of Customs on Buck Wheat imported into this kingdom, and for

granting other Duties, until the 25th day of March 1821, in lieu thereof.—May 23.

Duties on buck wheat repealed, and, instead thereof, a duty of 10s. per quarter shall be paid.

Cap. XXVIII. To extend the Powers of two Acts for allowing British Plantation Sugar and Coffee, and other Articles imported into Bermuda in British Ships, to be exported to America in Foreign Vessels; and to permit Articles, the Produce of America, to be imported into the said Island in Foreign Ships, to certain other Articles.—May 23.

Cap. XXIX. To extend to Newfoundland the Provisions of an Act passed in the 52d year of his present Majesty's Reign, for permitting the exportation of Wares, Goods, and Merchandize, from any of his Majesty's Islands in the West Indies to any other of the said Islands, and to and from any of the British Colonies on the Continent of America, and the said Islands and Colonies.—May 23.

European goods, &c. may be exported from Newfoundland to the West Indies, &c. and from the West Indies, &c. to Newfoundland.

Cap. XXX. To regulate the Interests and Periods of Payment of Navy, Victualling, and Transport Bills.—May 23.

Treasury may regulate the interest and period of payment of navy bills, &c.; but not to exceed 3d. per cent a-day.

Cap. XXXI. For granting to his Majesty a Sum of Money to be raised by Lotteries.—May 23.

Cap. XXXII. To repeal the Duties of Excise on Stone Bottles, and charge other Duties in lieu thereof.—June 16.

Cap. XXXIII. To reduce the Allowance of Spirits, Tea, and Tobacco, for the Use of the Seamen on board

certain Ships or Vessels making short Voyages.—June 16.

Cap. XXXIV. To authorise the Issue of Exchequer Bills, and the Advance of Money out of the Consolidated Fund, to a limited Amount, for the carrying on of Public Works and Fisheries in the United Kingdom; and employment of the Poor in Great Britain, in manner therein mentioned.—June 16.

Commissioners of Treasury to issue Exchequer Bills not exceeding L.1,500,000.

Bills to bear an interest of two pence half-penny per cent. per diem.

All such Bills as shall be advanced for carrying on of any public works, shall be made payable within three years from the issuing thereof; and all such bills as shall be advanced for the assistance of any parishes in Great Britain, shall be made payable within two years after Easter 1818.

Cap. XXXV. For punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.—June 20.

Cap. XXXVI. To regulate the Trade to and from the Places within the Limits of the Charter of the East India Company, and certain Possessions of his Majesty in the Mediterranean.—June 20.

Cap. XXXVII. To explain and amend an Act of the fifty-third year of his present Majesty, relating to Tolls on Carriages used in Husbandry, and to remove Doubts as to Exemption of Carriages, not wholly laden with Manure, from Payment of Toll.—June 20.

Cap. XXXVIII. To continue, until the 15th day of June 1818, an Act of the 52d year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual Preservation of the Peace, by enforcing the Duties of Watching and Warding.—June 20.

Cap. XXXIX. To extend certain Provisions of the Acts of the 36th and

52d Years of the Reign of his present Majesty to Matters of Charity and Friendly Societies.—June 20.

Cap. XL. To authorize the rewarding Officers of the Customs for their Services in preventing illicit Distillation in Scotland, under an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament.—June 20.

Cap. XLI. To repeal two acts passed in the 54th and 55th Years of his present Majesty, relating to the Office of the Agent General, and for transferring the Duties of the said Office to the Offices of the Paymaster General and Secretary at War.—June 20.

Cap. XLII. To revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1819, an Act made in the 44th Year of his present Majesty, for permitting the Exportation of Salt from the Port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, the Port of Exuma, and the Port of Crooked Island in the Bahama Islands, in American Ships coming in Ballast.—June 27.

Cap. XLIII. For granting, for Two Years from the 5th Day of July 1817, Bounties on Sugar refined otherwise than by Claying.—June 27.

Cap. XLIV. To allow Corps of Yeomanry or Volunteer Cavalry, when assembled for the Suppression of Riots or Tumults, to be quartered and billeted, and Officers on Half Pay to hold certain Commissions in such Corps, and to exempt Members in such Corps from serving the Office of Constable.—June 27.

Cap. XLV. For the Continuation of all and every Person or Persons in any and every Office, Place, or Employment, Civil or Military, within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Dominion of Wales, Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man, and also in all and every of his

Majesty's Foreign Possessions, Colonies, or Plantations, which he or she shall hold, possess, or exercise during the pleasure of the Crown, at the time of the Death or Demise of his present Majesty, until removed or discharged therefrom by the succeeding King or Queen of this Realm.—June 27.

Cap. XLVI. To prevent the issuing and circulation of Pieces of Copper or other Metal, usually called Tokens.—June 27.

Not to affect Bank of England tokens.—Sheffield penny tokens issued for the relief of the poor may circulate to 25th March, 1823.—Birmingham penny tokens issued for the relief of the poor may circulate to 25th March, 1820.

Cap. XLVII. For settling and securing Annuities on Lord Colchester, and on the next Person to whom the Title of Lord Colchester shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.—June 27.

Cap. XLVIII. To make further Provision for the Adjustment of the Accounts of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, and for making good any occasional Deficiency which may arise in the said Fund in Great Britain or Ireland respectively; and to direct the Application of Monies by the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt.—June 27.

Cap. XLIX. For altering and amending the Laws of Excise with respect to Salt and Rock Salt.—June 27.

Cap. L. To continue an Act made in the 54th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act to provide for the preserving and restoring of Peace in such Parts of Ireland as may at any Time be disturbed by seditious Persons, or by Persons entering into unlawful Combinations or Conspiracies."—June 27.

Cap. LI. To regulate the Celebration of Marriages in Newfoundland.—June 27.

Cap. LII. To alter an Act passed in the 11th Year of the Reign of King George the Second, for the more effectual securing the Payment of Rents, and preventing Frauds by Tenants.—June 27.

Cap. LIII. For the more effectual Punishment of Murders and Manslaughters committed in Places not within his Majesty's Dominions.—June 27.

Cap. LIV. To enable the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, to make and maintain a Road from Milbank Row, Westminster, to the Penitentiary.—June 27.

Cap. LV. To continue an Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government.—June 30.

After March 1, 1818, persons committed to have the benefit of the laws.—The secretary of state may order persons committed for high treason, &c. to be removed to any other jail.

Cap. LVI. To amend the Laws in respect to forfeited Recognizances in Ireland.—June 30.

Cap. LVII. To empower his Majesty to suspend training, and to regulate the Quotas of the Militia.—June 30.

Cap. LVIII. To allow British Goods to be exported direct from this Country to the United States of America upon the same terms as when exported to any foreign Country.—June 30.

Cap. LIX. For letting to Farm the Post-Horse Duties, and for better securing and facilitating the Recovery of the said Duties.—June 30.

Cap. LX. To regulate certain Offices in the Court of Exchequer in England.—July 7.

Cap. LXI. To abolish the Offices of the Wardens, Chief Justices, and Justices in Eyre, North and South of Trent.—July 7.

Cap. LXII. To abolish certain Offices, and to regulate certain other Offices, in Ireland.—July 7.

Cap. LXIII. To regulate the Offices of Clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal.—July 7.

Cap. LXIV. To abolish certain Offices, and regulate others, in Scotland.—July 7.

Cap. LXV. To enable his Majesty to recompense the Services of Persons holding, or who have held, certain high and efficient Civil Offices.—July 7.

Cap. LXVI. To amend an Act of the twenty-second Year of his present Majesty, for suppressing or regulating certain Offices therein mentioned, so far as relates to the Board of Trade; and for enabling the Vice-President of the Board of Trade to send and receive Letters and Packets free from the Duty of Postage.—July 7.

Cap. LXVII. To regulate certain Offices, and abolish others, in his Majesty's Mints in England and Scotland respectively.—July 7.

The office of Warden of the Mint shall be abolished after the termination of the existing interest, and the duties performed by the master without any additional salary. The office of Comptroller shall be hereafter executed in person. The stamper's salary to be abolished. The office of Governor of the Mint in Scotland, after the termination of the existing interest, to be held by the Master of the Mint in England, and other offices of the Mint in Scotland, after the existing interest, abolished. The Treasury, on the termination of the whole of the existing interests, may direct the buildings of the Mint of Scotland to be sold.

Cap. LXVIII. To amend the Laws relating to Sheriffs in Ireland.—July 7.

Cap. LXIX. To continue until the

29th day of September 1818, and to amend an Act passed in Ireland in the 36th year of his present Majesty for the Improvement and Extension of the Fisheries on the Coast of Ireland.—July 7.

Cap. LXX. To relieve persons impugning the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity from certain Penalties in Ireland.—July 7.

Cap. LXXI. To amend an Act of the 50th Year of his present Majesty's reign, for repealing the several Laws relating to Prisons in Ireland, and for re-enacting such of the provisions thereof as have been found useful, with Amendments.—July 7.

Cap. LXXII. To continue until the end of the next Session of Parliament two Acts made in the 54th and 56th Year of his present Majesty, for regulating the Trade in Spirits between Great Britain and Ireland reciprocally.—July 7.

Cap. LXXIII. To allow the exportation of Woollen or Bay Yarn from Ireland by Licence obtained there.—July 7.

Cap. LXXIV. To extend several Acts for allowing the Importation and Exportation of certain Goods and Merchandize to Porto Maria in the Island of Jamaica, and to the Port of Bridge Town in the Island of Barbadoes.—July 7.

Cap. LXXV. To abolish the Punishment of Public Whipping on Female Offenders.—July 7.

Cap. LXXVI. To amend an Act of the 54th Year of his present Majesty to regulate the Payment and Drawback on Paper allowed to the Universities of Scotland.—July 7.

Cap. LXXVII. For extending the Provisions of an Act of the 54th Year of his present Majesty for regulating the Payment of Army Prize Money, and for authorizing the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital to sus-

pend the Pensions of such Persons as shall be guilty of Frauds in respect of Prize Money or Pensions.—July 7.

Cap. LXXVIII. For fixing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Innkeepers and others on Quartering Soldiers.—July 7.

Cap. LXXIX. To permit the Transfer of Capital from certain Public Stocks or Funds in Great Britain, to certain Public Stocks or Funds in Ireland.—July 7.

Cap. LXXX. For raising the Sum of Nine Millions, by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year 1817.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXI. For Raising the Sum of Three Millions Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, British Currency, by Treasury Bills in Ireland, for the service of the Year 1817.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXII. To continue an Act passed in Ireland in the 13th and 14th Years of his present Majesty, respecting certain Annuities, so long as the said Annuities shall be payable.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXIII. To amend an Act made in the last Session of Parliament for providing for the Charges of certain Additions to the Public Debt of Ireland.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXIV. To regulate the Offices of his Majesty's Exchequer in England and Ireland respectively.—July 10.

The duties of the office of Auditor and the four Tellers of the Exchequer, and Clerk of the Pells in England, and of Auditor and Teller of the Exchequer, and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, after the expiration of existing interests, to be regulated and performed in person. The savings arising from such regulations to go to the consolidated fund. Persons belonging to the said offices, when regulated, to be incapable of sitting as members of the House of Commons.

Cap. LXXXV. To permit, until the 14th day of November 1817, the Importation of Corn and other Articles in any Ship from any Country; to permit such Articles which may have been warehoused for Exportation only to be entered for Home Consumption; and for indemnifying all Persons who have given directions for the Importation of Corn and other Articles, or the taking the same out of Warehouse, free of Duty, and who have acted in obedience thereto.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXVI. To permit the Importation of Foreign Cambrics and Lawns into Ireland, on payment of the like Duties as are chargeable in Great Britain.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXVII. To amend two Acts passed in the 45th Year of his present Majesty, and in the last Session of Parliament, for the making more effectual Provision for the Prevention of Smuggling.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXVIII. To permit Fullers Earths, Fulling Clay, and Tobacco-Pipe Clay, to be carried Coastwise under certain Restrictions.—July 10.

Cap. LXXXIX. To allow the Importation of Oranges and Lemons from the Azores and Madeira into the British Colonies of North America.—July 10.

Cap. XC. For the Prevention of Persons going armed by Night for the Destruction of Game; and for repealing an Act made in the last Session of Parliament relating to Rogues and Vagabonds.—July 10.

Cap. XCI. To enable Justices to settle the Fees to be taken by the Clerks of the Peace of the respective Counties and other Divisions of England and Wales.—July 10.

Justices at the annual, general, and quarter sessions, to settle a table of fees to be taken by the clerks of the peace, who shall not demand more, on

penalty of 5*l.* for every offence. Printed or written copies of such tables to be hung up in some conspicuous place where the sessions shall be held; and a penalty of 5*l.* upon clerks neglecting so to do. All suits by virtue of this act to be brought within three months after the offence committed.

Cap. XCII. To regulate the Administration of Oaths, in certain cases, to Officers in his Majesty's Land and Sea Forces.—July 10.

Cap. XCIII. To regulate the Costs of Distresses levied for Payment of Small Rents.—July 10.

No person making any distress for rent, where the sum due shall not exceed 20*l.* shall take other charges than mentioned in the schedule annexed, nor charge for any act not done. The remedy is by complaint before a justice, who may adjudge treble the amount unlawfully taken, with costs. Brokers, auctioneers, &c. are to give copies of their charges to the persons distrained.—The only charges allowed by the schedule are,—Levying Distress, 3*s.*—Man in Possession per day, 2*s.* 6*d.*—Appraisement, whether by one broker or more, 6*d.* in the pound on the value of the goods.—Catalogue, sale and commission, and delivery of goods, 1*s.* in the pound on the net produce of the sale. A printed copy of the act is required to be hung up in every sessions' room in England and Wales. Party aggrieved to apply to a justice, who may adjudge treble the amount unlawfully taken, to be paid with costs, which may be levied by distress. No judgment to be given against any landlord unless he personally levies the distress. Brokers to give copies of their charges to persons distrained.

Cap. XCIV. To amend an Act of the last Session of Parliament for the more easy assessing of County Rates.—July 10.

Rate to be raised notwithstanding

appeals until determination of justices. In case justices order rate to be set aside or lowered, the money paid subsequent to the appeal to be returned out of the county rate. Fourteen days notice of intention to appeal to be given in writing. Expences of appeal to be paid in such proportions as the justices shall award.

Cap. XCV. To exempt the Territories within the limits of the East India Company's Charter from certain of the Navigation Laws.—July 10.

Cap. XCVI. For suspending, until the 1st day of August, 1820, the Duties on Coals and Culm removed coastwise within the Principality of Wales, and granting other Duties in lieu thereof.—July 10.

Cap. XCVII. For ratifying Articles of Agreement entered into by Viscount Gage and the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Revenues; and for the better Management and Improvement of the Land Revenues of the Crown.—July 10.

This act ratifies the purchase of the High Meadow estate, the property of Viscount Gage, in the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth, for the sum of 155,863*l.*, and the commissioners of woods are empowered to sell other possessions of the crown to raise the purchase money. They are also empowered to purchase, on behalf of the crown, other lands lying adjacent to the royal forest, and to sell parts of the crown lands to provide the purchase money. The old Palace, and other buildings belonging to it at Newmarket, to be sold.

Cap. XCVIII. For ratifying the purchase of the Improprate Rectory of St Mary-le-bone, in the County of Middlesex.—July 10.

Cap. XCIX. To consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Spiritual Persons holding Farms; and for en-

forcing the Residence of Spiritual Persons on their Benefices; and for the Support and Maintenance of Stipendiary Curates in England.—July 10.

Cap. C. To renew the Powers of exonerating Small Livings and Charitable Institutions from the Land Tax, and for making further Provision for the Redemption of the Land Tax.—July 10.

Cap. CI. To continue an Act intituled, An Act further to extend and render more effectual certain Provisions of an Act passed in the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I., intituled "An Act to prevent frivolous and vexatious Arrests," and of an Act passed in the fifth Year of his Majesty King George II. to explain, amend, and render more effectual the said former Act; and of two Acts passed in the 19th and 43d years of the Reign of his present Majesty, extending the Provisions of the said former Acts.—July 11.

Cap. CII. To defray the Charge of the Pay, Clothing, and contingent Expences of the Disembodied Militia in Great Britain and of the Miners of Cornwall and Devon; and for granting Allowances in certain Cases to Subaltern Officers, Adjutants, Quartermasters, Surgeons' Mates, and Serjeant Majors of Militia, until the 25th day of March, 1818.—July 11.

Cap. CIII. For defraying, until the 25th day of June 1818, the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Ireland; and for making Allowances in certain cases to Subaltern Officers of the said Militia during Peace.—July 11.

Cap. CIV. To reduce the Number of Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers, in the Militia of Ireland, whilst disembodied.—July 11.

Cap. CV. To encourage the Establishment of Banks for Savings in Ireland.—July 11.

Cap. CVI. To provide for the Establishment of Asylums for the Lunatic Poor in Ireland.—July 11.

The lord lieutenant may direct any number of asylums for the lunatic poor to be erected; each asylum to contain not less than 100 nor more than 150 patients—Money to be advanced for the purpose out of the Consolidated Fund.

Cap. CVII. To provide for the more deliberate Investigation of Presentments to be made by Grand Juries for Roads and Public Works in Ireland, and for accounting for Money raised by such Presentments.—July 11.

Cap. CVIII. For the Regulation of levying Tolls at Fairs, Markets, and Ports, in Ireland.—July 11.

Cap. CIX. To abolish the Subsidy and Alnage of the Old and New Draperies, and of all Woollen Manufactures, in Ireland; and to authorize the Payment out of the Consolidated Fund of an Annual Sum to John Lord de Blaquiere, during the continuance of his Interest in the Office of Alnager.—July 11.

Cap. CX. To make further Regulations for the better collecting and securing the Duties upon Spirits distilled in Ireland.—July 11.

Cap. CXI. To suspend, until the 10th day of October 1819, a Part of the Duties on Sweet or Made Wines.—July 11.

Cap. CXII. To amend an Act of the 25th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, for better regulating the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, as far as respects the Mode of Applications for certain Services in the Victualling Department.—July 11, 1817.

Cap. CXIII. To prevent the further Circulation of Dollars and Tokens issued by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England for the Convenience of the Public.—July 11.

Circulation of Bank dollars and tokens to cease after March 25, 1818, upon penalty for each dollar so uttered, of forfeiting not more than 5*l*. nor less than 40*s*.; but they may be presented at the Bank till March 25, 1820.

Cap. CXIV. To continue until the 1st day of August 1818, two Acts of his present Majesty, allowing the bringing of Coals, Culm, and Cinders to London and Westminster.—July 11.

Cap. CXV. To extend the Provisions of an Act of the 12th Year of his late Majesty King George I. and an Act of the 22d Year of his late Majesty George II. against payment of Labourers in Goods or by Truck, and to secure their payment, in the lawful Money of the Realm, to Labourers employed in the Manufacture of Articles made of Steel, or of Steel and Iron combined, and Plated Articles, or of other Articles of Cutlery.—July 11.

Cap. CXVI. For limiting the time now allowed by Law for the Production of the Certificate of due Delivery of Goods removed from one Warehousing Port in Great Britain to another for the purpose of Exportation; for altering the hours for Shipping Goods in the Port of London; and to empower Officers of the Customs and Excise to permit the removal of Goods from one Bonding Warehouse to another in the same Port.—July 11.

Cap. CXVII. To regulate the issuing of Extents in Aid.—July 11.

Cap. CXVIII. For authorizing the Executors or Administrators of deceased licensed Navy Agents to receive Prize Money, Bounty Money, and other Allowances of Money upon Orders given to such deceased Agents.—July 11.

Cap. CXIX. To exempt British and Irish Stone Bottles made and used for the sole purpose of containing Liquid Blacking, from the Duties of Excise on Stone Bottles granted by an Act

of this Session of Parliament.—July 11.

Cap. CXX. To authorize the Court of Directors of the East India Company to make extraordinary Allowance in certain cases to the Owners of certain Ships in the Service of the said Company.—July 11.

Cap. CXXI. For regulating Payments to the Treasurer of the Navy under the Heads of Old Stores and Impress.—July 11.

Cap. CXXII. To extend the Provisions of an Act of the 12th Year of his late Majesty King George I. and an Act of the 22d Year of his late Majesty, King George II. against Payment of Labourers in Goods or by Truck, and to secure their Payment, in the lawful Money of this Realm, to Labourers employed in the Collieries, or in the working and getting of Coal in the United Kingdom of Great Britain; and for extending

Provisions of the said Acts to Scotland and Ireland.—July 11.

Cap. CXXIII. For imposing a Duty of Excise on the Excess of Spirits made from Corn in England above the Proportion of Nineteen Gallons of Spirits for every One Hundred Gallons of Wash; and for further securing the Duties on Wort or Wash made for distilling Spirits in England, and for authorizing the Shipment of Rum for Stores in Casks containing Sixty Gallons.—July 11.

Cap. CXXIV. To amend an Act made in the present Session of Parliament, for authorizing the Issue of Exchequer Bills, and the advance of Money for carrying on Public Works and Fisheries, and Employment of the Poor. July 11.

Cap. CXXV. To authorize the driving and keeping a Hackney Coach or Chariot under the same Licence.—July 11.

Cap. CXXVI. To repeal an Act

passed in the 54th Year of his present Majesty, for the Punishment of Persons destroying Stocking or Lace Frames, and Articles in such Frames; and to make, until the 1st day of August 1820, other Provisions in lieu thereof.—July 11.

Cap. CXXVII. To settle the share of Prize Money, Droits of Admiralty and Bounty Money payable to Greenwich Hospital, and for securing to the said Hospital all unclaimed Shares of Vessels found derelict, and of Seizures for Breach of Revenue, Colonial, Navigation, and Slave Abolition Law.—July 11.

Cap. CXXVIII. For extending the Exemptions from the Duties granted by certain Acts of the 43d and 45th Years of his present Majesty's Reign; and for altering the Manner of claiming and ascertaining the Exemptions to be granted.—July 11.

Cap. CXXIX. For vesting in his Majesty a certain Part of the Open Common and Waste Lands within the Manor or Royalty of Rialton and Retraighie, *alias* Reterth, in the Parish of St Columb Major, in the County of Cornwall.—July 11.

Cap. CXXX. To encourage the Establishment of Banks for Savings in England.—July 12.

The rules of each of these institutions to be entered in a book, and a copy deposited with the clerk of the peace. Officers not to have any benefit in the institution. Friendly Societies may subscribe any portion of their funds into the funds of Provident Institutions. Treasurers to give security if required. The effects of the institutions to be vested in trustees for the time being without fresh assignment, who may bring and defend actions. Money not to be placed out on personal security. The Bank of England on receiving 50% from any Saving Bank shall open an account in

the name of the Commissioners for National Debt, who shall issue debentures in favour of such Saving Bank, bearing interest at 3*d.* per cent. per day. To obtain the privilege of paying money into the Bank of England, no person shall be allowed to pay into the saving bank more than 100*l.* in the first year, and 50*l.* every year afterwards.

Cap. CXXXI. For the better regulation of Polls, and for making other Provisions touching the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, for Places in Ireland — July 12.

Cap. CXXXII. For applying certain Monies therein mentioned for the Service of the Year 1817, and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

The number of Public General	.
Acts passed in this Session is...	132
Local and Personal Acts declar-	
ed public	76
Private Acts, printed.....	38
Private Acts, not printed.....	64
	<hr/>
Total	300

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of
CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 10, 1816, to December 16, 1817.

Christened { Males 12,624 } in all, { Buried { Males 10,033 } in all, } Decreased in
 { Females 11,505 } 24,129 { { Females 9,933 } 19,966 } Burials 348

Died under 2 years	5698	20 and 30,	1361	60 and 70,	1614	100, 7
Between 2 and 5	2019	30 and 40,	1795	70 and 80,	1224	105, 2
5 and 10	929	40 and 50,	1983	80 and 90,	683	
10 and 20	706	50 and 60,	1788	90 and 100,	156	

DISEASES.
 Abortive, Still-born 700
 Abscess 93
 Aged 1875
 Ague 2
 Apoplexy and sud-
 denly 462
 Asthma 743
 Bedridden 5
 Bleeding 45
 Bursten & Rupture 43
 Cancer 99
 Chicken Pox 1
 Colds 14
 Colick, Gripes, &c. 7
 Consumption 4200
 Convulsions 3242
 Cough, and Hooping-
 Cough 645
 Cow Pox 1
 Cramp 1
 Croup 109
 Diabetes 3
 Dropsy 718
 Epilepsy 5
 Evil 6
 Fevers of all kinds 1299
 Fistula 3
 Flux 9
 French Pox 86
 Gout 54
 Gravel, Stone, and
 Strangury 24

Grief 4
 Headmoldshot, Hor-
 shoe head, and Wa-
 ter in the Head 419
 Imposthume 2
 Inflammation 1002
 Jaundice 75
 Jaw Locked 2
 Livergrown 76
 Lumbago 1
 Lunatic 244
 Measles 725
 Mortification ... 304
 Palpitation of the
 Heart 4
 Palsy 162
 Pleurisy 22
 Purples 4
 Quinsy 2
 Rush 2
 Rheumatism 14
 Scrophula 5
 Scurvy 6
 Small Pox 1051
 Sore Throat 5
 Sores and Ulcers 11
 Spasm 25
 St Anthony's Fire
 Stoppage in the Sto-
 mach 24
 St Vitus's Dance 1
 Stricture 1
 Swelling 1
 Teeth 419

Thrush 111
 Tumour 3
 Water in the Chest 63
 Worms 12

CASUALTIES.
 Broken Limbs ... 6
 Bruised 2
 Burnt 41
 Choaked 2
 Drowned 119
 Excessive Drinking 12
 Executed 10
 Found Dead 29
 Fractured 4
 Frightened 9
 Killed by Falls and
 several other Ac-
 cidents 65
 Killed themselves 34
 Murdered 3
 Poisoned 6
 Scalded 4
 Shot 1
 Starved 8
 Strangled 1
 Suffocated 11

Total 367

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS,

WITHIN THE YEAR 1817.

BIRTHS.

JANUARY 1. At Edinburgh, the lady of William Stothert, Esq. of Cargen, a son and heir.

4. At Cortachy Castle, the lady of the Hon. Donald Ogilvy, a daughter.

— At Montreal, the Countess of Selkirk, a daughter.

8. At Islabank, the lady of Peter Wedderburn, Esq. a daughter.

11. The lady of J. N. Macleod, Esq. of twin daughters.

— In London, the lady of the Hon. J. T. Leslie Melville, a son.

15. At Clova, Lady Niven Lumsden, a daughter.

— At New Saughton House, the lady of James Watson, Esq. of Saughton, a son.

17. At Charlton, the lady of John Anstruther Thomson, Esq. a daughter.

— At Kingston, Jamaica, the lady of Dr Alexander McLarty, a son.

25. At Edinburgh, the lady of Laurence Craigie, Esq. of Glendoick, a daughter.

26. At Salton Hall, Lady Eleanor Balfour, a daughter.

— At Holybush Cottage, the lady of A. Hunter, Esq. of Bonytown, a daughter.

29. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cumberland, a still-born daughter.

— At Kingston, Jamaica, the lady of Dr Hinton Spalding, a daughter.

FEBRUARY 1. The lady of John L. Campbell, Esq. of Achalader, a son.

— Mrs Ferrier, of Belleside, a daughter.

• 2. At Edinburgh, the lady of Major James Lee, late of the 92d reg. a son.

4. At Valenceiennes, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Macgregor, 58th regiment, a daughter.

4. The lady of J. J. Caddell, Esq. of Grange, a daughter.

• 6. At Edinburgh, the lady of George Macpherson Grant, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

11. In Shandwick Place, the lady of General Francis Dundas, a son.

14. At Cockairney, the lady of Captain Moubray, R. N. a daughter.

15. At Dankeith, Mrs Martin of Glen Gric, a son.

19. At Bayswater, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel Napier, 3d Guards, a son.

20. At Brussels, the Princess of Orange, a son.

21. At Cockairney, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Moubray of Cockairney, a daughter.

23. At Freeland House, Perthshire, the Hon. Mrs Hore, a son.

25. The lady of James Wedderburn, Esq. his Majesty's Solicitor-General for Scotland, a son.

MARCH 3. Mrs Col. Robertson of Hall-craig, a son.

5. At Guines, in France, the lady of John Abercromby, Esq. second dragoon guards, a son.

7. At Edinburgh, the lady of William Thomson Honeyman, Esq. of Mansfield, a daughter.

— At Ayr, Mrs Hamilton Douglas Boswell, a daughter.

12. At Levenside, Mrs Blackburn of Killearn, a daughter.

13. At Yester House, the Marchioness of Tweeddale, a daughter.

14. At Glasgow, Mrs Buchanan of Auchintorlie, a son and heir.

17. At Rossie, the lady of Col. Oliphant of Rossie, a daughter.

18. At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieut.-Hon. Capt. Napier, R. N. a daughter.

18. The lady of Thomas Haggerstone, Esq. jun. of Ellingham, a daughter.

— At Camden Hill, Kensington, the lady of Sir James M'Grigor, a son.

20. At Deal, the lady of Captain William M'Culloch, R. N. a son.

21. At Mavisbank House, the lady of Major Charles M'Gregor, 70th regiment, a daughter.

22. At Milton, Lady Hunter Blair, a son and heir.

24. At Newabbey, Mrs Stewart of Shambelly, a daughter, being her 24th child.

28. At Brighton, the lady of the Hon. D. M. Erskine, a son.

29. At Balloan, by Inverness, Mrs Fraser, Culduthil, a son.

APRIL 1. At Paris, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, wife of the English ambassador at the court of France, a daughter.

3. At Gateside, the lady of Captain Mackintosh, Royal Highlanders, a daughter.

7. The Lady of William Napier Milliken, Esq. of Milliken, a daughter.

— At Aberdeen, Mrs William Hay, younger of Hayfield, a daughter.

10. The lady of James L'Amy, of Dunkenny, Esq. advocate, a daughter.

14. In Lisson Grove North, the Countess of Rothes, a daughter.

— The wife of James Wilson, game-keeper to Sir James Graham, Bart. Netherby, was safely delivered of three boys, all alive.

18. At Cloncaird Castle, the lady of Robert Cunynghame, Esq. a daughter.

19. At Dunse Castle, the lady of Wm. Hay, Esq. of Drummelzier, a daughter.

— At Arbutnott house, the Viscountess Arbutnott, a daughter.

27. At Glen Stuart, the Marchioness of Queensberry, a daughter.

28. At his house in Cavendish Square, London, the lady of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, a daughter.

30. Lady Campbell of Aberuchil, a daughter.

Lately, In Seymour Place, London, the Right Hon. Lady Amelia Drummond, a son.

— At Castle Bona, Isle of Man, the Right Hon. Lady Sarah Murray, a daughter.

— At Kersey, near Hadleigh, a farm-

er's wife, named Gardner, four still-born children. The same woman had four children at the last, and three at the preceding confinement, making a total of eleven children at three births, and in a period of three or four years.

Lately, At London, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Haldane, a son, her 17th child, of whom 15 are living.

MAY 1. At Brighton, the lady of General Sir David Baird, Bart. G. C. B. a still-born child.

5. The lady of Captain Chas. Graham, of the Hon. Company's ship William Pitt, a son.

12. At Cambray, in France, the Right Hon. Lady James Hay, a daughter.

15. Mrs Alexander Douglas, Prince's Street, a daughter.

16. At Edinburgh, the lady of Capt. Hodgson, R. N. a son.

17. The lady of William Davidson, Esq. younger of Muirhouse, a son.

— In Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, Mrs M'Culloch of Ardwall, a daughter.

— The Lady of Charles Robertson, Esq. younger of Kindeace, captain 78th Highland regiment, a son.

20. At Herbertshire House, the lady of Captain John Steadman Christie, a son.

21. At Duddingstone, Mrs G. Hamilton Dundas, a daughter.

22. At St Helena, Mrs Vernon, wife of the Rev. B. J. Vernon, a daughter.

28. At Stranraer, Mrs Ross, wife of Captain Ross, of his majesty's ship Driver, a daughter.

Lately, at St Omer, in France, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Douglas, 79th regiment, a son.

— At Clifton, the lady of the late William Chisholm of Chisholm, a son.

JUNE 1. At Park House, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Gordon, a son.

2. In Queen Street, the lady of James Ker, Esq. younger of Blackshiels, a son.

4. At Musselburgh, the lady of Major Dods, late of the Royal Scots, a son.

8. Mrs Grant of Viewfield, Nairnshire, a daughter.

11. At London, Lady Elizabeth Campbell, the lady of the Hon. J. F. Campbell, a son and heir.

15. Mrs Dick of Glenshiel, a daughter.

16. The lady of Sir Robert Dick of Prestonfield, Bart. a daughter.

17. At Rosebank-house, the lady of Kenneth Macleay, Esq. of Newmore, a son.
20. At Brignall Vicarage, near Greta Bridge, the Hon. Mrs Kelvingston, a son.
21. At Ruchill, the lady of William Baillie, Esq. of Polkemmet, a son.
23. At Upper Pollock-house, Mrs Forlong, jun. a daughter.
— Mrs Col. Munro, George's Square, a daughter.
26. At Dalhousie Castle, the Right Hon. Lady Robert Kerr, a daughter.
27. At Findrack, Mrs Fraser, a son.
29. At Craufurdland Castle, the lady of William Howison Craufurd, Esq. a daughter.
30. At Geneva, the Countess of Minto, a son.
— At Inverness, the lady of Andrew Macfarlane, Esq. a son.
- JULY 2. At Pennicuik-house, Lady Clerk, a daughter.
— In Hamilton Place, her Grace the Duchess of Bedford, a son.
— At Portsmouth, the lady of Major Watson, Royal Marines, a daughter.
4. In Bedford Square, London, the lady of the Rev. James Haldane Stewart, a son.
— At Asby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, the lady of the Rev. W. M'Donall, a daughter.
5. At Gordonhall, the lady of Sir Jas. A. Gordon, K. C. B. royal navy, a daughter.
6. At Blandeques, in France, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Duncan Cameron, 79th regiment, a daughter.
7. At Perth, the lady of Capt. James Ross, of the Carmarthen, a daughter.
8. Mrs Grey of Millfield-hill, a son.
— At Marshall Place, Perth, the lady of William Gloag, Esq. of Greenhill, a daughter.
10. At Wauchope, Mrs Scott, a son.
11. At Bombay, the lady of Michie Forbes, Esq. of Crimond, Aberdeenshire, a son and heir.
15. At Bombay, the Hon. Mrs Buchanan, a son.
17. The lady of David Hill, Esq. Civil Secretary at Madras, a daughter.
— At Thurso, the lady of Captain D. P. Calder, Royal Engineers, a son.
20. At Rosicre, near Lyndhurst, the Countess of Errol, a son.
21. At Dysart, Mrs John Barclay, a son.
22. At the Priory, near Dublin, Lady Manners, a son, still-born.
23. At Powfoulis, Stirlingshire, the lady of James Bruce, Esq. a daughter.
— At London Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Macknight, a son.
25. At Perth, the lady of Jas. Nairne, Esq. of Dunsinnan, a son.
— At Forth Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Lyon, a daughter.
27. The lady of the Hon. Lord Cringletie, a son.
31. At Camis-Eskan, Mrs Dennistoun, of Colgrain, a daughter.
- Lately, at Madras, the lady of Captain George Caddell, adjutant-general's department, a son.
- AUGUST 1. At Marybank, the lady of Captain Gallie, late of the 78th regiment, a daughter.
2. At Forgo Lodge, Dumfriesshire, the lady of Pulteney Mein, Esq. a son.
— At Berlin, the Princess William of Prussia, a son.
3. Her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Charles of Austria, a son.
4. At Edinburgh, the lady of D. Campbell, surgeon, a son.
6. At the West Kirk Manse, Edinburgh, Mrs Dickson, a son.
— At the Earl of Hardwicke's, London, Lady Caroline Cocks, a daughter.
— At London, the lady of J. R. Unidy, Esq. a son.
7. At London, the lady of Jas. Alexander, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
— At Bowscar, Cumberland, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Youngston, a son.
9. At Fisherrow, Mrs Alexander Vernon, a daughter.
11. At Edinburgh, Mrs Jas. Graham, a daughter.
12. At London, the lady of J. Thornton, Esq. a daughter.
13. At Hope Street, Leith Walk, Mrs Robertson, a son.
15. At Framlington, Norfolk, Mrs Rigby, three boys and a girl. Dr Rigby (the father) is a great-grandfather.
16. At Quebec, the lady of W. Scott, Esq. younger of Wool, a son.
17. At Caverhills, the lady of James Burnett, younger of Barns, a son.
18. At Cassola, Madaleine Casarsa, a daughter, who died four days afterwards;

and 47 days after her first accouchement, of twin daughters, who only lived five days.

18. At Linslade-house, Buckinghamshire, Lady Jane Pym, a daughter.

— The lady of the Rev. Sir Charles Anderson, Bart. a daughter.

— At Kilkenny, the lady of Major Morrison, 7th dragoon guards, a son.

20. Lady Dunbar of Boath, a daughter.

21. The Queen of Spain, a daughter.

— At Quebec, the lady of Major Geo. Henderson, royal engineers, a son.

22. At Rochsoles House, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Gerard, a daughter.

24. At Edinburgh, Mrs Maitland of Eccles, a son.

— At Castle Guthrie, the lady of Thomas Mylne, Esq. a son.

— At London, Lady Francis Cole, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Folliott Baugh, a daughter.

— The lady of Captain Brodie, Royal Scots, a son.

25. The lady of Lieut.-Colonel Black, a son.

— At Dnrie, the lady of C.M. Christie, Esq. a son.

26. At Granton House, Mrs Jardine, a son and heir.

27. At Burwood-house, the Right Hon. Lady Lovaine, a son.

28. At Edinburgh, Mrs Ferguson of Dalenmund, a daughter.

31. At Malines, the lady of Archibald Macnab, Esq. of Macnab, a son.

Lately, at Whitelees, parish of Symington, Mrs Hugh Lindsay, a son, being her twelfth child, and first son.

— At Manchester, Ann, the wife of Joseph Webb, a poor staymaker, of three girls. The father is above 65, and the mother 37; and he has had by this marriage six children, and by a former wife, twenty-one.

SEPTEMBER 2. At Cuckney, in Nottinghamshire, the lady of Sir George Eyre, K.C.B. a daughter.

3. At Hillsborough, the Marchioness of Downshire, a daughter.

5. At London, the lady of Admiral Sir J. Beresford, Bart. a daughter.

— At Snrat, the lady of John Romer, Esq. a son.

7. At Exeter, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Ellis, of the Inniskilling Dragoons, a daughter.

— At London, the lady of James Kinloch, Esq. a son.

— At Lausanne, lady Sinclair, a still-born child.

— At Heriot-Row, Edinburgh, Mrs Wishart, a daughter.

8. At Fogorigg, Mrs Bird, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, the lady of John Mansfield, Esq. a son.

9. At Westwood, near Southampton, the lady of Rear-Admiral Otway, a daughter.

— At Broomhall, the Countess of Elgin, a daughter.

10. In Edinburgh Castle, the lady of Major Graham, 88th regiment, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Hagart of Bantaskine, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, the lady of Robert Abercrombie, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

11. At Armagh, the Countess of Castlestuart, a daughter.

— Mrs Mackintosh, Nairn Grove, Nairn, a son.

12. At Grangehill, Mrs Patrick of Trearne, a son.

13. At Cardington, the Hon. Mrs Waldegrave, a son.

14. At Kingsbarns Manse, Mrs Wright, a daughter.

15. At Rafford Manse, Mrs Mackay, a son.

18. At Woodlands, Yorkshire, Lady Bellingham Graham, a daughter.

20. At London, the lady of the Hon. Alexander Murray, a son.

— At London, the lady of Sir William Duff Gordon, Bart. a daughter.

21. At Norwich, the lady of Captain Kennedy Clark, Royal Dragoons, a son.

23. The lady of Robert Ogle, Esq. of Eglington, a son.

24. At London, Mrs Stevens, twins. Mrs S. has now been the mother of 26 children.

26. At Abbey Mill, near Edinburgh, Lady Menzies of Menzies, a son.

27. At Lausanne, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Wauchope, a daughter.

— At the Manse of Pencaitland, Mrs Mackeller, a son.

30. At Cambray, the lady of Major-General Sir John Lambert, K.C.B. a son.

Lately, Her Highness the Archduchess of Modena, a daughter.

— At Cork, the lady of Col. Douglas, 97th regiment, a son.

— At Aspley Hall, the lady of H. Willoughby, Esq. M. P. a son.

OCTOBER 1. At Sanson-house, the lady of Matthew Bell, Esq. a son.

— At College, Glasgow, Mrs Meikleham, a daughter.

2. At Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Ogilvy, a daughter.

— At Hernand, the lady of Thomas Maitland, younger of Dundrennan, Esq. advocate, a son.

4. At Arnage, Mrs Ross of Arnage, a son.

— At Clifton, the Marchioness of Ely, a son.

5. At Barjarg, the lady of William F. Hunter, Esq. a daughter.

— The Right Hon. Lady Caroline Ann Macdonald of Clanronald, a daughter.

6. At Corfu, the lady of the Hon. Col Patrick Stuart, a son.

7. At Fraserfield, Mrs Forbes, a son.

— At London, the lady of the Hon. Charles Law, a daughter.

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Burnett of Park, a daughter.

9. At Kelly, the lady of the Hon. Col. Ramsay, a daughter.

— At London, Mrs Stuart, a daughter.

10. At York-Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Hunt of Pittencrieff, a son.

11. At Fermoy House, Ireland, the lady of Sir J. Anderson, Bart. a daughter.

— The wife of John MacLaggan, wheelwright, Aberfeldy, a boy and two girls.

12. At Sandgate, the lady of Captain William Hamilton, a son.

— At York, Mrs Milner of Newmonkton, a son.

15. At Munshes, Mrs Maxwell, a son.

16. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Sir Hew Dalrymple Ross, K. C. B. of the Royal Horse Artillery, a son.

— At Hatton Castle, the lady of Garden Duff, Esq. a son.

— At Glasgow, Mrs Andrew Hamilton, a daughter.

— The lady of G. H. Jackson, Esq. of Glenmore, a son.

17. At Old Aberdeen, Mrs Col. Forbes, a daughter.

18. At George Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Russell, a son.

20. At Duke Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Grant, a son.

— At Dublin Street, Edinburgh, the lady of Major Alston, a son.

21. At Ednam, Mrs Peter Robertson, a daughter.

— At Woodbine Cottage, Brixton-hill, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Mackenzie, a son.

23. At Sporle, the lady of the Hon. d Rev. A. Turnour, a daughter.

— In Gayfield Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Nicholson, a daughter.

26. The lady of the Rev. C. Harding, a daughter.

27. At Castlecraig, the Hon. Lady Gibson Carmichael of Skirling, a son.

28. At Aberdeen, Mrs Alex. Forbes, a daughter.

29. At Ormiston Hall, the Countess of Hopetoun, a son.

30. At Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Trotter, a daughter.

— Mrs Laing Meason of Lindertis, a daughter.

— At Parknook, Cumberland, Mrs Charles Parker, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Bunworth, 88th regiment, a daughter.

— At North St David's Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Dickson, a son.

31. Mrs M'Lean, younger of Coll, a daughter.

Lately, at Scaforth Lodge, Lewis, Mrs Forbes Mackenzie, a son.

— At London, the lady of Captain Walker, R. N. a son.

NOVEMBER 4. Mrs R. Yuille, Glasgow, a son.

5. At Maxpoffle, Mrs Scott, younger of Raeburn, a son.

— At Edmondstone, the lady of John Wauchope, Esq. a daughter.

6. At Edinburgh, Mrs Lee, St Andrews, a son.

— In Heriot-Row, Edinburgh, the lady of Sir James Douglas, K. C. B. a son.

8. At Stevenson, the lady of Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Bart. a daughter.

10. At Chevely, near Newmarket, her Grace the Duchess of Rutland, a son.

11. At Broughty Ferry, the lady of Sir William Wiseman, Bart. a daughter.

— At Sand-house, Shetland, the lady of John Scott, jun. Esq. of Scallawa, a daughter.

12. At Bath, the lady of Capt. Buckle, R. N. a son.

13. At Dulwich, in Surry, the lady of Sir Robert Graham, Bart, a son.

14. At Kensington, the lady of Capt. Spence, R. N. a daughter.

— At Houghton, Yorkshire, the lady of the Hon Chas. Langdale, a daughter.

15. The lady of Major-General Need, a son.

16. At Content-house; near Ayr, the lady of Captain Archibald Fumarton, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Stedman, a daughter.

— At Dalkeith, the wife of John Robertson, labourer, two sons and a daughter.

17. At Anchlunies, Mrs Gordon, a son.

18. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Balfour, a son.

20. Lady Frances Buchanan Riddell, a son.

— The Right Hon. Lady Caroline Wood, a son.

22. At London, the lady of Sir W. Adams, a daughter.

23. The Countess of Abingdon, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Greig of Hallgreig, a daughter.

25. At Edinburgh, Mrs F. Tytler of Woodhouselee, a daughter.

26. At Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Hope Vere, a daughter.

— Lately, at Lisbon, the lady of Brigadier-General Sir J. Campbell, a daughter.

— At London, the lady of J. D. Alexander, Esq. a son and heir.

DECEMBER 2. At Westport-house, the Marchioness of Sligo, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Wardlaw, a son.

— The lady of Captain Clarke of Bemersyde-house, a daughter.

6. The Hon. Lady Ferguson, a son.

11. At Hadlo-house, the Countess of Aherdeen, a son.

12. At the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, the Countess of Talbot, a son.

14. At Tarvit, Mrs Home Rigg of Morton, a daughter.

17. At Worthing, the lady of General Sir Richard Jones, a daughter.

— The lady of Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Arnat, a son.

19. At Glenkindy, the lady of Sir A. Leith, a son and heir; and soon after, of a second son, who died immediately after birth.

26. At Edinburgh, Mrs Craufurd of Auchinaines, a daughter.

27. At Cullen-house, the lady of Col. Grant of Grant, M.P. a son.

— Mrs Fraser of Faraline, a daughter.

28. At Mormond-house, Mrs Gordon of Cairnbulg, a son.

— At Caen, in Normandy, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Hay, a son.

MARRIAGES.

JANUARY 6. At Edinburgh, John Polwarth, Esq. to Miss Adams.

7. At Linkwood, George Robertson, Esq. one of the Depute Keepers of the Records of Scotland, to Miss E. Brown.

9. Captain William Cameron, to Miss Jean Cameron, of Strone.

13. Wm. Macknight Crawford, Esq. of Ratho, to Miss Jane Crawford.

— At Ayr, Dr Ashburner, of London, to Miss Farquhar Gray.

— Lieut.-Col. Sir Guy Campbell, Bart. to Miss Frances Elizabeth Burgoyne, of Mark Hall, Essex.

21. Thomas Boswell, Esq. of Blackadder, to Miss Lucy Anne Preston, Bath.

22. The Earl of Longford, to Lady Georgiana Lygon, daughter of the late Earl of Beauchamp.

23. At Musselburgh, Major John Sutherland and Sinclair, to Miss Frances Ramsay.

30. Isaac Nicholson, Esq. merchant, London, to Miss Anne Grace Kinnear, Edinburgh.

Lately, Right Hon. Lord Huntingfield, to Miss Blois, daughter of Sir C. Blois, Bart.

— John Birket, Esq. to Lady Anne Lowther, third daughter of the Earl of Lonsdale.

— Hon. Mr Longdale of Haughton, Yorkshire, to the Hon. Charlotte Clifford, daughter of Lord Clifford.

FEBRUARY 3. A. Donaldson Campbell, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Miss J. Maria Dunlop, Househill.

4. At Tirhoot, in Bengal, John Morrison, Esq. M.D. to Miss Anne Sloane.

6. At Delvine, Robert Smythe, Esq. of Methven, to Susan, daughter of Sir A. Muir Mackenzie, Bart.

11. Sir John Anstruther, Bart. M. P. to Jessie, daughter of Major-Gen. Dewar of Gilston.

— At Hunsdon, Herts, Capt. James

Keith Forbes, to Miss Marion, daughter of James Brown, Esq. of Mead Lodge.

16. At Aberdeen, the Rev. Gordon Forbes, to Miss Grant.

17. At Memel, Charles Stewart, Esq. to Miss Sierack.

18. At Fortrose, Major Andrew Wood, to Miss Mackenzie of Newton.

— At Patna, Henry Middleton, Esq. to Miss Anne Ochterlony.

28. At Rosebank, near Edinburgh, Duncan Burnet, Esq. of Woolwich, to Miss Field.

Lately, Sir Watkin William Wynn, Bart. to Lady Burnet Clive, daughter of the Earl of Powis.

— Major-General Moore, to Cecilia, only child of W. Watson, Esq.

— Captain John L. Stewart, to Sarah, daughter of the late Robert Morris, Esq.

MARCH 3. At Edinburgh, the Rev. J. L. Mills, to Anne Cecilia, daughter of the late John Craigie, Esq. of Quebec.

5. At Albury Vale, Surrey, Jas. Simpson, Esq. advocate, to Miss Malden, Putney.

10. Colonel Maxwell, to Miss Ann Hamilton, Fairholm.

11. At Edinburgh, Robert William Niven, Esq. to Miss Brown, late of Jamaica.

17. At Paris, Thomas Clifton, Esq. to Mrs Campbell of Kildalrig, Argyleshire.

18. At Desert, Col. James Campbell, to the Right Hon. Lady Dorothea Cuffe.

— At Perth, James Stewart Robertson, Esq. of Edrayndate, to Miss Stewart, Cluny.

19. At Edinburgh, Robert Hunter, Esq. to Miss Helen Warner, Ardeer.

— At Edinburgh, Captain Pringle H. Douglas, R. N. to Miss Salisbury.

20. At London, Major-General Sir T. Beckwith, K.C.B. to Mary, daughter of the late Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, Bart.

27. At Ghent, Major Henry Balneavis, to Georgina, daughter of Col. Graham.

29. At Edinburgh, F. A. Mackenzie Fraser, Esq. to Miss Macleod, Harris.

Lately, Captain John Lewis Stewart, to Sarah, daughter of the late Robert Morris, Esq. M. P.

— Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir William Lumley, to Louisa Margaret, widow of the late Major Cotton.

APRIL 1. At the M'rise of Dalkeith,

the Rev. Dr Grierson, to Miss Jessy Sinclair.

8. At London, Lieut.-Col. Alexander Anderson, to Miss Bigge.

— At Glasgow, Hugh Douglas, Esq. of Douglas Hall, to Miss Agnes Peters.

10. Charles Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of Richmond, to Lady Caroline Paget, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Anglesea.

11. At Edinburgh, Mr George Yule, merchant, to Miss L. Bell, Parkside.

14. Charles W. D. Thomson, of Torhougenuir, Esq. to Miss Agnes Hanny, Blairinne.

17. At Axminster, the Rev. John Paterson, of Petersburgh, to Miss Greig, daughter of the late Admiral Greig.

21. At Edinburgh, Farquhar Campbell, Esq. of Huntington, to Miss Baillie.

— At Bombay, Lieut. Wm. Black, to Miss Farquharson.

22. The Rev. Alex. Hill, of Duffly, to Miss Crawford, Newfield.

24. At Rhobols, Island of Islay, Lieut. Hugh M'Dougall, to Miss Jane Campbell, Arduahow.

25. At Edinburgh, Col. Chas. Fraser, of Inveralochy, to Jane, daughter of Sir John Hay.

28. At Edinburgh, Major Menzies, 42d regiment, to Miss E. Burnett.

29. At London, Earl Percy, to Lady Charlotte Florentia Clive.

30. At Giese, in Caffressime, Lieut. Col. J. S. Williamson, C.B. to Miss Mailean, Giese.

Lately, at Isle of Man, Major M'Dougall, to Anne, daughter of the Hon. Governor Smelt.

— Sir William Hasle, Bart. R. N. to Lady Harriet Walpole, third daughter of the Earl of Oxford.

MAY 7. In the Isle of Skye, Olaus Macleod, Esq. of Unish, to Ann, third daughter of Alexander Macalister, Esq. of Strathaird.

13. At London, Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. W.S. to Miss Margaret Elizabeth Mackenzie.

19. At Edinburgh, Captain Donald Mackenzie, to Miss Jamieson.

21. At Edinburgh, James A. Stewart, Esq. of Glasserton, to the Hon. Lady H. Mackenzie, of Seaforth.

24. At Edinburgh, Ewan M'Pherson, Esq. of Demerara, to Miss M'Gregor.

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